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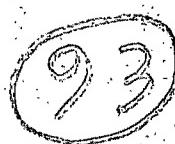
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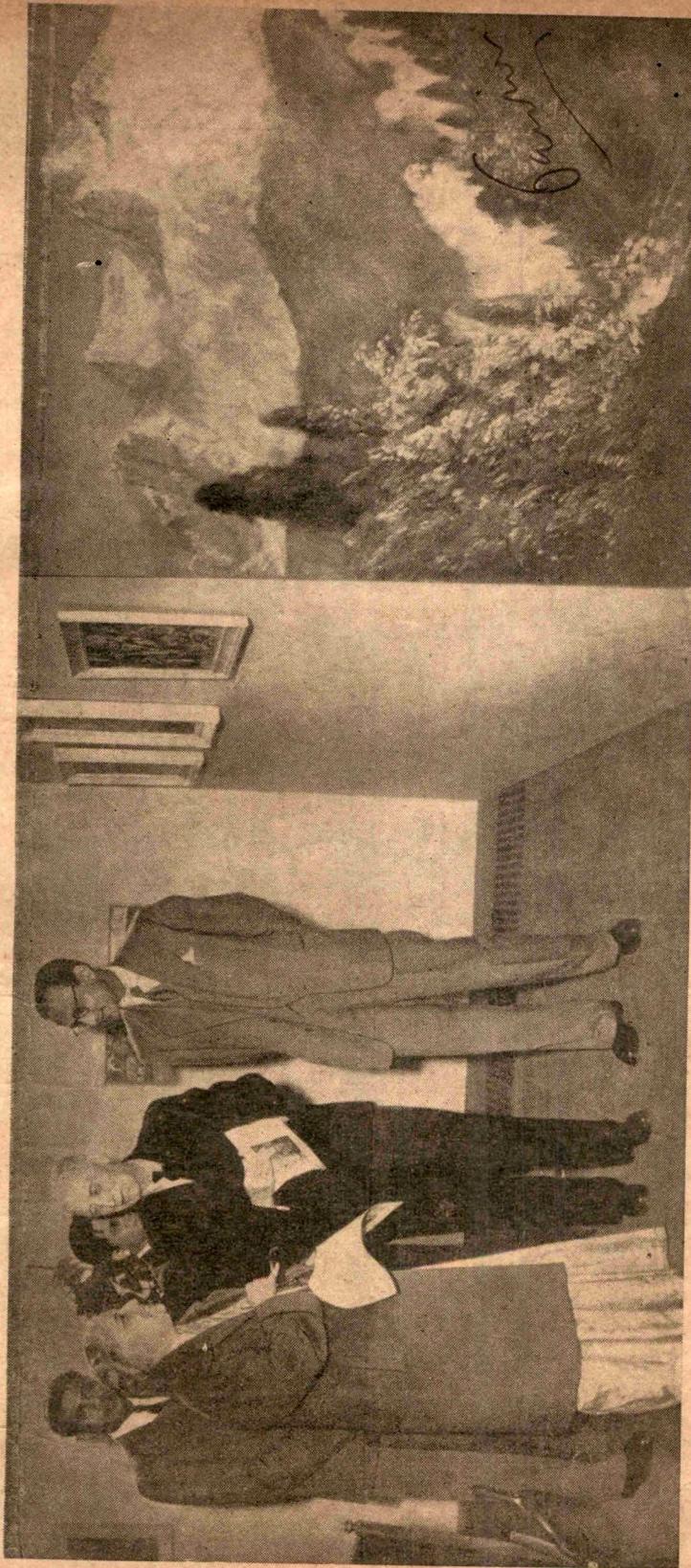
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POSTAGE EXTRA

**THE MODERN REVIEW OFFICE,
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The opening ceremony of an Exhibition of Paintings by Sri Niren Ghosh at the Imperial Institute of Art Pavilion in London
Left: L. to R. Srimati Vijayalakshmi Pandit, High Commissioner for India in the United Kingdom, who opened the Exhibition; Sir William Barton
Right: *Morning Hue on Mount Everest*, a painting by Sri Niren Ghosh, on display at the Exhibition

Nice — Roy



VASAKA-SAJJA NAYIKA
By Ram Gopal Vijayvargiya

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Planning for the Future

The First Five-Year Plan is coming to a close and there is a great deal of active drafting for the Second Five-Year Plan.

Much has been said about "substantial achievements" in terms of progress of the First Five-Year programme, and masses of statistical figures have been put forward in support of that claim.

But measured in the terms of relief to the suffering masses and in the lowering of the strains on the man in the street, the results as yet are lacking in concrete substance. The index of cost of living—in itself a deceptive and illusory figure—does not show any substantial decline, nor do the vital statistics show any hopeful signs. Unemployment has increased very substantially, which is the most disturbing factor in all assessment of progress.

In the terms of yards, tons and cubic yards of ferro-concrete, and likewise in the astronomical figures of money spent, we are asked to accept the tokens of progress. That is all very well for those who can afford to live in "Ivory tower" isolation, away from the misery that is apparent on all sides, and from the ignorance that is permeating the very soul of the masses, resulting in the lowering of moral values all round. We cannot afford to do so.

The First Five-Year Plan has meandered along, for four years and more, amidst blunders, waste and muddle and has come at last near its very modest, inadequate and disjointed targets. Much of the muddle and waste has been sought to be justified on the grounds of lack of statistics and survey facilities on the one hand and tremendous pressure on the Government's time and resources due to acute shortages of vital necessities.

In reality most of the blunders were due to ignorance on the part of those who were at the head and slackness, dishonesty or inexperience on the part

of the senior executives. As a result very moderate progress can be recorded up to now. So moderate that the common man can hardly feel the effects thereof.

The Plan, or plans, for the next period is still in a nebulous state. Rough approximations have been made to date, regarding the balances of supply and demand for electricity, coal, steel, cement and heavy chemicals. In all other items there is nothing more than guess-work. That such approximations and guess-work do not constitute real planning, need not be emphasised. On the face of it, it is apparent that if the targets be blurred and misty, the actual work would be erratic, wasteful and inefficient.

Then comes the question of the actual plan of work. So far the Planners have exercised their brains—and that along hypothetical or rule-of-thumb methods—on the question of money, and money alone. From all sides it is apparent that this Plan is also an exercise in theoretical economics, lifeless, soulless and abstract. If anything comes out of the nebulae, it may be taken as a gift of the gods.

Are the Planners taking the Nation along with their schemes, on the upward path of progress? No, most emphatically no! The man in the street and the man in the field, with their families and dependants must wait and see. If the Planners succeed, after ten years of blundering, then, like good little children who have taken the castor oil of patient suffering, they might have the sweets. The unemployed might become unemployable, factory labour might become even more inefficient, ignorance might assume catastrophic proportions, but we must possess our souls with patience and hope for the miracle.

As yet we see no Second Five-Year Plan, in concrete shape, nor do we see the assemblage of knowledgeable persons who constitute the body that could get on with the actual work.

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Nehru in Moscow

An editorial with the above caption appears in the *New York Times* international edition Weekly Review of June 12. We append a fairly full extract as being indicative of sober American opinion:

"Moscow has never gone in for public demonstrations for foreign statesmen. Visiting dignitaries generally are whisked from the airport to their official residence in a Zis limousine through back streets. The populace often learns about the visit only after it is complete.

"Last week Moscow drastically changed the script. Huge throngs greeted Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru as he rode through the capital in an open car at the beginning of a two-week State visit. Children deluged the Indian leader with flowers, trained white doves wheeled overhead, bands played, and the entire top hierarchy of the Soviet Government turned out for the occasion. While it was evident that careful planning had preceded the demonstration—for example, school children and factory workers had been given time off to attend—Moscow observers said the enthusiasm for Mr. Nehru as a symbol of hope for peace was unmistakably genuine.

"The Kremlin's efforts on Mr. Nehru's behalf were clearly a new chorus in the serenade it has been playing lately to the 'neutrals.' But the Russians quickly made clear that it also had significance beyond that. At a dinner for Mr. Nehru Thursday night, Soviet Premier Nikolai Bulganin paid special tribute to the Indian leader's efforts to mediate between the United States and China in the Far East. He said:

"The Government of the Chinese People's Republic together with our Government is taking all possible measures to ease tension off the east coast of China. . . . Lately the news has come to us of the representations made by the Indian representative Krishna Menon. Let us hope that our joint efforts ease the tension."

"This fresh evidence of close co-ordination between Moscow and Peiping on Far East policy underlined some of the problems that may soon face the United States in that area. The Formosa Strait conflict, which less than two months ago seemed on the point of explosion, has become stabilized. Secretary of State John Foster Dulles said at a press conference last week that it was fair to describe the situation in the Formosa Strait as a *de facto* cease-fire. He said further that this may be the most that can be achieved in the way of a settlement at the moment and that 'things might best be left as they are.'

The Nehru-Bulganin Declaration

The Special Representative of the *Statesman* commented as follows, regarding the joint declaration:

"New Delhi; June 23.—By laying emphasis on economic co-operation, the Five Principles, admission of China to the U.N., the importance of the Bandung Con-

ference and the need for disarmament, the joint declaration, signed by Mr. Nehru and Marshal Bulganin, comply with the views already expressed by both Prime Ministers.

A few phrases of the text, released simultaneously here and in Moscow this morning, indicate, however, that the Soviet Government has pledged itself to non-interference in more specific terms than had been anticipated.

The principle referring to non-interference in each other's internal affairs has been significantly amplified by 'for any reasons of an economic, political or ideological character.'

Though few observers here believed the reports that an explicit abandonment of the Cominform would be included in the declaration, the express assurance of ideological non-interference can be interpreted in this way."

The following is the full text of the joint statement:

At the invitation of the Government of the U.S.S.R., Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, has paid visit to the Soviet Union. During his stay in Moscow he had several talks with M. Bulganin, Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, and other members of the Soviet Government.

The relations between the Soviet Union and India happily rest on a firm foundation of friendship and mutual understanding. The Prime Ministers are resolved that these relations shall continue to be informed and guided by the following principles:

(1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; (2) non-aggression; (3) non-interference in each other's internal affairs for any reasons of an economic, political, or ideological character; (4) equality and mutual benefit; and (5) peaceful co-existence.

The Prime Ministers are convinced that these principles, which have lately received an increasing measure of recognition, are capable of wider application and that in the observance of these principles by nations in the conduct of their mutual relations lies the main hope of banishing fear and mistrust from their minds and thus of lowering world tensions.

The wider acceptance of these principles will enlarge the area of peace, promote mutual confidence amongst nations, and pave the way for greater international co-operation. In the climate of peace thus created it will become possible to seek peaceful solutions of international questions by the methods of negotiation and conciliation.

Both Prime Ministers recognize that in various parts of the world there is, on the part of the smaller and weaker States, a vague and possibly unreasoning fear of bigger Powers. They feel that it is essential to dispel this fear in all possible ways. Here again the best remedy is to adhere unflinchingly to the principles of co-existence enunciated above.

The Prime Ministers acclaim the results of the

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Asian-African Conference held at Bandung in April last. The conference was of historic importance as being the first of its kind at which independent nations of two continents with differing political and social systems, met together for the common purpose of devising ways and means of achieving fuller economic, cultural and political co-operation.

The results of the conference have been noteworthy and are of deep significance not only to the participating countries themselves but generally to the cause of world peace. The Prime Ministers wish to commend in particular the declaration on the promotion of world peace and co-operation adopted by the conference, which embodies and elaborates the concept of peaceful co-existence.

The Prime Ministers recognize that there have been signs of improvement in the general international situation. In particular they welcome the lessening of tension in the Far East, the advent of Austrian independence, the improved relations between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia, the keener and more general appreciation, now discernible everywhere, of the dangers of war in an atomic age. Nevertheless, in large areas fear and suspicion dominate the minds of men and nations and vitiate international relations. In the Far East while there has been a lessening of tension, the causes of tension still remain.

It is the earnest hope of both Prime Ministers that it will be possible by peaceful means to satisfy the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic in regard to Taiwan. At the same time the Prime Ministers wish to reiterate their conviction that the continued refusal to admit the Chinese People's Republic to the U.N. lies at the root of many troubles in the Far East and elsewhere.

They consider it essential that the Chinese People's Republic should be given its rightful place in the U.N., whose role as an authority would thereby be enhanced. They also think it important that all States qualified for membership in terms of the Charter should be admitted to the U.N.

The Soviet Union as the country which provided one of the two co-chairmen of all three international commissions in Indo-China has undertaken special responsibilities in connexion with the implementation of the Geneva agreements. These agreements constitute a notable example of the use of the method of negotiation for solving international conflicts and the degree of success achieved in the practical implementation of these agreements will be regarded as a measure of the value of the method of negotiation as a means of resolving international disputes.

The Prime Ministers, therefore, gave special consideration to the situation in Indo-China. In spite of difficulties which have occasionally been of a grave character, the implementation of the agreements has on the whole so far been satisfactory. The progress of

implementation is now in some danger of being obstructed by new and unexpected developments.

The Prime Ministers desire to exhort the Governments concerned with the carrying out of the provisions of the agreements, to do their utmost fully to discharge their obligations so that the purposes of the agreements may be completely achieved. In particular they would strongly urge that where elections are to be held as a preliminary to a political settlement the efforts of the Governments concerned should be directed to the full implementation of the provisions of the agreement.

Of the international question of deep concern to nations, none is more pressing or fraught with grave consequences to the issue of war and peace than that of disarmament.

The tendency to build up arms and armaments, conventional as well as atomic, has increased the prevalent fear and suspicion among nations and has had the effect of diverting national resources from their legitimate purpose, namely, the uplift of the people.

In the opinion of the Prime Ministers nothing should be allowed to stand in the way of the imposition of a complete ban on the production, experimentation, and use of nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons of war. At the same time they consider that there should be simultaneous and substantial reduction of conventional armaments and that effective international control should be established and maintained. To implement such disarmament and prohibition in this connexion, the recent Soviet proposals on disarmament were acknowledged as a substantial contribution to peace.

The Prime Ministers believe that under the aegis of the Five Principles enunciated in the statement, there is ample scope for the development of cultural, economic and technical co-operation between their two States. The fact that each country is following a system which is moulded by its own genius, tradition and environment should be no bar to such co-operation.

Indeed, the essence of true co-existence, in which both Prime Ministers have profound faith, is that States of different social structure can exist side by side in peace and concord and work for the common good. Already aided by a trade agreement concluded some time ago there has been a marked development in co-operation between the two countries in the cultural and economic spheres. The recent agreement in regard to the construction of a steel plant in India with the assistance of the Soviet Government is a notable example of such co-operation.

The two Prime Ministers, taking note of the mutual benefits of such co-operation, will seek to promote and strengthen the relations between their two countries in the economic and cultural fields, as well as in that of scientific and technical research.

Both Prime Ministers are gratified at the opportunity they have had of personal discussion and exchange of views on matters of mutual interest to them and are confident that the results of their talks and the friendly

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contacts which have been established will further strengthen and develop the relations between the two countries and their peoples and will serve the interests of world peace.

Signed by : Chairman of the Council of Ministers, U.S.S.R., and Prime Minister of India.

The "Kashmir Princess" Sabotage

The long-awaited statement of the Hongkong Government, has been released, regarding the sabotage of the ill-fated Indian air-liner.

Mr. A. C. Maxwell, the Police Commissioner of Hongkong, said in an official statement issued today : "It has been established beyond doubt that the 'Kashmir Princess' met its end through an explosion caused by some form of time-bomb. It is regrettably almost equally certain that this time-bomb was placed aboard the aircraft in Hongkong."

"No effort is being spared to bring to justice the perpetrators of this ghastly crime which must offend the conscience of all humanity."

"The Hongkong police are dealing with this case as one of carefully planned mass murder. All our investigations, which we have been patiently and steadily pursuing ever since news of the loss of the aircraft first reached us, point this way. We have now arrived at a stage when we must ask the help of the public to complete our investigations. We believe that there must be members of the Hongkong community who, if they will only come forward, can assist the police in their inquiries.

"I am therefore asking anyone who thinks he has any information, no matter how seemingly trivial or unimportant, which may throw light on the case to let the police have it.

"A personal letter addressed to myself or the Director of my special branch, will be treated entirely confidentially."

The Hongkong police today offered a reward of \$ (H) 100,000 (about £6,250 or approximately Rs. £3,000) for information leading to the arrest and conviction of any person responsible for the crime. The offer of the reward and Mr. Maxwell's statement is being advertised in all Hongkong newspapers tomorrow under the heading "Sabotage."

Usually reliable sources said the police have established that the disaster had been caused by a sabotage ring working in Hongkong. The police believed the person (or persons) who put the time-bomb in the Constellation was not the "brains" of the ring but probably a lowly worker of little intelligence who might not have realized the implications of what he was doing.

One police theory was that the sabotage ring included a People's Chinese informer. They said this might explain how the Chinese had two days before the disaster been able to warn the Hongkong Government vaguely of the plane's possible sabotage.

The absence of specific details in the warning appeared to indicate that the informer was not an important member of the ring and knew few details.

One unconfirmed report said that after the disaster a Chinese stowaway on an airliner had reached Formosa. This report has been denied by the K.M.T. Government.

What Asians Ask

In the *New York Times* international edition of June, Mr. Carlos P. Romulo, the noted Phillipine leader, gives a very clear exposition of the problem facing Americans regarding their attitude to Asians and Africans:

"To see Asia through Asian eyes and Africa through African eyes—that is the prime requisite for American policy toward Asia and Africa. You cannot assume that a policy which works satisfactorily in Europe will work equally well in Asia and Africa. Nor, on the other hand, can you do one thing in Asia and Africa and then cancel that by promptly doing something contradictory in Europe. There must be a judicious adaptation of methods and parallel planning that will avoid discrimination, confusion and waste."

"The American tendency to brand any nationalist movements whatever in Asia and Africa as communistic rests on another of those assumptions which urgently need to be examined. There are unquestionably nationalist movements in Asia which are Communist-led or which are abetted by the Communists. But this fact does not necessarily invalidate the intrinsic quality of the genuine nationalist movements in the region."

"What has often happened is that those movements, though originally sprung from a people's natural aspirations to freedom, were subsequently taken away by the politically sly and ruthless Communists from the hands of the timid and confused liberals who lacked prompt and effective support from their friends in the United States and the rest of the Western world. We lose battle this way by default, and will continue losing them until we stop condemning all those movements indiscriminately and dissociating ourselves from them."

"Time has assuaged the bitterness which colonialism has bred among the Asian and African peoples. The Bandung conference has shown that."

"It is also true that we of Asia and Africa would rather keep our old friends than risk new ties with strangers. The peoples of Asia and Africa must be shown, however, that the old 'friends are' friends indeed. And they must be shown this against the background of the irreversible march of nationalism in Asia and Africa and against the insistent clamor of their peoples for more decent standards of living."

How the lower type of American thinks about these problems is clearly indicated by the following piece of special news to the *New York Times*. It concerns a "brave" murderer of Africans fighting for their birthright :

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"Nairobi, Kenya, June 7—An American who has been fighting the Mau Mau terrorists of Kenya is under State Department pressure to return to the United States.

"William W. Baldwin, 28 years old, has been told by United States Consular officials here that his activities have caused the United States Government considerable embarrassment. They want him to go home. So far he has not gone.

"The State Department has informed Mr. Baldwin, and its representatives have announced publicly here, that his membership as a combatant in the Kenya Police Reserve 'must be classed as unwarranted participation in the affairs of another State'."

Communist Organisations in Vienna

The Communist-dominated World Federation of Trade Unions (WFTU) has caused the Austrian Government considerable embarrassment (according to agency reports from Vienna) by applying for legal registration as an association.

The WFTU set up its headquarters in the Soviet sector of Vienna in 1952, after its expulsion from Paris. But the move to Vienna was made without Austrian consent. The present application for registration has, presumably, been made in order to legalize the WFTU's position in view of the imminent end of the occupation of Austria.

London observers note the Austrian Government's fears that its neutrality might be prejudiced by the continued presence in the country of an organization whose real intention is to promote labour discontent, and that if other international Communist-dominated organizations (similarly established in the Soviet sector of Vienna without Austrian consent) follow suit, the Austrian capital might remain a centre for Communist propaganda.

Other organizations with headquarters in Vienna are: the World Peace Council, the International Federation of Resistance Fighters, the World Federation of Teachers Unions, the Committee for the Promotion of International Trade and the World Congress of Doctors. All are active, London observers point out, the World Peace Council being the organizer of the "World Peace Assembly" now meeting in Helsinki, Finland.

The Future of Indian Shipping

The scheme for the expansion of Indian Shipping in the Second Five-Year Plan, was given *in extenso* by Sri Lal Babadur Shastri in his speech before the Indian-National Steamship Owners' Association at Bombay. We append the full report for record:

Bombay, June 21.—Mr. L. B. Shastri, Union Minister for Railways and Transport, today told the Indian National Steamship Owners' Association here that the Government of India was confident of achieving its target of a million tons for Indian shipping in the second Five-Year Plan.

Mr. Shastri said: "There can be no two opinions about the imperative need of a far more rapid pace of tonnage expansion, specially in the overseas trade."

"Planning must, however, take into account financial resources and the time factor necessary for the consolidation of new routes."

The Minister said that the recommendations of the study group appointed by the Consultative Committee of Shipowners were well balanced and could be attained. He hoped they would be included in the final framework of the second Plan.

The study group, he said, contemplated a net addition of 72 ships totalling 445,000 tons gross of shipping at an estimated outlay of Rs. 80 crores. The private sector would contribute Rs. 10 crores and the balance would be advanced by the Government.

Mr. Shastri assured the shipowners that the Government would give the fullest consideration to the question of making attractive loans to shipping companies to ensure the targets are achieved.

On overseas trade, Mr. Shastri said that the completion of the first Plan, India's overseas tonnage was expected to reach 280,000 tons. The second Plan envisaged a net addition of 37 ships totalling 270,000 tons gross to this fleet.

He said: "Fears have been expressed about the possibility of securing full employment for the increased tonnage to be acquired. Apart from loans at a concessional rate of interest for the acquisition of new fast ships, Government assistance has taken the form of sponsoring the companies for admission to various conferences, of helping them to secure a reasonable share of cargoes owned and controlled by the Government and of providing suitable clauses in trade agreements with foreign countries to ensure that a proportion of cargo arising out of such agreements moves in Indian ships."

He said that although Indian shipping companies have been operating in the overseas field for only about seven years, these companies had gained a "stable footing" in important overseas routes.

He, however, expressed disappointment at the decision of "one of our oldest companies" to withdraw from the India-U.S.A. trade and passenger-cum-cargo services on certain other overseas routes. He hoped that this company would reconsider its attitude in regard to these services and re-enter them with more suitable tonnage for which, of course, "it can legitimately expect the Government to grant it necessary loans."

"I am also, hopeful that our Indian companies will not only be able to give more regular and faster services on existing routes but also expand the area and scope of their activities, and I wish to take this opportunity of extending the assurance that the Government will continue to render all possible and necessary assistance and support towards the achievement of these objectives."

"FLAG DISCRIMINATION"

On the question of Government cargoes and flag discrimination, he said that the Government would continue to assist Indian overseas ships by allotting to them as much Government cargo as feasible.

"I am aware that in foreign shipping circles, this assistance has been sought to be dubbed as 'flag discrimination.' The same circles have also taken exception to our trade agreements under which we seek to assist Indian companies to secure part of the cargoes that are exported or imported under such agreements.

"I feel there is a genuine misunderstanding of our position regarding this matter, and the misunderstanding arises entirely from the difference in approach as to what constitutes 'flag discrimination.' Throughout, our attitude has been that the Government of India does not favour any form of flag discrimination against foreign ships. The Government cannot, however, forego its right to nominate ships for cargoes moving on its own account—a right which is enjoyed by all shippers.

"We do not accept the proposition that the exercise of this right is an instance of flag discrimination, nor can the clauses in our trade agreements be characterized as constituting flag discrimination. Our ports are open to ships of all flags and they receive the same treatment and facilities as Indian ships.

"No one can accuse us of resorting to any devious methods to put foreign shipping in a disadvantageous position as compared with Indian shipping. It is somewhat surprising that, leading maritime nations which carry, or aim to carry, 50% or more of their national trade in their own ship, should complain of unfair practices by India when our shipping carries less than 50% of the country's overseas trade, in spite of the so-called discriminatory measures.

"On the other hand, Indian companies have just cause for complaint that commercial conferences discriminate against them in the matter of participation in various intermediate sectors in the routes over which they ply their ships."

He hoped that the various foreign shipping conferences catering to the overseas trade of this country would take a realistic view of the aspirations of the Indian shipping industry. They have held a dominating position in the trade of this country for decades, and they may continue to do so. "We do not wish to place any impediments in their way, and all that we seek is the opportunity to carry a reasonable share of the trade from and to this country in our own ships."

Referring to discriminatory freight rates charged by foreign shipping lines, the Minister said that serious allegations were made from time to time by Indian shippers that foreign shipping followed a discriminatory policy and charged higher freight for cargoes shipped from Indian ports than for similar cargoes to the same destination from other countries. Several instances were cited to prove these charges.

The Government of India has appointed a special

officer to study the specific cases of alleged discrimination.

"If these investigations do establish that there is any substance in the charge, the Government will have to take serious notice of the position and to devise measures to combat this unfair practice."

On the question of imposition of surcharge threatened by overseas shipping conferences, Mr. Shastri said the Government felt it was not right that responsible bodies like shipping conferences should have come forward with threats of surcharges on freight at a time when the Government itself was taking all possible steps to improve working conditions in ports.

He was glad to note that the India-U.K. Conferences had since decided to call off the surcharge, while the U.S.A.-India Conferences had merely deferred consideration of the matter until July 15.

Award on Bombay Port Labour

The Special Representative of the *Statesman* gives the following report on the first part of the award given by the Industrial Tribunal appointed by the Government of India to go into the disputes relating to the Bombay dock labour. It is of very great significance, being fully illustrative of the attitude of labour unions regarding the responsibilities of labour.

New Delhi, June 13.—The failure of the existing wage and incentive bonus scheme to secure a fair output and quick turn-round of ships in Bombay Port is due to various factors, such as indifference of labour to work, unauthorized absence of workers during duty hours, a tendency on the part of workers at times to work on two shifts or excessive overtime instead of turning out adequate work in one shift, and the system of paying "speed money" to certain workers.

This is the conclusion of the Industrial Tribunal appointed by the Government of India to adjudicate the disputes relating to the Bombay docks. The first part of the award was announced today, and Mr. M. R. Meher, President of the Bombay Industrial Court, who constituted the one-man tribunal, proposes to deal with the question of providing amenities for dock workers in the second part of his report to be published later.

"Go-Slow Policy"

The Tribunal has concluded that there was strong evidence that Bombay dock workers had been going slow and, at times, they adopted and "intensified go-slow policy." The contention of the trade unions that the fall in production was due to such factors as congestion in sheds, defective cranes, change in the tally system and delays in customs examination had little substance in view of the fact that new sheds had been erected and conditions in the docks in regard to storage and clearance had greatly improved.

The Tribunal maintains that a large number of electric tractors, mobile cranes, electric cars and forklifts have been installed and the equipment of ships

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has been improved to facilitate quick loading and unloading of cargo.

It rejects the unions' argument that lower production and unauthorized absence of workers during duty hours was due to the absence of adequate amenities like canteens. It agrees with the Bombay Port Trust that the time-rate system of payment has resulted in slowing down work.

As regards wages of Port Trust workers, the Tribunal is of the view that it would not be justified in increasing the time-rate. But assuming that, under a piece-rate system, workers would be reasonably efficient and punctual, the Tribunal has processed piece-rates on the basis of an increased time-rate and has fixed piece-rates for various categories of workers.

Adequate safeguards have been laid down while fixing the piece-rates. Payment would be made on the time-rate basis in case labour was rendered idle on account of circumstances beyond their control. Workers reaching 90% of the datum line would be entitled to payment at not less than the time-rate. For production in excess of the datum line, payment would be at double the usual rates. Besides, certain minimum wages at a rate higher than those provided by the Minimum Wages Act have been guaranteed; workers, whose output could not be measured, would be paid at these rates.

The Tribunal hopes that with the increase in wages given in this award and the opportunities for earning premium under the piece-work system, the method of paying "speed money" to crane drivers and certain other categories of workers would eventually disappear.

It has directed the appointment of a committee consisting of an equal number of representatives of employers and employees, with an independent chairman, for the proper administration of the piece-rate system and for the settlement of disputes. It has also recommended that the Port Trust Act should be amended to provide for such a committee. Until the Act is amended disputes should be settled mutually or by reference to the Central Conciliation Officers.

The Tribunal has rejected the demand of the Transport and Dock Worker's Union for the framing of a scheme for the decasualization of workers in the lines of the Bombay dock workers' (regulation of employment) scheme which is at present applicable to stevedore workers only. The matter will be examined by the committee appointed by the Central Government for the purpose."

Rehabilitation of E. Pakistan D.P.

The following report appeared in the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* for June 28. We append a comprehensive extract below, as the problem is exceedingly complicated. We do not think it will ever be solved unless the authorities concerned take a firm attitude towards the disturbing elements, consisting of rapacious and dishonest fake refugees, who have been making capital of human misery all these years.

However the scheme in itself is intrinsically sound:

An objective approach in assessing the magnitude of the rehabilitation problem in the eastern region, while keeping in view the sporadic nature of the influx from East Pakistan and the element of uncertainty inherent in the situation in dealing with an essentially human problem, was advocated by the Central Rehabilitation Secretary, Sri C. N. Chandra, in his presidential address at the two-day conference of Rehabilitation Secretaries of six Eastern States which commenced in Calcutta on Monday.

Sri Chandra revealed that the Rehabilitation Ministry had already succeeded in securing nearly 5,000 acres of cultivable land in a compact area with fairly congenial climate and surroundings in Hyderabad State, by the side of the Godavari river, where nearly 1000 Bengali displaced families would be rehabilitated on a planned basis.

In addition, Sri Chandra stated, a large number of displaced families would also be settled on land near Chota Nagpur in Madhya Pradesh when the land was made available for development. Displaced agriculturists would also be resettled on a huge block of land covering an area of nearly fifty square miles in the Araku Valley in north Andhra and South Orissa. Government were also exploring the opportunities available for locating lands in Mysore, Madhya Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh and certain other States. State Governments, he added, were fully co-operative in these negotiations for making the planned dispersal programme a success during the next year.

This was the result of a decision taken by the National Development Council to send a team of officials representing the Planning Commission, the Union Rehabilitation Ministry and the West Bengal Government to discuss the question of dispersal of Bengali refugee families in other States outside West Bengal, and to create congenial surroundings with agricultural and employment opportunities for them in close co-ordination with local authorities. This team, consisting of Sri S. V. Ramamurti of the Planning Commission, Sri A. D. Khan, Relief and Rehabilitation Secretary of the West Bengal Government and Sri C. N. Chandra, had already visited Hyderabad and will be visiting other States towards the end of July.

Outlining the mode of estimates of expenditure to be incurred on rehabilitation during the Second Five-Year Plan, as initiated by the Central Rehabilitation Ministry, Sri Chandra referred to the difficulties in drawing up a plan with precision in view of uncertainties inherent in visualising the exact nature of developments after a few years. There were many fluid factors connected with influx, dispersal, administration and the psychological set-up, with the result that the outlines of the structure of financial involvements had to be drawn up with the utmost care and objectivity, while taking into account all relevant factors and

over-all urgency of speeding up physical as well as psychological rehabilitation of the three million refugees who had already come from East Pakistan.

Sri Chandra said that the changing pattern of the blue-print of rehabilitation programme was indicated by the fact that they had urged the Planning Commission to make more provision than of Rs. 10 crores in the Second Plan for setting up new industries in order to absorb displaced persons and to stimulate subsidiary economic activities for expanding employment opportunities, especially in refugee townships and colonies. Again, in the matter of house construction also a policy of direct construction of tenements as well as Government-sponsored colonies was being increasingly favoured.

In conclusion, he hoped that it would be possible to prepare workable estimates of the expenditure involved in getting under way the various schemes of rehabilitation in the eastern region during the second Five-Year Plan period, for holding high-level consultations with the Planning Commission and the Ministry of Finance at a later stage.

Rise in Industrial Production

The year 1954 witnessed a substantial increase in India's industrial production. The general index of industrial production, which stood at 135.3 in 1953, rose to 145 in 1954, while the general index of prices dropped from 399.6 in January 1954 to 367.8 in December 1954. In cotton textile and cement industries, the target set out in the Five-Year Plan was exceeded. Steel production reached an all-time record of 12,26,000 tons of finished steel. The only major industry which recorded a decline in production was sugar. In the engineering industries, 56 out of 62 industries achieved a substantial rise in production. The chemical industry recorded an all-round increase in production. In 1954, 110 licences were granted under the Industries Development and Regulation Act for the establishment of new industrial undertakings and 226 licences for the expansion of existing ones or the taking up of new lines of manufacture. In 1953, 182 licences were granted for the setting up of new undertakings.

Special measures were adopted for the development of small-scale and cottage industries including the production of Khadi. Following the recommendation of the Ford Foundation Team, four regional institutes of technology for small-scale industries were set up. A Marketing Service Co-operative and a Small-scale Industries Corporation have also been set up. A Small-scale Industries Board, under the chairmanship of a Development Commissioner, has been set up to co-ordinate the activities of these institutions and also to carry out a programme of development.

In 1953, controls over distribution of cotton textile industry were lifted and prices were decontrolled. As a result, the industry returned to a state of normalcy, and production continued to rise progressively. In 1954, the total production of cotton textiles was 5,000 million yards of cloth and 1,560 million lbs. of yarn. The pro-

duction of cloth by the handloom and power loom industries in 1954 was placed at about 1,600 million yards, giving a total availability of over 6,000 million yards. Consumption of textiles increased considerably and so also the exports thereof. Exports of cloth continued to be freely licensed and in 1954 805 million yards of mill-made cloth were exported as against 593 million yards in 1953. The UK is the largest single buyer of Indian cotton textiles. In October 1954 a Cotton Textile Export Promotion Council was set up with a view to promoting exports of Indian textiles, studying our markets abroad, laying down quality standards, etc. A scheme has been introduced by the Council for the inspection of textiles for export. Many of the present textile mills are handicapped with worn-out machinery and as a result they suffered loss and some of them had to close down. The Working Party on the cotton textile industry had taken a survey of the obsolete machinery in the textile industry and stressed on the need to rehabilitate old machinery. In order to compete with world market, rationalisation on modern lines is imperatively needed, but the Government of India is still undecided on the point.

The production of paper has gone up by nearly 50,000 tons over the past four years. The production of paper in India in 1954 was 1,55,328 tons, as against 1,08,907 tons in 1950. The requirements of paper in this country have been placed at 2,00,000 tons per year and the balance has to be imported from abroad. In the near future, however, India is going to be self-supporting in paper production. Following the implementation of the expansion schemes of existing units and the setting up of new ones, the capacity of the paper industry will exceed 2.87 lakh tons by the end of 1956. The paper industry at present employs over 26,000 people, including 2,100 as technical personnel. The block capital invested in the industry is estimated at Rs. 21.72 crores. A further capital of Rs. 14.3 crores is going to be invested with the implementation of new schemes and the expansion of the existing ones. There are at present 21 paper mills in India; seven of them are in South India, five in Bombay and Madhya Pradesh, three in the Punjab and UP area and six in West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa. A paper and pulp expert of the FAO, Mr. Sundelin, recently came to India and surveyed the industry. He has estimated that the demand for paper, including newsprint and board will increase to 4,81,000 tons by 1961-62.

The Indian jute industry had a stable year in 1954. The demand for Indian jute goods in world markets improved and exports reached up the high figures of 8,42,000 tons as compared with 747,000 tons in 1953 and 736,000 tons in 1952. By the export of jute manufactures, India earned Rs. 120 crores of foreign exchange in 1954. In order to meet the growing overseas demand for jute goods, the working hours in the jute mills in the membership of the Indian Jute Mills Association were raised from 42½ hours to 48 hours a week. The output of jute manufactures increased from

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9.05 lakh tons in 1953 to 9.49 tons in 1954. But on account of increasing offtake, stocks with mills considerably decreased. The USA continued to be the largest single consumer of Indian jute goods by taking over 180,000 tons. Although Argentine curtailed her purchases of Indian jute goods, our exports to the UK, Canada, Australia, Indonesia, Burma, Cuba, Egypt and Nigeria considerably increased. A notable feature of the export trade in jute goods is the higher offtake of sacking. But India need not be over-complacent over her jute exports on the present prospects. Japan is coming out as a formidable rival in this respect and she is already challenging the supremacy of Indian burlap in US markets. The manufacturers in France, Holland and Belgium have formed a federation of European Jute Manufacturers and Germany is also expanding the capacity of her jute industry. The Government of India and the Indian jute industry are, however, alive to this danger and they are taking appropriate measures to maintain India's overseas markets. Two representatives of the Indian Jute Mills Association have already left for the USA with a view to retaining existing markets in that country and developing new contacts.

Chemical industry has made a considerable headway in recent years. The installed capacity of heavy chemicals—as for example, sulphuric acid, soda ash and caustic soda, fertilisers, sheet glass and dyestuffs, was increased in 1954. Sheet glass (10-12 oz. gauge), penicillin, chloromycetin, glacial acetic acid and acetic anhydride and, bismuth salts were produced for the first time in this country during the past year. Efforts are being made to manufacture chemotherapeutics and dyestuffs from basic raw materials rather than from intermediates. A scheme for the manufacture of sulphuric acid from gypsum made progress during the last year.

As regards the small-scale industries, the National Small Industries Corporation was set up in February 1955 with an authorised capital of Rs. 10 lakhs, divided into 10,000 ordinary shares of Rs. 100/- each, to be subscribed entirely by the Government of India. For its working capital requirements, the Corporation will receive loan from the Government of India. The main objects of the Corporation will be to assist, promote, finance and protect small-scale industries. Industries ordinarily employing less than 50 persons working with power, or less than 100 persons working without power, and having capital assets not exceeding Rs. 5 lakhs, will come within the scope of the Corporation. It will secure a reasonable share of Government orders for small-scale units by accepting contracts from procurement departments of Government and issuing sub-contracts to small-scale units. The small-scale units will receive loans and technical assistance from the Corporation for the purpose of fulfilling such orders and for the manufacture of articles of the type and standard required.

The tariff policy played an important part in promoting industrial developments, either through increase of import duty on foreign articles competing with indigenous products or through reduction of duties on imported raw materials and components utilised by domestic industries. During 1954, consent was given for the issue of capital aggregating Rs. 94 crores, and of this Rs. 84 crores related to industrial companies. Of this amount, non-residents have been permitted by the Government of India to invest Rs. 26 crores.

What we would like to emphasise is that the consumer in India has not benefitted an iota as yet, in spite of all this expansion. Paper has been taxed in a most inconsiderate fashion, to the serious detriment of all educational schemes.

Investment and Financial Resources

In the first Five-Year Plan, two concepts were used to denote the size of the Plan, namely, net investment and developmental expenditure. Thus, the net investment in the public sector was expected to be of the order of Rs. 1600 to Rs. 1700 crores, whereas the developmental expenditure which includes outlay of a capital as well as current nature was initially estimated at Rs. 2,069 crores. Since outlay on the Plan included only a portion of the outlay on certain developmental heads such as health and education, an additional concept of total developmental outlay (as distinguished from that included in the Plan) has also been used at times to indicate the size of the Plan. In the case of 42 organised industries in the private and the public sectors, the first Plan considered the requirements of gross rather than the net investment, inasmuch as allowance was made for part of depreciation, replacement and modernisation. Similarly, the requirements of working capital were taken account of in the case of industries, but not for other sectors.

The tentative framework for the second Five-Year Plan as prepared by the Planning Commission envisages total outlay of Rs. 5,600 crores for the achievement of the targets. This estimate is made up by aggregating wherever possible, the capital requirements of the individual targets. However, this procedure cannot be adopted uniformly for two reasons, because the targets do not cover all the items of production. And in several important sectors, particularly in agriculture, investment is multi-purpose in the sense that only a complex of products can be related to a complex of investment.

Non-monetised investment is not, therefore, included in investment by the Planning Commission. In a predominantly rural community of self-supporting persons, a significant amount of investment must be done by the application of personal labour and by using locally available materials. With the efforts to mobilise voluntary labour for various nation-building activities, such as flood control, investment in non-money terms must play an important part. In view however of the highly con-

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jectural nature of the imputed value of such investment the Planning Commission proposes to disregard it at this stage.

There are two distinct aspects to the question of raising financial resources needed for the second Five-Year Plan. First, the savings needed for the capital formation envisaged must be available in the aggregate. Secondly, the financial resources must be available and utilised by each sector and for each purpose in accordance with the priorities set out in the Plan. This second aspect requires a policy of directing investment.

If net investment of the order of Rs. 5,600 crores is to be realised over the next Plan period, savings of the same order must be forthcoming. With increased incomes, the volume of savings is bound to increase. For initiating a process of higher investment and higher incomes by fuller utilisation of unemployed and under-utilised resources, it is not necessary that savings come first and only these are invested later. Credit has to be taken in advance for the additional savings that are likely to arise, as incomes and investment increase. Some initial credit creation, therefore, is an essential part of a development programme. The Planning Commission is however cautious and warns that if planned investments are to be realised without generating serious inflationary pressures, the initial credit creation must be limited with reference to what savings are likely to be available, or can be created by suitable policy measures.

An investment programme of Rs. 5,600 crores for the second Plan cannot be carried through without a considerable increase in the rate of savings in the community. Assuming that sterling balances can be drawn down by some Rs. 100 to Rs. 150 crores and foreign assistance of the order of Rs. 500 crores is available during the second Plan, domestic savings of the order of Rs. 5,000 crores must be available. The Taxation Enquiry Commission has estimated that total savings in India in 1953-54 and total net investment (at home and abroad) amounted to some 7 per cent of national income. Their concept of net investment is not strictly comparable to the one used by the Planning Commission in arriving at the net investment of Rs. 5,600 crores for the second Plan. Thus, unlike the Taxation Enquiry Commission, the Planning Commission has excluded non-monetised investment. At the same time, the Commission has made some allowance for investment in stocks and in small enterprises which have been disregarded by the Taxation Enquiry Commission. Again, a sizeable increase in public investment is expected for the last two years of the first

Plan. On the other hand, the Taxation Enquiry Commission's estimate of net investment abroad of Rs. 70 crores in 1953-54 must be regarded as rather exceptional. Normally, the Planning Commission would expect a deficit in our current balance of payments (not taking credit for donations), with the result that the total investment in the country must be higher than domestic savings. Taking these considerations into account, it is reasonable to expect that, comparable to the figure of Rs. 5,600 crores of the second Plan, net investment in the country in 1955-56 would be of the order of 6.75 per cent of national income and corresponding domestic savings of some six per cent of national income. On this basis, the growth in investment and savings over the second Plan would have to be somewhat as follows, so suggests the Planning Commission :

The phasing over the five years of savings and investments given below is intended to be illustrative. The essential point is, says the Planning Commission, that in order to achieve a total investment of Rs. 5,600 crores, the rate of investment must increase from 6.75 per cent of national income in 1955-56 to 11 per cent of national income in 1960-61, and domestic savings from 6 to 10 per cent over the same period. If foreign resources are not available on the scale envisaged, the savings effort at home would have to be correspondingly greater.

Whether an increase in the rate of domestic savings from 6 per cent in the beginning of the next Plan period to 10 per cent by 1960-61 is likely to take place in response to a voluntary increase in savings resulting from additional incomes cannot be judged in advance. The increase in savings envisaged here is not very large in relation to the rates achieved in other countries. But considering the current low rate of savings and the large margin of unsatisfied needs, the Planning Commission assumes that savings of the order required would not be forthcoming without special and persistent effort at restricting consumption through fiscal and other devices.

In an underdeveloped economy, where there are idle resources, increased investment need not imply a reduction in current consumption, according to the Planning Commission. It would however imply austerity, that is, preparedness to hold down consumption, especially of luxuries in the face of rising incomes. A check on the consumption of non-essential commodities, domestic as well as imported, is necessary in order to release additional resources for the production of essential goods. Shortages of essential goods are

(In crores)

	1955-56	1956-57	1957-58	1958-59	1959-60	1960-61	2nd Plan 1956-57 to 1960-61
National Income	10,800	11,300	11,825	12,375	13,000	13,700	62,200
Net Investment	730	810	930	1,060	1,300	1,500	5,600
Domestic Savings	650	680	800	930	1,170	1,370	4,950
Foreign Resources	80	130	130	130	130	130	650

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dealt with better in this way than by direct limitation of consumption. However, if resources released through restriction of luxury consumption are not of much use for increasing the supplies of essential goods, controls over consumption of essentials would become unavoidable. The Planning Commission thinks that the question of controls must in other words, be judged in terms of the particular real resources, which are in short supply. Foreign exchange resources have to be conserved with particular care, in that they can be converted into whatever commodities became scarce within the country. In the present world situation in regard to food and cotton, the Planning Commission hopes that a plan of the magnitude contemplated can be seen through without having to impose controls on necessities like food and cloth.

The above contentions of the Planning Commission have much fallacious premises and may give rise to much misgivings. How could they assume that reduction in consumption would automatically lead to larger investments? There are many slips between falling consumption and rising investments. The falling consumption may lead to the rise in price level, in so far as austerity will be enforced by rationing and price control. With the dreadful memories of rationing and price control during the war period and thereafter, one should most certainly be reluctant to think that a reversion back into the hands of the black-marketeers and profiteers could again be contemplated by the authorities. In that case they would be playing into the hands of the anti-social elements, as they did until recently. The simple truth should not be overlooked. The huge amount that is going to be spent in the period of the second Plan is bound to generate inflationary conditions and unless consumption goods are available in a rising proportion, inflation will take away much of the expected savings. One man's expenditure is another man's income and forced savings imposed by compulsory curtailment of consumption will compel the larger money incomes of the community to run after the limited supply of consumed goods, resulting in an upward spurt in the price level. Higher prices would automatically increase the cost of investment and so also the cost of Planning. Increased consumption will encourage larger investments, both in consumption goods industries as well as capital goods industries. Unless consumption is stepped up, industrial prosperity cannot be expected to rise, notwithstanding much vaunted expenditure on Planning. It is another fallacy to distinguish between essentials and the so-called luxuries. What is a luxury to one, may be an essential to another. There can hardly be any clear distinction between these two types of needs, saving a few ones.

The Planning Commission admits that up to a point, the emergence of some inflationary pressures or a sellers' market is necessary, since the object of the Plan is to push ahead as far as possible in the direction of utilising our resources. Essentially, inflationary

pressures—or insufficiency of savings—arise as a result of inelastic supplies of goods against which people direct their demand. The elasticity of supply is not equally great in the case of all commodities. With effort and organisation, it can be altered favourably at least in selected sectors. The Planning Commission thinks that if we are to stop at the first bottleneck in supplies for fear of a rise in prices in that sector, even though supplies in other sectors are elastic to some extent, we are likely to stop short of the full potential for expansion of the economy. Short supplies in some commodities shall have to be tackled, and in doing so, whether we would be able to prevent a general and cumulative rise in prices depends, obviously upon the measure of shortage and the organisational efficiency in dealing with it. In an expanding economy, the sufficiency of savings cannot be predicted in advance, but, since the overall suggested by the Planning Commission is not excessive and is required for making an impact on employment, the practical problem is one of watching overall economic trends and of correcting, through fiscal and other measures, any shortages in resources in particular sectors as they rise.

From the standpoint of finding resources for the public sector of the second Plan, the Planning Commission observes that it is necessary to consider not only the outlay on the Plan but also on the total outlay. Expenditure outside the Plan has an obvious significance to the realistic appraisal of the financing of the Plan. The outlay on the Plan in the public sector includes, first of all; all expenditures which result in the creation of new capital assets (directly in the public or indirectly in the private sector). In addition, it should include that part of the current expenditure on specific developmental heads which represent an increase over the level reached at the end of the first Plan. This would give a clear idea of the lift the authorities would give to the developmental effort during the next Plan. This is the concept which has been kept in view in arriving at the Plan outlay of Rs. 4,300 crores in the public sector. As a rough approximation, the budgetary position of the Centre and the States combined may be outlined as follows:

(In crores of rupees—estimates)

	1955-56	1960-61	Over Second Plan 1956-57 to 1960-61
Outside the Plan—			
Non-developmental	625	725	3,400
Developmental	200	225	1,100
Sub-total	825	950	4,500
On the Plan	600	1,100	4,300
Total	1,425	2,050	8,800

It is assumed that public outlay on the Plan will increase from Rs. 600 crores or so in 1955-56 to Rs. 1,100 crores in 1960-61, that is by about 80 per cent in order to make up a total of Rs. 4,300 crores over the Plan period. Expenditure outside the Plan is assumed to increase by 15 per cent over the five years.

or by Rs. 25 crores every year. The total outlay on developmental heads is envisaged to be of the order of Rs. 5,400 crores—Rs. 4,300 crores in the Plan and Rs. 1,100 crores outside the Plan. The question is how a total Government outlay of Rs. 8,800 crores (Rs. 4,500 crores outside the Plan and Rs. 4,300 crores on the Plan) is to be financed. Assuming that the Government takes some 8.5 per cent of national income in taxes and in non-tax revenue as has been the case on an average over the past four or five years (7 per cent in taxes and about 1.5 per cent in non-tax revenue) the total revenue receipts would amount to about Rs. 5,200 crores. Borrowing from the public may possibly yield another Rs. 1,000 crores (about Rs. 600 crores from loans and Rs. 400 crores from small savings). Contribution from railways may be put at Rs. 200 crores over five years. These items aggregate a total sum of Rs. 6,400 crores, leaving a deficit of Rs. 2,400 crores.

As against the gap or deficit of Rs. 2,400 crores, the Planning Commission assumes credit for some Rs. 400 crores of foreign assistance. (In addition, foreign assistance of Rs. 100 crores is envisaged for the private sector). The remaining gap of Rs. 2,000 crores cannot be filled up by deficit financing or creation of money. As a first approximation, the Planning Commission assumes that such money creation can be resorted to to the extent of Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,200 crores by Government. Allowance must also be made for credit creation by banks for the needs of the private sector, say, Rs. 400 crores, or so, bringing total credit creation from Rs. 1,400 to 1,600 crores. A part of this credit would be withdrawn from the system as our accumulated sterling balances would be used up. Making an allowance for a decline in our foreign exchange reserves by some Rs. 150 crores, the Planning Commission assumes that even then, total money supply in the economy might increase by some Rs. 1,300 crores during the second Plan. A larger money supply will be needed as the monetised sector expands relatively to the non-monetised sector. Even then, with a 25 to 27 per cent increase in national income, an increase in money supply by some Rs. 1,300 crores on a base of some Rs. 2,000 is regarded by the Planning Commission as a sort of outside limit. If then, for the reasons just stated, deficit financing by the Government must be restricted to some Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 1,200 crores, it would be necessary to raise at least Rs. 800 crores by increased taxation, or by compulsory borrowings, or through increased profit of Government enterprises. In fact, a combination of all these will be called for.

Water Supply in India

Reports of acute distress caused by the shortage of drinking water which pour from all parts of our great country remind us of the utter inadequacy of water supply in our country. According to the statement of Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Union Minister for Health, only 10 per cent of the total number of

towns in India had protected water supplies serving only 6.15 per cent of the total population of India or 48.5 per cent of the urban population. About 80 per cent of India's population lived in the rural areas and they relied mostly on an unpiped water supply from wells, tanks, springs and streams. As could be expected under such circumstances, cholera, dysentery and diarrhoea, which were mainly water-borne diseases, claimed annually 220,000 lives in between themselves. The total number of deaths from all causes in India was 38 lakhs.

The much appreciated recommendations of the Environmental Hygienic Committee appointed by the Government of India went largely unimplemented on account of financial stringency. In April, 1954, the Health Ministry put forward a proposal for a National Water Supply and Sanitation Programme which was approved in principle by the Planning Commission. Both the urban and rural parts of the programme were eventually sanctioned and communicated to the State Governments by September, 1954. The Union Government sanctioned a loan of 12 crores of rupees for the urban schemes and an outright grant of 6 crores to meet 50 per cent of the cost of sanctioned urban schemes of the State Governments. Most of the schemes sent in by the State Governments were approved by the Union Government.

Commenting on the condition of water supply in India and the Government of India's policy in that regard "M.P." writes in the *Harijan*, June 11:

"Is this not one of the items of topmost priority in the eyes of our planners? It is a matter of national shame indeed to learn that India under Swaraj does not still provide clean potable water to her citizens. Big talks of bunds and electrification pale into insignificance before this state of affairs."

West Bengal Municipalities

Sri Biswanath Basu, General Secretary of the West Bengal Municipal Association, discussed a number of problems facing the municipal administrators in the State in his report to the 18th session of the West Bengal Municipal Conference, held at Calcutta on April 16 and 17, 1955, shortly after the passage of the Bengal Municipal Amendment Bill by the West Bengal Assembly.

Referring to the passage of the West Bengal Municipal Amendment Bill he regretted the fact that while introducing vital reforms in the constitution of the local bodies Government had not thought it proper to consider the views of the Association—the only representative body of the Municipalities of the State. The passage of the bill, Sri Basu said, had bade good-bye to the "elementary democracy that was still existing in these local bodies." Moreover, although in the statement of objects of the bill reference had been made to the financial difficulties

faced by the municipalities "no attempt whatsoever was made in the Bill to solve these difficulties."

Sri Basu then proceeded on to examine specifically some of the charges commonly levelled against the Municipal Administration, one was the charge of poor collection. Of course, the percentage of collection was poor if the total demand was taken to include arrear demand as well. "But the percentage is not really unsatisfactory when the annual demand alone is considered." Even the Government could not always maintain a record of good collection, Sri Basu pointed out and added that "as regards Income-tax and Sales-tax where only the richer section of the community are concerned, the percentage of collection on the total demand does not, in any year, exceed 50 and often as low as 25." The Municipal ratepayers were mostly members of the poorer section of the community. "So," Sri Basu said, "such default in payment is due to our existing financial crisis, low purchasing power and national character as well. With increasing purchasing power, education, self-consciousness, and growth of the community spirit, things are bound to improve."

Sri Basu partly admitted that in some cases there might be low assessment but for that it would be wrong to put all the blame on the Municipal Administrators. "Let our national character rise and municipal finances improve and these evils will vanish."

Another charge against the municipal authorities was that expenditure under conservancy exceeded the receipts under that head. "It is actually so and will remain so as long as the present Act endures and labour conditions continue. Amenities in the shape of conservancy service are peculiar to the municipalities and constitute the most expensive part of the administration costs. Even then, the amenities actually offered to the rate-payers are far short of what these should be. Let our well-wishers examine the matter fully and try to solve the problem in the right way," Sri Basu said.

Out of a total population of two-and-a-half crores in West Bengal about one crore or forty per cent of the people lived in the congested municipal areas. But Government spent very little for their welfare. Much of the apparent inefficiency of the Municipalities could be properly ascribed to their poor financial conditions. The Local Finance Enquiry Committee had also admitted that Municipalities in West Bengal suffered mainly from bad finances due to meagre sources of revenue. The Committee's recommendations for allocation of shares of certain State revenues such as from Sales-tax, Electricity duty, Amusement tax, etc., to the Municipalities had however remained unimplemented. The Taxation Enquiry Commission also had made recommendations on the lines suggested in the recommendations of the Local Finance Enquiry Committee.

There was the case of the Motor Vehicles tax. Out of several crores of rupees realised as M. V. tax, a sum of only about rupees one to two lakhs was distributed amongst the eighty-two municipalities in West Bengal. "It is curious indeed that while the municipalities bear the burden of maintaining and improving the roads, all revenues that are realised from vehicles using these roads and damaging the same are taken over by another authority," Sri Basu pointedly said pleading for a just re-allocation of the tax between the Government and the Municipalities.

In the matter of the establishment of Free Primary Schools also the municipalities had failed to get just treatment from the Government. "Even the few free primary schools which had been started in some municipal areas under 'Biss Scheme' with the assurance of fifty per cent State aid, are, at present receiving not more than thirty per cent of the actual expenses and thereby a heavy burden is thrown upon the municipalities concerned . . ." Moreover, it was another regrettable fact that no portion of 2300 crores of rupees spent under the First Five-Year Plan had been allotted for the development of municipal areas. The West Bengal Municipal Association had submitted to the State Government some schemes for the development of municipal areas but none of them had been forwarded to the competent authorities for inclusion in the Second Five-Year Plan.

The settlement of refugee colonies in municipal areas without consultation with the municipal authorities came in for sharp criticism in the General Secretary's Report who said: "How injudicious has been the selection of the colony areas by the authorities concerned will be apparent from the fact that in Hooghly-Chinsurah, Government acquired a portion of the municipal trenching ground without even the knowledge and consent of the municipality and thereby stopped further trenching in that ground without making or helping to make any alternative trenching arrangement. The consequence of such indiscreet action on the part of local officers can be well realised and needs no description."

Sri Basu then referred to the unusual attitude displayed by the State Government in rejecting the representation made by the people in some municipalities, where the river Bhagirathi had been causing damage to municipal and other public and private properties by erosion, for Government help for protection of the river banks, on the ground that no Government property was involved.

Sri Basu also referred to the desirability of reducing red tape by doing away with undue insistence on trivial technicalities in urgent and important matters. He referred to complaints received from certain municipalities that schemes for augmentation of water supply initiated in accordance with plans and estimates prepared by competent Government Depart-

ments, and approved by Government, could not receive the statutory financial assistance on the 2:1 basis on the flimsy pretext of technicalities having not been observed in full.

He also urged for the appointment of a few liaison officers between the Government and the local institutions with a view to improving their mutual relations. He also appealed for a change of mental attitude on the part of Government officials and pleaded for greater co-operation with the municipal authorities.

At the same time the Municipal Commissioners also were reminded of their great responsibility.

We would like to know the standpoint of municipalities in other States, regarding the points raised by Sri Basu.

Institute of Public Administration

The Indian Institute of Public Administration was formally inaugurated on the 29th March, 1954 with Sri Jawaharlal Nehru as its President. The importance of establishing an institution for a systematic study of public administration had been recognized for many years by academicians and administrators. With the advent of independence, and the inauguration of the constitution necessitating wide transformation of the administrative set-up, and the introduction of national development plans, the need for such a systematic study became all the more urgent. Under the circumstances the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Shri V. T. Krishnamachari, convened an informal meeting on the 29th October, 1953 in which decisions were taken to establish in India an institute of public administration. Professor D. G. Karve, the well-known economist, was chosen as the Director of the new institute.

The principal objects of the Institute were to provide for the study of public administration and allied subjects by organising study and training courses, conference and discussion groups; to undertake research in matters relating to public administration and the machinery of government; to publish periodicals, research papers and books on Indian administration; and to serve as a forum for exchange of ideas and experiences and a clearing-house of information on public administration in general.

The Institute's membership was open to all actively interested in or concerned with the study or practice of public administration. The minimum annual subscription for individual membership was Rs. 25/- There was also provision for corporate membership.

From the first annual report submitted by Prof. Karve, the Director of the Institute, it appears that the Executive Council of the Institute approved of the broad outlines of a scheme of a School of Public Administration providing a two-year course to students admitted on the strength of a qualifying degree and an entrance test.

The membership fees of the Institute were approxi-

mately Rs. 12,500. The Government of India sanctioned a total grant (recurring and non-recurring) of Rs. 7.71 lacs for the year 1954-55, thereby considerably easing the financial difficulties of the Institute. Efforts were being made to obtain support from State Governments and private endowments. The Ford Foundation agreed to donate a sum of \$350,000 over the first three years. The first year's instalment of \$166,666 was received. The total expenditure over the first three years was likely to be about 50 lacs of rupees including the cost of land, building, initial library and the establishment of the School of Public Administration.

The Institute formulated a regular programme of fellowships for providing facilities for higher studies and specialized training in public administration. The first batch of the Institute's fellows would soon proceed abroad for higher studies and training.

Prof. Karve adds: "The source materials, reports, text-books, case-histories, etc., bearing on Indian conditions which are needed for adequate and fruitful study of public administration are for the most part lacking. The Executive Council has, therefore, set up a Central Committee of Direction for arranging to have such materials prepared with as little delay as possible. The Committee has already selected a list of topics for study and research."

The Institute started publication of a quarterly journal from January-March, 1955 with Shri S. B. Bapat as the editor.

Medium of Higher Education

A conference was held at Madras on June 18 to consider the question of adopting Tamil as the medium of instruction in educational institutions including colleges, and preparation of a list of suitable technical terms for such higher studies, reports the *Hindu*. The conference, attended by the Vice-Chancellors and other educationists, was presided over by the Madras Minister for education, Mr. C. Subramaniam.

Mr. Subramaniam detailed the steps taken in the past to promote the use of the regional language as the medium of instruction at the school stage and invited the views of the educationists and others in particular on the question (a) of making a beginning in the introduction of Tamil as the medium of instruction in colleges and (b) as to whether a Committee or other suitable organisation might be set up for preparing scientific and technical terms in that language.

Dwelling on the importance of imparting college education in the mother tongue of the students the Minister pointed to the difficulties faced by the students in following instruction given in English in the colleges after having studied non-language subjects in the regional language in high schools. But it was not easy to effect a change. When back in 1938 the first Congress Government had introduced education through the mother tongue in schools even then objections had been raised against that on the ground of want of suitable text-books in the regional languages. About

four years ago a conference of State representatives of the Southern region and Vice-Chancellors had been held. Though the intention of those who had participated in that conference had been clearly to encourage the use of regional language, immediate steps could not be taken for want of facilities for the purpose of imparting such education with the regional language as the medium of instruction.

Shri Subramaniam also referred to the steps being taken for the preparation of scientific and technical terms in Hindi by the Board of Scientific Terminology, set up by the Government of India in 1950.

The Board had decided that international scientific and technical terms should be used in all books written in Hindi and other principal languages of India. The preparation and publication of authentic terms in Hindi would be done in nine stages. The stages were, to quote Shri Subramaniam :

"In the first stage, a collection of all necessary English terms for each subject is made.

"In the second stage, the exact connotation of each English word is determined with the help of standard works of reference and in consultation with technical experts.

"After this, the finding of suitable Hindi equivalents for the English terms begins in the third stage. The most important work is that of evaluating each possible equivalent in respect of its exact meanings, significance, etc.

"In the fourth stage, tentative lists of English terms with their proposed Hindi equivalents for each subject are put before an Expert Committee for that subject. The Committees consist of eminent scholars and experts. The Committees make a detailed and exhaustive examination of such lists and suggest changes and alternatives and then provisionally approve the lists.

"In the fifth stage, the lists thus approved by the Expert Committees are printed as provisional lists and submitted to the Board of Scientific Terminology which examines them again and makes its own suggestions.

"In the sixth stage, these lists are circulated to various State Governments, Universities, Research Institutions, Ministries of the Government of India, Language Experts and various other individuals and bodies, for comments.

"In the seventh stage, comments and opinions received are put before the respective Expert Committees which assess them and revise the lists in their light.

"In the eighth stage, the lists are again submitted to the Board for final approval.

"In the ninth stage, these lists are submitted to the Government for final approval. After the Government has accepted these lists, they are printed as standard and authentic lists of technical terms in Hindi."

Molestation of Girls

The *People*, June 26, refers to a recent incident in Lucknow when a girl was molested by students in a

bus and invites the attention of the guardians and teacheres so that such shameful occurrences came to an end. It was all the more regrettable, the paper notes, that even college and university students should often be found guilty of such shameful conduct. The guilt was not of the students alone, the guardians and teachers had also a great measure of responsibility.

The *People* continues : "The present-day society is a hotch-potch of the modern and old. As such it is a period of uncertain transition. It is also correct to say that the effect of temptation from the other side should also not be minimised. Still to molest innocent girls in the streets, in the tramways or buses, is nothing short of a barbaric act and no amount of explanations can exonerate the crime. A very serious view should be taken of these outrages."

We thoroughly agree with the *People*. The guilty parties should be severely dealt with in future. It is about time people were made to realise that liberty and libertinism are not synonyms.

Hyderabad State Bank Affairs

The *Spectator*, a weekly news magazine, published from Hyderabad, in its issue of June 16 comes out with serious charges against the State Bank of Hyderabad with a demand for public enquiry into the Bank's affairs.

Shri P. N. Bam in an article in the magazine of even date writes that the recent downward trend of the shares of the State Bank of Hyderabad was an "indication of the markets' opinion about the working of the Bank. As a fully paid-up Bank share with no reserve liability it should fare much better and ought to be considered a good catch at 120-125; but No! Investors do not care to touch the shares with a pair of tongs. What is really wrong?"

According to Shri Bam, who had also addressed an open letter to President Rajendra Prasad over the affairs of the State Bank, the reckless lending policy followed by the directors of the State Bank of Hyderabad had led the Bank to heavy financial loss. It had been freely rumoured for a long time that "an amount of three to four crores out of the total advances was found to be not recoverable at short notice or on due date and that a tussle had started between the creditor Bank and its debtors wherein the latter had the upper hand."

Shri Bam writes: "There may be several debtors whose total assets put together (even including those of the Sureties) may not be found sufficient to realise the debt owed by them and whose total income from property, interest, dividends and business earnings may not be sufficient to pay the periodical instalments . . ." and that consequently around two crores of rupees would have to be written off as irrecoverable.

He continues: "A comparison of the credit limits during the years 1952, 1953, 1954, enjoyed by the

defaulting parties will bear out that the limits of advances to certain parties progressively increased in spite of huge debits standing to their accounts."

The Hyderabad State Bank came into being with the passage of Hyderabad State Bank Act, 1941, with guarantees from the Government for payment of interest at 3 per cent to the depositors. Until recently it had been acting as the Bankers to the Government of Hyderabad. Sometime ago the Inspection Branch of the Reserve Bank of India held an inspection of the Hyderabad State Bank, though it was not a Scheduled Bank:

The *Spectator* urges upon the Reserve Bank of India to publish the reports of inspection of the State Bank of Hyderabad reviewing the findings of that inspection. "It seems that only having two directors on the Board of Directors of the Bank is not enough to exercise sufficient check. There must be one or two checking officials on the executive staff if matters have to improve."

With reference to the impending nationalisation of the Bank the newspaper writes: "The Reserve Bank and the Government of India may now be asked whether they can afford to be so charitable as to shoulder at the very inception of the National Bank the heavy burden of the bad debts of the Hyderabad State Bank which run into several crores, the full recovery of which is extremely doubtful and whether for the future working of the Hyderabad Branch of the Indian State Bank they can safely rely upon the present set of executive officials and directors who have proved that they act irresponsibly and without the least regard for their duty as trustees of public money entrusted to their care."

Governmental "Efficiency"

The subjoined report published in the weekly *Spectator* in its issue of June 16, 1955, is highly illuminating:

"Trivandrum.—The Travancore-Cochin Government recently sanctioned maternity leave asked for over a year ago by a woman official of the Public Health Department.

"The child born to the official is now over ten months old.

"The leave was granted four days ago by the Chief Minister, Mr. P. Govinda Menon, to whom was finally forwarded a voluminous file from the Health Department containing the application. The Chief Minister has returned the file to the Secretary of the Department with a two-and-a-half page note calling for an explanation of this 'quick disposal' of the leave application."

No comment is necessary, we hope.

Rajasthan Punishes Corrupt Officials

The A.I.C.C. Economic Review welcomes the action of the Government of Rajasthan in summarily

suspending four Executive Engineers, an Assistant Engineer and two overseers of the State Public Works Department (PWD).

The suspension followed reports of negligence shown in the construction of a school-building at Ganga Nagar of Savai Madhopur district. "It was found that (i) roofs were leaking; (ii) as against the cement required to be used, the walls and the floors were plastered with a local soil variety; (iii) in many parts of the school building, the plaster had given away and fallen down; (iv) the walls in the school building had cracked at number of places." Nevertheless, in spite of warnings, bills of contractors were being regularly passed. Recounting the events leading to the action of the Rajasthan Government, the newspaper writes in conclusion: "It need hardly be emphasised that PWD's are among the most corrupt sections of our administration, and it is high time that this most important branch of the administration be corrected and improved as soon as possible. The best way to do this is to administer summary justice to the dishonest officials and contractors."

World's Tiniest Tribe

The Weekly West Bengal describes the measures adopted by the Government of West Bengal for the uplift of the tiniest tribe in the world, the Totos, who lived secluded in the Himalayan Tarai, the entire race living in just one hamlet. The Totos numbered only 314 and lived at Totapara, on Totapahar, Thana Madarihat in the Jalpaiguri district. The hamlet had an area of three and a quarter square miles, of which about two-and-a-half miles were covered by thick jungles.

The Totos were well-built with broad and flat features; tanned skin; small and oblique eyes. They were a friendly people, shy and reserve but very intelligent, and wore fewer clothes but more ornaments than other tribes.

Indian Cultural Delegation to China

An Indian Cultural Delegation led by Shri. Anil Kumar Chanda, Deputy Minister for External Affairs of the Government of India, was currently touring China. The Delegation was given a warm welcome by the Chinese Government and people. From reports in the Chinese press it appeared that the delegation scored a great success in popularising Indian art and culture among the Chinese people and in cementing the age-long friendship of the two peoples.

The organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, *The People's Daily of Peking*, in an editorial article on June 14 characterised the visit of the Indian Cultural Delegation as a "great event in the growth of friendly ties and cultural exchange between China and India."

The *Kwangming Daily* urged upon Chinese artistes to make a serious study of the Indian art music and

dancing. "From Indian art," the paper said, "indomitable strength of the Indian nation, its creativeness and abundant optimism can be clearly observed."

"To improve our own music and dance, it is important and necessary to learn from our Indian friends."

Ten Years of the United Nations.

Ten years ago, on June 26, 1945, representatives of fifty nations signed the Charter of the United Nations expressing their determination "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind" and to create conditions for peaceful promotion of social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom. The signatories pledged to practise policies which were now expressed by the words "peaceful co-existence."

However, almost immediately after the signing of the Charter schism appeared among the United Nations and the cold war began followed by occasional interludes of "hot" war, in Indonesia, Kashmir, Korea, Indo-China and other places. None of the vital international questions referred to the UN could be settled by that body, because of the underlying power-political relations dividing the Big Five on whose unanimity the whole edifice of the United Nations rightly stood. The experience of ten years thus demonstrated more pointedly, the indispensable need of the organization since in so far as the world could not survive a third atomic world war that war could hardly be prevented unless the Great Powers agreed on a policy of co-existence and peaceful competition of their wars. An organization like the United Nations was the ideal one to provide for the framework of such Big Power co-operation.

The main spring of the strength of the organization lay in its universality. If certain countries willing to subscribe to its aims and objects were debarred admission on the whims of one or other State, the organization could hardly fulfil its functions. The war in Korea, in Indo-China and in the Taiwan area exposed the utter ineffectiveness of the United Nations in Far Eastern affairs without the co-operation of China.

The eleventh year of the United Nations opened with good augury. No "hot" war was raging anywhere in the world. The conclusion of a State Treaty on Austria, China's softened attitude on the Taiwan issue and the release of imprisoned airmen and the prospect of the Big Four meeting considerably lessened the international tension.

Britain Retains India's Library.

The India Office Library in London was one of the greatest oriental libraries in the world having 80,000 printed books and 20,000 rare and valuable

manuscripts in the English and oriental languages. The library contained, among other things, the business papers of the East India Company and its successor, the Board of Control and the Secretary of State for India, papers relating to the first surveys of the country and a valuable collection of manuscripts and printed books on all aspects of Indian life.

The question of the transfer of the library from London to India was first raised in 1947 when Premier Nehru assured of the Government's attention to the matter. Some preliminary steps were taken indeed but after some time the matter was allowed to drift until this year it was again taken up by the Union Ministry of Education. During the Pakistani Premier's talks in Delhi, discussions were held in May this year between the Pakistani Minister for Education, Colonel Abid Hasan, and the Union Minister for Education, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, over the future of the Library without any final decision being arrived at.

A joint communique was, however, issued recording the agreement between the two Ministers on the fact that "the Library belongs to the present Governments of India and Pakistan as successors to the Government of undivided India, and the question of the disposal of the Library is the concern of the two Governments and is to be settled by them."

After those discussions Maulana Azad left for Britain to negotiate with the British Government for a final settlement of the question of the transfer of the library to India. But before Maulana Azad's arrival the British Commonwealth Secretary, Lord Home, declared in the British House of Lords on June 13 that the British Government would not allow the Library to be divided or to be shifted outside Britain. "In the U. K. Government's view, the right course is that the Library should remain intact and in this country (Britain)," Lord Home said.

"But we would, of course, readily consider any suggestions that the Governments of India and Pakistan may wish to make to us as regards the detailed administration of, or access to the Library."

As regards the historical records that were the archives of the East India Company and the India Office, which were now in the custody of the Commonwealth Relations Office, the British Government's policy was to retain those in Britain, added Lord Home.

The *Vigil* (June 18) reports: "Recently the Committee of History of the Freedom Movement in India stated that historical records were not made available by the India Library authorities in London to authorized scholars and research workers."

Even before the recent declaration of the British Government, the New Delhi correspondent of the weekly *New Age* wrote on May 22 after summing up

the attitudes of the British press that the British Government would not be willing to give back the India Office Library. The correspondent wrote:

"The British authorities, it is feared, will raise every legal issue they can get hold of to retain the Library—including a 19th century precedent established by France and Germany over Alsace-Lorraine and they would try their best to complicate the issue further by declaring that even Burma must have a say in the disposal of the Library (as one British paper has already done)."

Quadianis are not Muslims

A *UPI* report from Lahore, dated June 6, published in the *Bombay Chronicle*, says that the District Judge of Campbellpur, sitting at Rawalpindi, upheld the judgment of the Rawalpindi Civil Judge that Quadianis were not Muslims—and a Quadiani woman could not remain wife of a Muslim according to the Islamic *shariat*.

The report adds:

"The observation was made in a judgment on the application of the wife of Captain Naziruddin, for payment of dowry (*haq-mehr*).

Captain Nazir and Umat-ul-Karim could not live happily and the woman went to her parents.

Naziruddin divorced her on the plea that she was a Quadiani.

She sued him for *haq-mehr*.

The District Judge said: (1) Muslim theologians agree that Prophet Mohammed was the last prophet and no prophet was to follow him; (2) Muslim theologians also agree that whoever does not believe that Mohammed was the last prophet was outside the pale of Islam; (3) Muslim theologians also agree that Quadianis do not believe the 'last-hood' of the Prophet and are therefore non-Muslims."

The question remains, where stands Sir Zafrullah Khan, the champion of Pakistan at the U.N.?

Salk Vaccine

It is reported that the Government of India was considering the import of salk vaccine for anti-polio inoculation in India.

Over the salk vaccine ensued a controversy in the United States of America, the country of its origin, which unfortunately is not yet over. In view of that controversy and in the light of Britain's reported decision not to import salk vaccine now, some more consideration before deciding on bulk of imports of the vaccine would suggest itself as the best policy for the Government of India to follow.

In this connection the following comments of the British weekly, *Lancet*, reproduced in the *Bombay Chronicle*, is quite significant.

The *Lancet*, a famous journal, said that there was a small but definite risk in using the salk vaccine as a preventive against poliomyelitis or infantile

paralysis. The risk might be reduced very much by improved tests but there would still be fear that the tests might have failed to reveal the presence of every live virus and the occasional highly susceptible child might be given the disease by a vaccine which had passed the most vigorous testing.

"This risk must be weighed against the benefits, which at the moment seem to be a three or four-fold reduction in the chance of getting paralytic poliomyelitis in the year following vaccination—with presumably some protection for a much longer period, although the extent and duration of this are not yet known."

"In addition, there is the risk of unknown dimensions that repeated injection of the vaccine prepared from monkey kidney may eventually sensitise the child in some harmful way.

"This could conceivably have more serious consequences than accidental infections on which attention has naturally been fixed so far."

Indian Doctors in South Africa

The *Indian Opinion*, the weekly news magazine published from Natal, in its issue dated the 22nd April relates the story of two Indian doctors having been refused permission to practise in Orlando Native Township. The Minister of Native Affairs of the Union of South Africa, Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, said that it was contrary to the policy of the Union Government to permit non-Natives to practise in Native areas.

The two doctors, Dr. A. B. Kazi and Dr. Z. E. Asrat, however, had earlier obtained permission in terms of the Urban Areas Act from the Johannesburg City Council to practise in the township but the Minister refused to grant such permission.

The *Indian Opinion* writes: "At a recent meeting of the Orlando Advisory Board the Native members complained that doctors were badly needed in the township. They passed a resolution asking the City Council to reconsider the decision. The Medical Association is investigating the matter."

Such is the way of democracy in the mid-twentieth century white civilisation of the Union of South Africa.

Indian Shops and Barbed Wire

The *Indian Opinion* writes on the 29th April: "The following report appeared (with a diagram) on the front page of the *Rand Daily Mail* on April 23. The newspaper deserves praise for giving full publicity to this case of rank injustice.

'A sturdy, three-hundred-yard-long barbed wire fence was put up at Badplaas this week. It has the effect of making it difficult for Whites to deal at two Indian shops near the Government Mineral Baths.'

'At the same time the Transvaal provincial authorities have gazetted a notice proclaiming the road from the shops to the baths closed and opening a new road on the other side of the fence.'

'The business of the Indians has fallen, but there is

still a trickle of buying over the fence. Even nine strands of barbed wire has not stopped that. The fence cuts across the road that used to serve the shops and passes within two feet of one of them. Now orders are shouted over the fence and the goods brought out.

The building of the fence, in a way, also operates as a kind of "Group Areas Act." The Act could not be applied to the Indian shops at Badplaas, and no applications similar to those in other Transvaal towns, had been brought against them. The reason is that the Indians are nearly half-a-mile from the town on privately-owned ground.

The first shot in the campaign came two years ago, when the main road from Barberton was rebuilt, skirting the Indian shops and allowing access to the baths by a new road. But business went on.

A year later the Mineral Baths Committee erected corrugated iron road blocks on the old road. They were removed by the owner of the land, and no dispute was raised. This week the fence went up. Business is still going on.

Since the new road was made eight people have been killed in motor accidents on the sharp turn, almost right angled, into the town itself—five Europeans and three Natives.

The old gently curving road into the town had stood for 70 years. It was included in the farm when President Kruger donated Badplaas to the Transvaal Government. The shops were built in 1931 and have done substantial business with Europeans.

Mrs. C. M. Cross, a well-known farmer in the area for the past 55 years and a customer at the store of one of the Indians since her arrival in the district, said that the erection of the fence was rather like the erection of a prisoners-of-war camp. "I now have a mile-and-a-half detour for my shopping and to collect goods offloaded at the store by the railway bus. I think this action is absolutely ridiculous. It is unnecessary and of no advantage to anybody."

Russo-Yugoslav Rapprochement

After seven years of strained relationship between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia became normal again with the signing in Belgrade of a joint declaration by the representatives of two Governments.

With the expulsion of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia from the Information Bureau of the (nine) Communist Parties of Europe (commonly alluded to as the Cominform) in June, 1948 for the "crime" of differing from the orthodox Soviet views on the development of socialist agriculture in Yugoslavia, the relations of Yugoslavia with Soviet Union as with other Eastern European democracies, even on a purely diplomatic and commercial level, had become untenable, as a result of which all intercourse amongst the nations had completely ceased. The relations became unbelievably hostile and recriminating. After Stalin's death however some changes in Soviet attitude toward Yugoslavia became perceptible and the present rapprochement was the result.

The Leader of the Soviet Delegation to Yugoslavia for normalization of the relations between the two countries admitted in a speech at the Belgrade airport on May 26 that the treatment accorded to Yugoslavia had been all wrong and apologised for the injustice done to Yugoslavia. The Soviet leader Mr. Khruschev ascribed the bad relations to the machinations of the late Laventri P. Beria and others. He said :

"It is our profound conviction that the time when our relations were clouded has gone. On our part we are willing to do everything necessary to remove all obstacles impeding the complete normalization of relations between our states and the consolidation of friendly relations between our people."

The New York Times Moscow correspondent writes that Western observers in Moscow were astonished by Mr. Khruschev's statement. The reasons for the surprise, according to him, were :

"The completeness of Mr. Khruschev's apology to Marshal Tito for what happened in 1948 when Yugoslavia was expelled from the Cominform was unexpected."

"The declaration that Laventri P. Beria, the former Soviet security chief who was executed in 1953, and his henchmen were responsible for the bad relations that developed between the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia was completely unexpected. Nothing of that kind had ever been suggested before."

The joint declaration noted the "spirit of friendship and mutual understanding" in which the discussions had taken place. It spoke of the agreement of the two governments to take further measures for normalizing their relations and said that the two governments had proceeded from the principles of :

"Respect for sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and equality between the states in their relations and in relations with other states ;

"Recognition and development of peaceful co-existence between nations, irrespective of ideological differences and differences in social systems, which implies co-operation of all states in the sphere of international relations in general and economic and cultural relations in particular ;

"Mutual respect and non-interference in internal affairs for any reason—economic, political or ideological—inasmuch as questions of the internal structure, difference in social systems and difference in concrete forms of the development of socialism are exclusively a matter for the peoples of the respective countries;

"Development of bilateral and international economic co-operation and the elimination of all the factors in economic relations which hamper trade and impede the development of the productive forces in the world and within the bounds of national economies;

"Discontinuation of any form of propaganda and misinformation and other actions which spread mistrust and in one way or another hamper the creation of an atmosphere for constructive international co-operation and peaceful co-existence among the nations ;

"Condemnation of any aggression and any attempt to establish political and economic domination over other countries;

"Recognition of the fact that the policy of military blocs aggravates international tension, undermines confidence between the nations and increases the danger of war."

Economic ties between the two countries would be strengthened and economic co-operation expanded for which necessary steps would be taken. A cultural convention on cultural co-operation would be concluded with a view to developing cultural relations. A convention would also be concluded regarding an information service, which would ensure accurate and objective information to the people of the two countries, "in the spirit of the resolutions of the United Nations and on the basis of reciprocity as regards the status and privileges of the agencies of this service on the territory of each contracting party."

The Declaration also contained the agreement of the two governments to establish mutual co-operation in the peaceful uses of atomic energy.

A treaty would be concluded with the object of settling questions of citizenship or correspondingly of repatriation of citizens of one of the contracting parties who were on the territory of the other party. The governments further "agreed on the necessity of guaranteeing the rights and protection of the citizens of one party on the territory of the other, understanding by this also the right of citizens to retain the citizenship which they had prior to the arrival on the territory of the other contracting party."

The U.S.S.R. delegation to Yugoslavia consisted of M. Nikita S. Khruschev as the leader, Premier N. A. Bulganin, Deputy Premier, Anastas I. Mikoyan, M. D. T. Shepilov, editor-in-chief of the *Pravda* and Chairman of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the Soviet Nationalities of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Deputy Foreign Minister A. A. Gromyko and the Deputy Minister of Foreign Trade, P. N. Kumykin.

Yugoslavia was represented by President Tito, Edwarl Kardelj, Alexander Rankovic and Svetozar Vukancovic-Tempo, all the three being Vice-Chairmen of the Federal Executive Vece (FEV) and several others.

On the eve of the Soviet-Yugoslav negotiations President Tito reiterated Yugoslavia's desire for continued co-operation with the West. Apparently on Yugoslav invitation representatives of the three Western Powers, Britain, France and the U.S.A. held discussions with Yugoslav Government in Belgrade from June 24 to 27. The discussions were on the amicable level and discussed mainly aims and method of Russian strategy in Europe.

Survey of American Economic Life

The United States had a productive economic system easily capable of attaining by 1960 a total national output of \$414,000 million, making possible an

average family income of more than \$6,000 per year, reveals a five-year economic study entitled *America's Needs and Resources: New Survey* by J. Frederic Dewhurst and Associates.

Among the findings of the survey were the following, the USIS reports:

"American productivity is increasing so rapidly that if present rates continue in another century, the U.S. will be able to produce as much in one seven-hour day as it now produces in a forty-hour week.

"During the past century the U.S. rate of output has risen so fast that the average worker today produces nearly six times as much in an hour as the average worker did in 1850.

"At the present rate of growth, the United States will have a population of 177 million by 1960.

"While American productivity has steadily gone up, working hours have steadily gone down, from an average of 70 hours per week in 1850 to the forty-hour week of today.

"Leisure time for recreation for the average employed American has nearly doubled since 1900 and seems likely to increase still further."

The total manufacturing capacity of the United States had roughly doubled since 1940 and continued to expand.

The study concludes with the following words:

"The fabulous increase in output per man-hour over the past century and the marked lead which the United States holds . . . have not been achieved by working harder or more skilfully. The causes have been the steady expansion of our productive plant and our technological progress in devising superior techniques and processes and more and better machinery to multiply human effort through the use of vast amounts of inanimate energy."

There was, however, a decline in the national income of the United States in 1954. Compared with \$305,000 million in 1953 the national income in 1954 stood at \$300,000 million. Wage-earners and salaried employees of business and industry however continued to get a larger share of the national income. Their share reached a record high of 69.1 per cent in 1954.

The following table gives a percentage distribution of U.S. national income in 1929, 1939, 1953 and 1954:

	1929	1939	1953	1954
	%	%	%	%
Compensation of employees	58.2	66.1	68.6	69.1
Unincorporated business and professional men				
Farm proprietors	6.8	5.9	4.0	4.0
Rental income of persons	6.2	3.7	3.5	3.6
Corporate profit before taxes	11.5	7.8	12.6	11.7
Net interest				
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

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WHITHER UNIVERSITIES?

By DR. P. J. CHAUDHURY, M.A., Ph.D.,

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A study of the history of the Indian universities reveals their progress in three directions. First, towards assuming responsibilities of teaching, especially higher courses (B.A. Honours and Post-graduate) and of organising research work; secondly, towards freedom from State control in the matter of internal administration of the finances, appointment and promotion of the staff and of general policy; thirdly, towards greater democracy with more powers coming to be vested in the teachers. Now these features are encouraging from several aspects and it is expected that they will reach their perfection in a few years. This seems to be the only natural course for our universities to follow and it is of no use to find fault with it. Yet one cannot forbear pointing out certain clear defects of this course of development. These defects may be overbalanced by the virtues of this irresistible movement, still an acquaintance with the former side may sober down one's excessive jubilation over the latter side. A correct representation of the state of affairs and a just estimation of it is necessary at any event, at least for the sake of truth and mental clarity if not for any practical gain. With this attitude of mind we proceed to lay our fingers on some of the more glaring defects of the present course of development in the universities.

The first feature of the universities is their assuming responsibilities of teaching and organising research besides examining. This certainly is a good feature. But in the manner this responsibility has been actually realised so far by the several universities it ceases to be an unmixed good. So far as a university has taken up direct responsibility of the Honours and Post-graduate teaching and of research work in the science subjects and so far as it supervises to some extent the teaching in the affiliated colleges it is good. But so far as it takes up teaching of arts subjects in the higher classes and so far as these classes are big (as is the case of the universities of the big cities) its performance is not all for the good. The reasons are the following:

First: The students do not develop any sense of joy and responsibility of corporate life and loyalty to some ideal embodied in some concrete shape unless they belong to an institution for at least four years at a stretch and unless their number is such (below certain limit) as to give each student a feeling that he really counts and belongs to it. In a big university

college these conditions are seldom realised. The students, in such an institution, therefore, do not imbibe any spirit of responsibility and loyalty and this tells upon their character and conduct and ~~also~~ explains their frequent indisciplined outbreaks. This does not generally happen in the case of science students whose number is usually less and who grow a team-spirit through their practical-work in the laboratories where they have ample opportunity to know one another, their teachers and their privileges as well as obligations. In any case the university cannot be blamed for its organising central teaching in science at the higher stage for this has to be done; the cost of laboratory equipment is too large to advise having more than one college in a city for this teaching.

Secondly: In teaching arts subjects like literature, philosophy, economics or history the teacher has to use more of his power of clear thinking and expression to be really helpful to the students. Teaching of science subjects is easier in this respect for these matters are more or less clear to start with, science being more or less descriptive and systematic. So that a big class in arts subjects at the higher stage is not advisable and it means much waste in communication. A teacher who has to shout while lecturing tends to be mechanical and the students too in such circumstances sink into a low state of intellectual sensitivity. Moreover, they cannot ask questions in the class and discuss intricate matters with the teacher. An arts class of the senior students should not contain more than fifteen of them to ensure effective teaching. Science classes are usually small, the limit to their capacity being exercised by the amount of laboratory equipment. So the problem usually does not arise there. And then it is possible to teach effectively a much bigger science class than an arts one as indicated above.

Thirdly: Centralising teaching of higher classes in one institution only, generally under the direct management of the university, denies a good many bright young teachers in different colleges the experience of teaching these classes, and, so, the ~~many~~ opportunities of developing themselves. The central teaching is managed mostly by the veterans who, no doubt, deserve this monopoly; but in certain respects the younger group might be more helpful to the students. Most of them have more vitality and

human interest in their work and are popular with the students. The veterans, with their superior wisdom and experience, usually tend to be a bit mechanical in their teaching. This is but natural when we consider the circumstances, that they, as a rule, teach the same subject year after year for fifteen to twenty years and generally do not refresh their knowledge with a study of the new developments in the particular subject. With age most of them become increasingly suspicious of anything new and, so, back-dated and cynical in the eyes of their youthful students and junior colleagues. Then the fact that the students cannot go over to other teachers to learn the same subject which he alone teaches in a big city and that they have to attend his class for 'percentage' as well as for notes and suggestions (for he is one of the examiners) helps his indifference to his subject and students. We, however, must point out that our generalisations are only rough. We are well aware that there are some veterans who keep up their vitality and human interest in their work and students all along while a good many young teachers do their jobs in a very mechanical and cynical fashion quite unworthy of them. For youth is spontaneity itself and a certain amount of idealism is its peculiar luxury.

What is needed then is to give a better opportunity to the deserving youthful teachers to teach higher classes and, so, to draw them into the teaching line and not drive them away from it by giving them only junior classes and, incidentally, a small pay. Most of them are lured away by the administrative services; the drudgery and hardship of a lecturer shouting to very big crowds of junior students for years together before they might have a chance in the central university to teach higher classes is too much for the idealism of many bright scholars. There should be some competitive examinations for direct recruitment of higher grade university teachers like those for administrators if we hold the education of the country as important as its administration. Teaching experience and research work should not count very much as qualifications for admission into the university as senior lecturers. For one's quality of the intellect is most important in this matter and by the time one gets a doctorate degree and gains several years' experience of teaching junior classes one may lose much of his original brilliance and zest for life and knowledge. And it is a fact that a good many scholars do not go in for a doctorate or publish books so readily as others do. To provide a good portion of our promising young teachers we should have higher teaching in more than one institution in a large city. Instead of packing all the students in one big class let them be distributed over two or three small classes in different colleges. That will also ensure better quality of teaching and also better discipline and other character-building virtues for the students, as shown before. The extra cost involved in

this procedure will not be wasted, it will give good return and at least will maintain some scholars whose number should increase in free India if she is to show some real work in the field of knowledge and culture. A free nation is judged ultimately by its contribution to knowledge and culture; a good administration and economic sufficiency are not enough for her though these are essential.

We next consider the other two features of the development of the universities, viz., their freedom from State control and their democratisation. The combined result of these has been to give more power in the hands of the teachers themselves. This is good in one respect but bad in another. For, teachers now are busy forming parties and canvassing votes and doing other things that these naturally involve. This is a distraction for them but, urged by love of worldly power and fame, many begin to love it and lose thereby their distinctive character and prestige as scholar-teachers. Thus says the *Radhakrishnan Report* (Vol. I, p. 70):

"With the introduction of democratic control and of elections in our universities there has grown a tendency among teachers to interest themselves more in the administrative affairs of the university than in their legitimate duties. We are told that in several cases teacher-politicians have succeeded better in their careers than teachers who have devoted themselves to teaching and scholarship. The success of teacher-politicians who manipulate elections and get for themselves influential and lucrative positions in their own or sister universities is largely responsible for the deterioration of the morals of teachers and of academic standards of the universities."

Teachers certainly gain some prestige in managing their administration, their finances, appointments and promotion, and of course they should be managing them in a democratic manner for greater justice, yet the price they pay for self-government and democracy is rather too heavy for them. The price is their distraction from their studies, loss of mental equanimity and of prestige in the eyes of the society which loves to think of them as a class apart, wise and just, and a bit above worldly interests. Forsaking all worldly gains and power the scholar-teachers, like the Brahmins of ancient India, can realise their peculiar riches and power. The modern university teachers are compromising their position and perhaps they should themselves hand over their new responsibilities to their administrators whom they may help as advisory experts in technical matters. "One man one job," said Plato, and the job of a scholar-teacher, if taken seriously enough, is literally endless, at least much too heavy to allow him to dabble in administration. Some teachers, if they find in them administrative abilities, may take up educational administration after their retirement from teaching but they should not, either directly or indirectly, get them

selves interested in these extra-academic matters. The separation of the teaching and the educational administration, such as is to be found in some cases (e.g., West Bengal Government Colleges) is healthy in many respects. The teacher has not got to involve himself in the business of manipulation of elections for his promotion and preferences and in party-politics which are the gifts of democracy.

We have finished our review and we can imagine how odd it may sound in the ears of the progressive readers, particularly if they are teachers themselves. But, as we have said at the outset, we do not contend that the defects of the modern movement outweigh the virtues or that we have to fight it. We have only pointed out what we feel are the defects and the issues.

generalisations we have made in the course of our discussion are all rough and tentative and open to correction. We have spoken for having smaller classes in arts subjects at the higher standards, for giving better scope to bright scholars in higher teaching and for the separation of the administration of higher education from the influence of teachers who are increasingly getting involved in extra-academic matters. We only request the educationists to consider our points and though matters may have to be allowed to take their natural course, for there may be many other factors to be considered which we have not done here, yet the points may still hold and have their value in clarifying relevant issues.

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IS OUR PLANNING BECOMING TOTALITARIAN

BY PROF. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

THE Planning Commission have recently published some preliminary papers relating to the "tentative frame-work" of the Second Five-Year Plan, for eliciting public opinion and inviting constructive suggestions on different aspects of the proposed plan. In one of the papers, Prof. Mahalanobis, Director of the Indian Statistical Institute and the Statistical Adviser to the Government of India, has submitted his "draft recommendations" for the formulation of the Second Five-Year Plan. In another paper, the panel of economists headed by Prof. D. R. Gadgil, have published "basic considerations" relating to the "plan-frame." While these tentative discussions and proposals have been welcomed in general, a few sections of public opinion have vehemently criticised the "basic approach" of Prof. Mahalanobis and other economists including Dr. V. K. R. V. Rao. *Freedom First*, which is the Organ of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, has dubbed these economists as Communists or "fellow travellers" and expressed great concern over the so-called totalitarian trends in the preparation of the Second Five-Year Plan. "This highly centralised totalitarian kind of planning," writes the Organ, "is now slowly taking place behind closed doors" with the help of "experts from the Iron Curtain countries." It is pointed out that emphasis on the building up of heavy industries would necessarily lead to "the merciless exploitation of the people and rise of the Police State." The Organ has also criticised the recent amendment of the Indian Constitution relating to the Article 31, on the ground that "the Fundamental Right to property which was enshrined in the Constitution has been destroyed." Although the writer takes note of number of recent utterances of Prime Minister Nehru to the effect that "India would not sacrifice democratic

institution at the altar of economic progress," he ends on a note of suspicion that "the dark activities of communist and near-communist statisticians and econometricians have an uncanny way of finding easy access to his (Prime Minister's) ear and mind."

It is true that Planning in modern times tends towards over-centralisation of political and economic power resulting in the curtailment of individual liberties to a considerable extent. In fact, there is a school of thought led by Prof. Hayek which regards economic planning as a "road to serfdom." But this is, surely, an extreme view. We should not lose sight of the fact that India has taken upon herself one of the greatest challenges of modern times, namely, to plan out her social and economic life under a democratic set-up through peaceful and non-violent methods. The Prime Minister has reiterated this view a number of times beyond any shadow of doubt or confusion. After his visit to China, Shri Nehru, in the course of several speeches, made it abundantly clear that although he was deeply interested in the progress of China there was absolutely no question of imitating the political and economic organisation of China. India was wedded to the methods of peace and democracy, although she did not want to interfere with the systems prevailing in other countries.

"I think that in the long run," observed Shri Nehru, "the democratic and peaceful method is more successful even from the point of view of time and much more so from the point of view of results."

The Avadi resolution on the Socialistic Pattern, while emphasising the role of the public sector, made it amply clear that "the private sector will continue to have importance," because the private sector in India

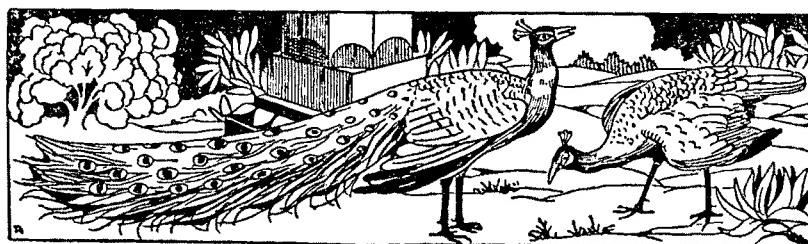
would necessarily include agriculture and small-scale and cottage industries. This point has been further clarified in the course of a recent speech of the Prime Minister in the Congress Parliamentary Party in connection with the nationalisation of the Imperial Bank. At the A.I.C.C. Session at Berhampur, Shri Nehru emphatically declared that the slogan of "nationalisation" was not going to solve India's economic problems. The basic or mother industries have to be nationalised, of course; but the consumer goods industries should be decentralised on a very wide scale in the form of co-operatives.

As the Berhampur resolution on the Second Five-Year Plan pointed out, it will be necessary to organise for a "great development of small-scale and village industries which have to play a role of crucial importance both in relation to providing fuller employment and for the purpose of ensuring an adequate supply of consumer goods." The tentative frame-work of the Second Five-Year Plan, as published by the Planning Commission, visualises co-operative effort and not collectivisation and nationalisation in the important sectors of land and village industries which would naturally constitute a substantial portion of India's economic development for many years to come. The fears regarding totalitarianism and centralisation are, therefore, unfounded and should not be allowed to cloud our vision.

We are, indeed, extremely surprised to find that the Organ of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom has attacked the recommendations of the "statisticians and economists" on the ground that the Second Five-Year Plan proposes "to reserve the new production of consumer goods for hand and cottage industries and to prevent any further expansion of factory production in that sphere." "The net result of the decision," writes the Organ, "will be the smothering of free enterprise, a famine of consumer goods and the tying down of millions of workers to primitive and soul-deadening techniques." This opposition to small and village industries makes the position of the Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom very untenable and even ludicrous. On the one hand, they oppose large-scale production

on the ground that it would result in regimentation and totalitarianism, and, on the other, they condemn village industries because their development would leave very little scope for large-scale factory production in the private sector. This clearly shows that the Indian Committee is mainly interested in the well-being of the private sector of the capitalists in the country. They are opposed both to the nationalisation of key industries as well to the expansion of small and cottage industries and desire to raise the bogey of "totalitarianism" in order to create confusion in the public mind.

Let me repeat once again that the mind of the Congress and the Government of India is not a communist or a semi-communist or totalitarian mind; it is also not a capitalist or American mind which always thinks in terms of private enterprise and regards private property as sacrosanct. India is determined to follow the path of peace, non-violence and democracy as chalked out by the Father of the Nation. We desire to abolish poverty and unemployment from this country within the next ten years through large-scale planning of small, village and cottage industries with the active help and co-operation of village Panchayats and local bodies. It is gratifying to know that the Community Projects Administration has recently decided to strengthen their activities through the organisation of Gram Panchayats as basic units of administration and planning. Our objective, therefore, is to conquer hunger and unemployment by a process of bold decentralisation of political and economic power and not by following totalitarian or regimented methods of socialist or communist countries. That is why we purposely avoided the terms "Socialism" in the Avadi resolution and used the new phrase "Socialist Pattern of Society." Our socialism would be of the Gandhian or Sarvodaya type and not of the Communist pattern. The Congress has not wanted to exploit a high ideal and a noble word for political purposes. But there is no doubt whatsoever that our ultimate ideal is the Sarvodaya Pattern of Society and not the highly-regimented and totalitarian type of State. Let there be no mistake about it.



SOME ASPECTS OF OUR CONSTITUTION

(VI) Fundamental Rights : Right to Freedom (*Continued*)

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I

In our preceding article¹ in this series we have chiefly discussed, by way of an introduction, the general question of personal freedom *vis-a-vis* social control, with special reference to the position in this regard in the United States of America and England. We shall now begin, in the light of this discussion, the consideration of the nature and extent of our Fundamental Right to Freedom as guaranteed by Articles 19, 20, 21 and 22 of our Constitution.

II

We shall first take up Article 19 of the Constitution. This Article is rightly regarded as one of the most important Articles in the Constitution. As, however, the Article is a long one and comprises as many as six clauses, we propose, for the sake of convenience, to deal with it clause by clause. But we may indicate here the plan of the Article. Clause (1) of the Article is a statement of seven specific rights of the Indian citizen. It runs as follows:

19. (1) All citizens shall have the right—
(a) to freedom of speech and expression;
(b) to assemble peacefully and without arms;
(c) to form associations or unions;
(d) to move freely throughout the territory of India;
(e) to reside and settle in any part of the territory of India;
(f) to acquire, hold and dispose of property; and
(g) to practise any profession, or to carry on any occupation, trade or business."

These rights, however, are not absolute: they are hedged about with qualifications. And Clauses (2), (3), (4), (5) and (6) of the Article, to be quoted hereinafter as occasion arises, specify the limits up to which the abridgment of the rights may be permitted and their exercise may be lawfully allowed. Thus they circumscribe, as it were, "the field of permissible restrictive legislation." As J. Das J. of the Supreme Court of India has stated:²

If there were nothing else in Article 19 these rights would have been absolute rights and the protection given to them would have completely debarred Parliament or any of the State Legislatures from making any law taking away or abridging any of these rights. But a perusal of Article 19 makes it abundantly clear that none of the seven rights enunciated in Clause (1)³ is an absolute right, for

each of these rights is liable to be curtailed by laws made or to be made by the State to the extent mentioned in the several Clauses (2) to (6) of that article. Those clauses save the power of the State to make laws imposing certain specified restrictions on the several rights. The nett (sic) result is that the unlimited legislative power given by Article 246 (of the Constitution) read with the different legislative lists in the Seventh Schedule (to the Constitution) is cut down by the provisions of Article 19, and all laws made by the State with respect to these rights must, in order to be valid, observe these limitations. Whether any law has, in fact, transgressed these limitations is to be ascertained by the Court and if in its view the restrictions imposed by the law are greater than what is permitted by Clauses (2) to (6) whichever is applicable, the Court will declare the same to be unconstitutional and, therefore, void under Article 13⁴ (of the Constitution). Here . . . there is scope for the application of the 'intellectual yardstick' of the Court. If, however, the Court finds, on scrutiny, that the law has not overstepped the constitutional limitations, the Court will have to uphold the law, whether it likes the law or not."

III

We shall now, first, deal with Clause (1)(a) of Article 19 which declares, as shown before, that "all citizens shall have the right to freedom of speech and expression." The exercise of this basic right of individual freedom, however, is subject to the requirements of Clause (2) of Article 19, which, as it stands today, lays down:

"Nothing in sub-clause (a) of Clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law, or prevent the State from making any law, in so far as such law imposes reasonable restrictions on the exercise of the right conferred by the said sub-clause in the interests of the security of the State, friendly relations with foreign States, public order, decency or morality, or in relation to contempt of court, defamation or incitement to an offence."

Now, what does the expression "freedom of speech and expression" in Clause (1)(a) really mean? Does it also include what is compendiously referred to as the "freedom of the Press"? As will appear from what follows, it does. There was an interesting discussion of this point in the Constituent Assembly of India when Article 13 of the Draft Constitution of India, corresponding to Article 19 of the Constitution of India, was considered by the Constituent Assembly.⁵ It was held by one member⁶ of the

¹ See in *The Modern Review* for May, 1955.

² K. Gopalan v. The State of Madras, *The Supreme Court of India, 1950*, Vol. 1, Parts II & III, April and May,

Article 19.

⁴ See in this connexion my article in *The Modern Review* for November, 1954, pp. 377-82.

⁵ See the *Constituent Assembly Debates* of 1st and 2nd December, 1948.

Assembly that Article 13, as then worded, appeared "to have been clumsily drafted," that it made "one significant omission" and that was "about the freedom of the press"; and that it seemed "desirable and proper, therefore, that the freedom of the Press should be mentioned separately and explicitly." Another member was "amazed" that such "a very glaring omission" had taken place in the Draft Constitution of India as "the leaving out" of the expression "the freedom of the Press." He could not imagine why the draftsmen, so experienced and so seasoned, should have felt it desirable to leave out the freedom of the Press, and leave to the charity of the administrators of the Constitution when occasion arose to include it by convention or implication, and not by express provision."

This criticism appears to have been based on a misconception of the expression "freedom of speech and expression" in the Draft Constitution. As it was rightly pointed by another member,⁸ "freedom of expression" also meant the freedom of the Press. And Dr. B. R. Ambedkar clenched the issue when he said:⁹

"The Press is merely another way of stating an individual or a citizen. The Press has no special rights which are not to be given or which are not to be exercised by the citizen in his individual capacity. The editor of a Press or the manager are all citizens (*sic*) and therefore when they choose to write in newspapers, they are merely exercising their right of expression, and in my judgment therefore no special mention is necessary of the freedom of the Press at all."

As we have seen before,¹⁰ this is also, in effect, the position of the Press¹¹ in English constitutional law.

We also find a virtual endorsement of the view of Dr. Ambedkar in the Report of the (Indian) Press Commission, 1954.

"The expression 'freedom of the Press,'" says the Report,¹² "has been understood in various senses¹³ by different persons. It has not been defined or referred to in the Constitution. Article 19 of the Constitution deals with one of the fundamental rights, *viz.*, right to different kinds of freedoms, and Clause (1)(a) thereof says:

'All citizens shall have the right—(a) to freedom of speech and expression.'

6. Shri Damodar Swarup Seth (U.P.: General).

7. Prof. K. T. Shah (Bihar: General).

8. Shri M. Ananthasayanan Ayyangar (Madras: General).

9. Constituent Assembly Debates, 2nd December, 1948, 780.

10. See *The Modern Review* for May, 1955, pp. 368-69.

11. "By 'press' is meant generally, though not exclusively, newspapers and periodicals."—Wade in Dicey's *Law of the Constitution*, 9th Ed., p. 585.

12. See *Report of the Press Commission*, Part I, 1954, New Delhi, p. 357.

13. See *ibid.*, pp. 357-58.

"This freedom is stated in wide terms and includes not only freedom of speech which manifests itself by oral utterance, but freedom of expression, whether such expression is communicated by written word or printed matter. Thus freedom of the Press, particularly of newspapers and periodicals, is a species of which the freedom of expression is a genus. There can, therefore, be no doubt that freedom of the Press is included in the fundamental right of the freedom of expression guaranteed to the citizens under Article 19(1)(a) of the Constitution."

And we find in the judgment of our Supreme Court in *Romesh Thapar v. The State of Madras* that "there can be no doubt that freedom of speech and expression includes freedom of propagation of ideas, and that freedom is ensured by the freedom of circulation." The Supreme Court approvingly quotes in this connexion an extract from an American judgment¹⁴ to say:

"Liberty of circulation is as essential to that freedom¹⁵ as the liberty of publication. Indeed, without circulation the publication would be of little value."

Thus the expression "freedom of speech and expression" has a much wider meaning than what appears on the face of it.

Before, however, we deal with Clause (2) of Article 19 as it stands today, we should like to say a few words about its history. Originally it did not exist in its present form. It was substituted, with a retrospective effect, by Section 3 of the Constitution (First Amendment) Act, 1951, for the original Clause 2 of Article 19, which ran as follows:

"19.(2) Nothing in sub-clause (a) of Clause (1) shall affect the operation of any existing law in so far as it relates to, or prevent the State from making any law relating to, libel, slander, defamation, contempt of court or any matter which offends against decency or morality or which undermines the security of, or tends to overthrow, the State."

It may be noticed from this provision that the permissible legislative restrictions on the right of freedom of speech and expression were originally, as the Press Commission has rightly pointed out,¹⁷ only "in respect of libel, slander, defamation, contempt of court, offences against decency or morality, and offences against the security of the State." The replacement of the original Clause (2) by a new Clause (2) was, it appears, necessitated by certain judicial decisions¹⁸—particularly by the judgments¹⁹ of

14. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. VI, August, 1950, p. 597.

15. *Ex parte Jackson* (96 U. S. 727)—See

16. *I.e.*, freedom of speech and expression. Publis

17. *Report of the Press Commission*, Part I. See A

18. In *Romesh Thapar v. The State of Delhi* (the 294. India), Master Tara Singh's case and *Amar Nath* of Ar

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our Supreme Court, delivered on 26th May, 1950, in *Romesh Thappar v. The State of Madras and Brij Bhushan and Another v. The State of Delhi*, as well as by the (majority) judgment²⁰ of the Special Bench of the Patna High Court, delivered on 13th October, 1950, in the matter of the Bharati Press. As a result of these judicial decisions, certain laws or certain provisions of certain laws, however valid they might have been before the Constitution of India came into force, became unconstitutional and, therefore, null and void as they were found to be inconsistent with some of our Fundamental Rights.²¹ Thus, for instance, in the *Romesh Thappar* case the Supreme Court declared, on 26th May, 1950, Section 9(1-A) of the Madras Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1949, as "wholly unconstitutional and void."²² Further, the Supreme Court made a clear distinction in this case between legislation for "the maintenance of the security of the State" and legislation for the "maintenance of public order."²³ In delivering the judgment of the majority²⁴ of the Judges in the case, Patanjali Sastri J. stated,²⁵ among other things:

"The Constitution (of India), in formulating the varying criteria for permissible legislation imposing restrictions on the fundamental rights enumerated in Article 19(1), has placed in a distinct category those offences against public order which aim at undermining the security of the State or overthrowing it, and made their prevention the sole justification for legislative abridgment of freedom of speech and expression, that is to say, nothing less than endangering the foundations of the State or threatening its overthrow could justify curtailment of the rights to freedom of speech and expression . . . The differentiation is also noticeable in Entry 3 of List III (Concurrent List) of the Seventh Schedule, which refers to the 'security of a State' and 'maintenance of public order' as distinct subjects of legislation. The Constitution thus requires a line to be drawn in the field of public order or tranquillity marking off, may be, roughly, the boundary between those serious and aggravated forms of public disorder which are calculated to endanger the security of

of Punjab (the Punjab High Court), The Bharati Press: Sm. Shaila Bala Devi v. The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar (the Patna High Court), and in Bynes v. The State of Madras (the Madras High Court).—See Parliamentary Debates (Parliament of India) Official Report, 18th May, 1951.

19. See The Supreme Court Reports, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August 1950, pp. 594-620.

20. In the matter of the Bharati Press: Sm. Shaila Bala Devi v. The Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar—A.I.R. (38) Patna 12, 1951: Special Bench.

21. See Parliamentary Debates, India, 18th May, 1951.

22. See The Supreme Court Reports, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950, pp. 594-603.

23. Parliamentary Debates, India, 18th May, 1951; also Report of the Press Commission, Part I, 1954, pp. 361-62.

24. Consisting of Kanai C. J., Patanjali Sastri, Mehr Chand Mahajan, Mukherjee, and Dns J.J., Fazl Ali J. dissenting.

25. The Supreme Court Reports, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August 1950, pp. 601-603.

the State and the relatively minor breaches of the peace of a purely local significance, treating for this purpose differences in degree as if they were differences in kind. It is also worthy of note that the word 'sedition' which occurred in Article 13(2)²⁶ of the Draft Constitution prepared by the Drafting Committee was deleted before the article was finally passed as Article 19(2) . . . Deletion of the word 'sedition' from the draft Article 13(2).

. . . shows that criticism of Government exciting disaffection or bad feelings towards it is not to be regarded as a justifying ground for restricting the freedom of expression and of the Press, unless it is such as to undermine the security of, or tend to overthrow, the State."

"Thus," continued Patanjali Sastri J., "very narrow and stringent limits have been set to permissible legislative abridgement of the right of free speech and expression, and this was doubtless due to the realization that freedom of speech and of the Press lay at the foundation of all democratic organisations, for without free political discussion no public education, so essential for the proper functioning of the processes of popular government, is possible. A freedom of such amplitude might involve risks of abuse. But the framers of the Constitution may well have reflected, with Madison who was 'the leading spirit in the preparation of the First Amendment of the Federal Constitution,' that 'it is better to leave a few of its noxious branches to their luxuriant growth, than, by pruning them away, to injure the vigour of those yielding the proper fruits'."²⁷

"We are therefore of opinion," said²⁸ Patanjali Sastri J. finally, "that unless a law restricting freedom of speech and expression is directed solely against the undermining of the security of the State or the overthrow of it, such law cannot fall within the reservation under Clause (2) of Article 19, although the restrictions which it seeks to impose may have been conceived generally in the interests of public order."²⁹ It follows that Section 9(1-A) (of the Madras Maintenance of Public Order Act, 1949), which authorises imposition of restrictions for the wider purpose of securing public safety or the maintenance of public order falls outside the scope of authorised restrictions under Clause (2) (of Article 19), and is therefore void and unconstitutional . . . Where a law purports to authorise the imposition of restrictions on a fundamental right in language wide enough to cover restrictions both within and without the limits of constitutionally permissible legislative action affecting such right, it is not possible to uphold it even so far as it may be applied within

26. Corresponding to Article 19(2) of the Constitution of India.

27. Quoted in *Near v. Minnesota*: 233 U.S. 697 (1931).

28. The Supreme Court Reports, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950, pp. 602-603.

29. "Public Order," observed Patanjali Sastri J., "is an expression of wide connotation and signifies that state of tranquillity which prevails among the members of a political society as a result of the internal regulations enforced by the government which they have established."—*Ibid.*, p. 598.

the constitutional limits, as it is not severable. So long as the possibility of its being applied for purposes not sanctioned by the Constitution cannot be ruled out, it must be held to be wholly unconstitutional and void. In other words, Clause (2) of Article 19 having allowed the imposition of restrictions on the freedom of speech and expression only in cases where danger to the State is involved, an enactment, which is capable of being applied to cases where no such danger could arise, cannot be held to be constitutional and valid to any extent."

This judicial pronouncement along with the judgment³⁰ of the Supreme Court in *Brij Bhushan and Another v. The State of Delhi* which was materially influenced by its judgment in the *Romesh Thapar* case, had far-reaching legal implications as, under Article 141 of our Constitution, the law declared by the Supreme Court is "binding on all courts within the territory of India." Thus we find Sarjoo Prasad observing in the course of his judgment in the *matter of the Bharati Press*³¹ referred to before:

"I am compelled to observe that from the above discussions of the Supreme Court judgments (in the *Romesh Thapar* case and the *Brij Bhushan* case), it follows logically that if a person were to go on inciting murder or other cognizable offences either through the Press or by word of mouth, he would be free to do so without impunity inasmuch as he would claim the privilege of exercising his fundamental right of freedom of speech and expression. Any legislation which seeks or would seek to curb this right of the person concerned would not be saved under Article 19(2) of the Constitution and would have to be declared void. This would be so, because such speech or expression on the part of the individual would fall neither under libel nor slander nor defamation nor contempt of Court nor any matter which offends against decency or morality or which undermines the security of or tends to overthrow the State. I cannot with equanimity contemplate such an anomalous situation but the conclusion appears to be unavoidable on the authority of the Supreme Court judgments with (sic) which we are bound. I, therefore, wish that my decision on the point would sooner than ever come to be tested by the Supreme Court itself and the position re-examined in the light of the anomalous situation pointed out above."

Ramaswami J. also stated³² in the course of his judgment in the case under consideration that, although the different categories of offences in Indian criminal law did "overlap to a certain extent," yet "it is plain that the offences of murder and of violence form a distinct category from offences which tend to overthrow or undermine the security of the State."

30. Judgment, again, of the majority consisting of Kania C. J., Patanjali Sastri, Mehr Chand Mahajan, Mukherjee and Das JJ., Fazl Ali J., dissenting.

31. See A.I.R. (38) 1951, Patna 12, Special Bench.

32. See *ibid.*

A substantially similar view was expressed later on by Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Minister of Law, in the Parliament of India. Referring to the situation created by the judicial decisions we have mentioned above, Dr. Ambedkar said in Parliament on 18th May, 1951:³³

"What I want to ask the House to consider is, what is the effect of these decisions of the Supreme Court and the various High Courts in the States? . . . Under the decisions of the Provincial High Courts to which I had (have?) referred it is now open to anybody to incite, encourage, tend to incite or encourage, the commission of any offence of murder or any cognisable offence involving violence. The one question that I would like the House to consider is this. Is it a satisfactory position that any person should now be free to incite or encourage the commission of offences of murder or any cognisable offence involving violence? I want the House to consider this matter dispassionately. Is it a desirable state of affairs that our Constitution should leave us in this desperate position that we could not control the right of free speech which has been granted by Clause (1) of Article 19 and it should be so unlimited that any person should be free to preach murder or the commission of any cognisable offence? I have tried to put the matter in a nutshell. That is the position."

He added:

"The same thing has now occurred with regard to the public safety laws or the laws made by the various States for the maintenance of public order, because they also have been held by the Supreme Court to be not open to any limitation by virtue of the Constitution. The Supreme Court has made a distinction between the security of the State and the maintenance of public order. They say that it may be open for Parliament to make a law for the security of the State but it is not open to Parliament to make a law for the maintenance of public order. There again I wish the House to consider the matter seriously. Is the House prepared to allow the right of freedom of speech and expression to be so untrammelled, to be so unfettered, that any man can say anything and go scot-free, although such speech creates public disorder? If the judgments of the Supreme Court and the High Courts stand as they are, then the only consequence that follows is that we shall never be able to make a law, which would restrict the freedom of speech in the interests of public order and that we shall never be able to make a law which would put a restraint upon incitement to violence."

In view of what we have shown above, there should not be any reasonable doubt that there was, after the judicial pronouncements we have referred to before, a very strong case for the amendment of Clause (2) of Article 19 as it originally stood. But

33. See *Parliamentary Debates (India: Official Report)*, 18th May, 1951, pp. 9008-9010.

whether the amendment should have taken the exact form it actually did, is a matter on which there may be some legitimate difference of opinion. Before, however, we deal with this point, it may perhaps be interesting to note here the remarks of the Supreme Court on the observations of Sarjoo Prosad J. which we have quoted before. The decision of the majority of the Special Bench of the Patna High Court in the *matter of the Bharati Press* which had allowed the application of the petitioner Sm. Shailabala Devi³⁴ against the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bihar, had been carried by the State of Bihar to the Supreme Court by way of appeal. In the course of this judgment in this appeal case in which Patanjali Sastri, Mukherjea, Das, and Bose JJ. concurred, Mahajan J. remarked,³⁵ with reference to the observations of Sarjoo Prosad J. mentioned before:

"These observations—I speak with great respect—disclose a complete lack of understanding of the precise scope of the two decisions of this Court referred to above (*i.e.*, the decisions in the *Romesh Thappar* case and the *Brij Bhushan* case). . . . It is plain that speeches or expressions on the part of an individual which incite to or encourage the commission of violent crimes, such as murder, cannot but be matters which would undermine the security of the State and come within the ambit of a law sanctioned by Article 19(2) of the Constitution. I cannot help observing that the decisions of this Court in 'Romesh Thappar's case' . . . and in 'Brij Bhushan's case' . . . have been more than once misapplied and misunderstood . . . The deduction that a person would be free to incite to murder or other cognizable offence through the Press with impunity drawn from our decision in 'Romesh Thappar's case' . . . could easily have been avoided as it was avoided by Shearer J."³⁶

With all due deference to His Lordship, we find it rather difficult to agree with this view. On the other hand, we feel that there is a good deal of force in the following remarks³⁷ of the majority of the Press Commission of which Sri Justice G. S. Rajadhyaksha was the Chairman:

"It has been argued that the Constitution (of India) was amended in somewhat 'indecent haste'—without waiting to see whether the Supreme Court

upheld the view of the Patna High Court in the *Bharati Press* case, and that if they (*sic*) had waited, there would have been no necessity to amend the Constitution, as the Patna High Court's view, which was the immediate occasion for taking up the amendment of the Constitution, was rejected by the Supreme Court. We are not sure that this argument is altogether correct. It is true that the Supreme Court did disapprove the observations of Sarjoo Prosad J. Their Lordships said that their earlier decision in *Romesh Thappar's case* . . . and *Brij Bhushan's case* . . . had been misapplied and misunderstood and proceeded to observe: 'It is plain that speeches or expression, on the part of an individual which incite to or encourage commission of violent crimes, such as murder cannot but be matters which would undermine the security of the State and come within the ambit of law sanctioned by Article 19(2) of the Constitution.' Having already drawn a distinction between the 'security of State' and 'public order' and having stated that 'nothing less than endangering (the) foundation of the State or threatening its overthrow could justify curtailment of the right to freedom of speech and expression,' it is difficult to see, with the utmost respect to their Lordships, how incitement by any individual in a remote village to commit a violent crime, such as murder out of personal spite, is likely to undermine the security of the State . . . (Their) interpretation, though it may have granted constitutional validity under the original Article 19(2) of the Constitution to legislation restricting freedom of speech with regard to 'aggravated forms of prejudicial activity' or even 'commission of a violent crime like murder which would undermine the security of State,' . . . still left uncovered the large field of 'public order' and incitement to other and not so aggravated forms of crimes which did not endanger the security of State—such as incitement to the commission of offences of robbery, dacoity, rioting and a host of others. In our opinion, therefore, the decision of the Supreme Court in *Shailabala's case* would not have dispensed with the necessity of amending Article 19(2) of the Constitution. Indeed, in the (?) *Shailabala's case* itself the Supreme Court has finally relied³⁸ on the retrospective effect given to the new amendment in upholding the validity of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931 . . . The Supreme Court judgment does not do away with the necessity for the amendment."

We agree with this view³⁹ of the majority of the

34. Keeper of the Bharati Press at Purulia. On 8th September, 1949, the Governor of Bihar had, in the "exercise of the powers conferred" upon him by the Press (Emergency Powers) Act of 1931, ordered Sm. Shaila Bala Devi "to make a deposit of Rs. 2000 with the Deputy Commissioner of Manbhumi."—A.I.R. (38) 1951 (12): *Special Bench*.

35. A.I.R. 1952 Supreme Court 329: *The State of Bihar, Appellant v. Shrimati Shailabala Devi, Respondent*

36. Shearer J. of the Patna High Court did not agree with the judgment of the majority of the Special Bench (Sarjoo Prosad and Ramaswami JJ.) in the *matter of the Bharati Press*.—A.I.R. (38) 1951 Patna 12, *Special Bench*.

37. See the *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954, para 969 and 981.

38. Reference here is to the following observation of Mahajan J. in *The State of Bihar v. Shailabala Devi*: "Be that as it may, the matter is now concluded by the language of the amendment Article 19(2) made by the Constitution (First Amendment) Act (1951) which is retrospective in operation, and the decision of the High Court on this point cannot be sustained."—A.I.R. 1952 Supreme Court 329.

39. *I.e.*, the view held by seven out of eleven members of the Press Commission.

Press Commission, and not with the view⁴⁰ of the minority of the Commission that "the decision of the Supreme Court in *Shailabala* case knocked out the major premise for Government's case for amending the Constitution." As we have indicated before, we feel that the judgments of the Supreme Court in the *Ramेश Thapar* case and the *Brijbushan* case created some big—and we may add, dangerous—lacunae in our system of laws, and much mischief might be committed if these lacunae were not duly filled up by a suitable constitutional amendment. How lies the main justification of the amendment of 1951 so far as *freedom of speech and expression* concerned.

Let us now analyse the new amendment. It may be noticed that under it, as compared with Clause (2) of Article 19 as it originally stood, the additional heads in respect of which legislative restrictions can be imposed on the right of freedom of speech and expression are (1) 'friendly relations with foreign States,' (2) 'public order,' and (3) 'incitement to an offence.' We shall first deal with the heads 'public order' and 'incitement to an offence.' In a sense these two heads are mutually complementary. Some persons have objected to the use of the expression 'public order' or the ground⁴¹ that it is capable 'of a multiplicity of interpretations,' or 'of the widest possible definition.' We are unable to agree with this view fully, although we admit that there is some force in it. According to our Supreme Court, 'public order' signifies⁴² that state of tranquillity which prevails among the members of a political society as a result of the internal regulations enforced by the government which they have established. This meaning of 'public order' substantially agrees with a view of 'order' we find in John Stuart Mill.⁴³ "Order," he has said, "means the preservation of peace by the cessation of private violence. Order is said to exist where the people of the country have, as a general rule, ceased to prosecute their quarrels by private force, and acquired the habit of referring the decision of their disputes and the redress of their injuries to the public authorities." Order in this sense is a prerequisite of good government and a condition of progress. No civilised society can properly function without this peace or order. It is also worthy of note here that the expression 'public order' has occurred in Clauses (3) and (4) of Article 19 of our Constitution from its very commencement on the 26th of January,

1950. Besides, in some other civilised countries like, for instance, Eire and the Union of Burma, the exercise of what is deemed as fundamental rights is generally subject, directly or indirectly, to the requirements of *public order* and morality. In some countries, again, as in Mexico, the term actually used is 'public peace.' There is, however, hardly any difference, in essence, between the implications of the two terms 'public peace' and 'public order,' although the latter appears to be an expression of wider connotation. Moreover, in our preceding article in this series we have seen the position in law, so far as the right to freedom of speech and expression is concerned, in the United States of America and England. As the majority of the Press Commission have rightly observed, the Supreme Court of the United States "would uphold any law which purported to punish utterances inimical to public welfare, tending to incite crime or to disturb the public peace."⁴⁴ And, finally, we find in Article 29 of *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights* proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 10th December, 1948:

"Article 29. (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, *public order and the general welfare in a democratic society*.⁴⁵

Thus we find that 'public order' or 'public peace' is a generally accepted juristic expression. We, therefore, do not think that there should be any serious objection to the retention of the expression 'public order' in Clause (2) of Article 19 as it stands today. Nor do we think that the substitution⁴⁶ of the expression "for the prevention of public disorder" for the expression "in the interests of public order" in the said Clause (2) would be an improvement upon the present position. It would then create the problem of defining the word 'disorder' as a legal term.

40. I.e., the view held by four out of eleven members of the Press Commission. See paras 1141-43 of the *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954.

It may also be noted in this connexion that in the following States of the United States of America a citizen may freely speak, write, or publish whatever he wills on any subject, being, however, responsible for the abuse of this liberty: Maine, Rhode Island, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, Iowa, Nevada, Illinois, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Oregon, California, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Texas, Virginia, Colorado, and Kentucky.—See Cooley, *Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., pp. 596-99.

45. The italics are ours.

46. See *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 1st June, 1951; also *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954, paras. 988, 1145, 1162, and 1526.

40. I.e., the view held by four out of eleven members of the Press Commission. See paras 1141-43 of the *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954.

41. See para. 1145 of the *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954; also *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 16th May, 1951, p. 8843.

42. *The Supreme Court Reports*, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VI, August, 1950, p. 598.

43. See his *Representative Government*, Chapter II.

We shall now say a few words about the expression "incitement to an offence" in the amended Clause (2) of Article 19. It may be interesting to note here that it had been suggested⁴⁷ in our Parliament that the expression "incitement to an offence involving violence" should be substituted for the expression "incitement to an offence" in the proposed amendment. What Dr. B. R. Ambedkar stated in this connexion is worthy of note here. He said:⁴⁸

"I will now deal with the question of confining 'incitement' to violence and I want my friends, Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee and also Pandit Kunzru to pay some attention to what I am saying and I will take some very particular cases. First of all, I would like to know whether they are in a position to give a precise definition of the meaning of the word 'violence'. What is 'violence'? Is it to be confined merely to physical violence?

Have they been able to give us any precise definition which would enable the legislature and the court to know that this is violence and this is not violence? I cannot find any . . . I come now to specific instances. Supposing, for instance, there is trouble—I am giving some concrete cases which have happened—and there is trouble between the Scheduled Castes and Caste Hindus in a particular village and the Caste Hindus conspire together to proclaim a social boycott on the Scheduled Castes, preventing them from obtaining any kind of supplies, preventing them from going into the fields, preventing them from going into the jungles to collect fuel, then I want to know from Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee and Pandit Kunzru whether they want this, as an offence, to be regarded by the State as such or not . . . I shall give another illustration which was recently reported in Bombay. In a place near Thana there was trouble going on between Caste Hindus and the Scheduled Castes over the taking of water from a particular well. With the help of the police the Scheduled Castes there were able to secure their right to take water from that well along with the Caste Hindus. The Caste Hindus did not like the matter. They wanted the well to be exclusively used by them. Two days ago there was a report in the Bombay Press wherein it was stated that some Caste Hindus incited some of their men to drop into it some kind of poisonous weeds. The result was that the whole water was poisoned and some of the Scheduled Caste people who drank the water suffered from the effect of the poison. I want to ask both of them whether they would limit their definition of incitement to violence, or whether they would extend it to cover where one community does something in order to harm and injure another community."

In view of this lucid statement of the Minister of Law, it would have been unwise to replace the expression "incitement to an offence," by the expression "incitement to an offence involving violence."

47. See *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 1st June, 1951.

48. See *ibid.*, pp. 9867-68.

We shall now pass on to the third additional head in the amended Clause (2) of Article 19, namely, "friendly relations with foreign States." So far as this head is concerned, there has been a sharp difference of opinion amongst those who have given a serious thought to it. This is natural. The expression "in the interests of friendly relations with foreign States" in the said amended Clause (2) is rather wide and too elastic in its implications. And it has been apprehended that the power of legislation under this provision may be abused or misused with the help of an obliging party majority in the legislature. Both in our Parliament and before the Press Commission it was, in effect, urged⁴⁹ that "under the guise of maintaining friendly relations with foreign States restrictions" could be imposed on the "legitimate expression of views on questions of foreign policy or on the presentation" of the points of view which might "run counter" to the policy of the "Government of India or its friendly relations with foreign States," and that such restrictions might not be consonant with the true concept of freedom of speech and expression. [And the majority of the Press Commission also agree⁵⁰ that

"It is undoubtedly true that in a democracy there should be freedom of expression with regard to the foreign policies of the Government in power and that such criticism should not be prevented under the specious plea that it would endanger the friendly relation of the Government of the day with foreign powers."

"At the same time," they have added,⁵¹ "one has to bear in mind that persistent and malicious propaganda against a foreign power which has friendly relations with India may cause considerable embarrassment from the point of view of the nation even though the security of the State may not be involved. Parliament must, therefore, have power to deal with such kind of criticism and if the words 'friendly relations with foreign States' were not there in Article 19(2) of the Constitution, Parliament would have no power to legislate in that regard . . . When the Constitution was amended in 1951, there was considerable opposition to the introduction of the words 'friendly relations with foreign States' in Article 19(2) of the Constitution. At that time the Prime Minister pointed out that this was merely an enabling clause which empowers Parliament to frame legislation, in case the necessity arises, and gave an assurance that it was not the intention of the Government to promote legislation which would prevent discussion of the foreign policy of Government. This assurance has been faithfully observed and there has been no legislation in this

49. See *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 16th, 17th, 18th, 29th May, and 1st June, 1951, and the *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954, para. 989.

50. *Report of the Press Commission*, Part 1, 1954, para. 989.

51. *Ibid.*, paras. 989 and 991.

respect placing fetters on the freedom of expression."

What Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Minister of Law, and Prime Minister Nehru said in our Parliament in support of this provision, is also worthy of note in this connexion. Dr. Ambedkar said⁵² on 18th May, 1951:

"We have at present on our statute book a law enacted in 1932 dealing with friendly relations with the foreign States. It is true that that law has not come for any adjudication before High Courts or the Supreme Court and it has so far not been declared to be *ultra vires*. But the fact remains that in view of (the) rules of interpretation adopted by the Supreme Court that nothing is within the capacity of Parliament unless that particular head of legislation is mentioned in Clause (2) and as 'friendly relations with foreign States' is not mentioned in Clause (2), I do not think it requires an astrologer to predict that when that question comes before the judiciary they will follow the same line of interpretation. And it is for that reason that we have thought it necessary to include in the new heads this head of friendly relations with foreign States. My friend Dr. Mookerjee⁵³ asked whether there was any country where such a law prevailed. Well I have searched for a precedent and I can tell him that I find no country which has not such a law. In the case of England it is a rule of Common Law. No statutory law is necessary. The Common Law is operative not only in England but in all the Dominions. Therefore that same rule prevails there. In fact, the Common Law rule has been amended and made more stringent by a statutory provision in Canada."

Further,⁵⁴

"What does (the) maintenance of friendly relations imply? Most members are under the impression that if this category was added, they would not be in a position to criticise the foreign policy of the Government. I like to say that this is a complete misunderstanding and a misconception. The underlying principle of this category, namely, maintenance of friendly relations with a State, is nothing more than an extension of the principle of libel and defamation, that you shall do nothing, you shall say nothing, you shall circulate no rumour, which will involve a foreign State in any kind of ignominy. Beyond that there is nothing in this category. Even the English Common Law is based upon this, namely, that it is a part of the law of defamation—that you shall not defame a foreign State which has a friendly relation with this (?) country."⁵⁵

And Prime Minister Nehru said⁵⁶ on the same day:

"In regard to foreign powers, so far as our policy goes, which this House has approved of on many occasions, it is a policy of friendship with other nations. Now, because it is a policy of friendship with other nations it becomes all the more necessary that we should not encourage activities which lead to injury in regard to our relations with other powers . . . There is no question of stopping criticism or even strong language. But times may arise when it overshoots the mark and there is danger of disruption or a break or danger to international interests or to our relations with those powers. And so we shall have to come in there. In what way we come in or in what measure we come in will be a matter for Parliament to determine because there is no law at the present moment to stop these things."

Again⁵⁷ on 29th May, 1951:

"The House will remember—a fact that has been repeatedly stated—that this amendment is an enabling . . . law . . . Naturally when you give an enabling power, it is given in slightly wider terms . . . Exactly what would amount to a danger to friendly relations is so difficult to state; you cannot specify. You may, of course, put down one thing or the other. You may say 'defamatory attacks' as we sought to say at one time 'defamatory attacks on the heads of foreign nations or others' but in effect if once you have a check to see that it is not done unreasonably, it is best you use gentle language (*sic*). . . . So far as I am concerned and so long as I have anything to do with it, I can assure you that you can criticise to your heart's limit and extent the foreign policy that my Government pursues on the policy of any country; to the utmost limit you can go. I cannot dislike your criticism; nobody will be allowed to come in their (*sic*) way. But suppose you do something which seems to us to incite to war, do you think we ought to remain quiet and await the war to come? And if it is so, I am sure no country would do that. We cannot imperil the safety of the whole nation in the name of some fancied freedom which puts an end to all freedom.) Therefore, it is not a question of stopping the freedom of criticism of any country and naturally we should like not to indulge in what might be called defamatory attacks against leading foreign personalities. That is never good, but in regard to any policy you can criticise it to the utmost limit that you like, either our policy or any country's policy, but always thinking in terms of this, that we are living in a very delicate state of affairs in this world, when words, whether oral or written, count: They make a difference for the good or for the bad. A bad word said out of place may create a grave situation, as it often does."

Finally⁵⁸ on 1st June, 1951:

"It is perfectly true that the phrase we have put in—friendly relations—is a wide phrase. We put it in because we thought it might serve our pur-

52. *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 18th May, 1951, pp. 9015-9016.

53. I.e., Dr. S. P. Mookerjee.

54. *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 18th May, 1951, p. 9016.

55. Dr. Ambedkar obviously, meant England here.

56. *Parliamentary Debates*, India, 18th May, 1951, p. 9076.

57. See *ibid*, 29th May, 1951, pp. 9629-30.

58. *Parliamentary Debates*, 1st June, 1951, p. 9873.

pose and any other phrase it seemed to us not quite proper in the sense that it was far better to talk about friendly relations here and lay stress on a positive aspect of policy rather than the negative of it that we shall stop that and so on and so forth. I can assure the House that in regard to foreign affairs there has been and there is going to be, so far as I am concerned, not the slightest interference with any expression of opinion or criticism of our internal policy or external policy, or the policy of any other (?) foreign power."

The majority of the Press Commission also observed⁵⁹ in 1954:

"The framers of the Constitution thought that the world conditions existing in 1951 and the non-alignment policy which India was pursuing made it necessary to invest Parliament with the necessary power in case an emergency arose. If we now examine whether the history of the world during the last 3 years has made it unnecessary that the Parliament should have such reserve power, the answer is clear. There is more disequilibrium in world conditions now than there was in 1951, and the policy pursued by India, her geographical position and her relations with foreign States have become far more important than they were in 1951 when the amendment was made in the Constitution. We do not, therefore, think that any clear case has been made for depriving the Parliament of the power to legislate in case of necessity, placing restrictions on the freedom of speech and expression in the interest of friendly relations with foreign States."

But they added,⁶⁰ after referring⁶¹ to the position in this regard in some other countries:

"Although we are in favour of the Parliament having this reserve power, we think that the words 'in the interest of friendly relations with foreign States' are of a wide connotation and may conceivably be relied upon for supporting any legislation which may restrict even legitimate criticism of the foreign policy of Government. It would be difficult to devise a formula which would define the scope of the legislation by Parliament in this regard. The Constitution can at best merely indicate the topics in respect of which there may be reasonable restrictions on the freedom of speech and expression. It must be left to the wisdom of Parliament to define the precise scope of those restrictions and to the impartiality of the Supreme Court to pronounce upon the reasonableness of those restrictions. We recommend that, whatever legislation might be framed in the interest of friendly relations with foreign States, it should be confined in its operation to cases of systematic diffusion of deliberately false or distorted reports which undermine friendly relations with foreign States and should not punish any sporadic utterance or any dissemination of true facts although

they may have the tendency of endangering the relations with foreign States."

We have shown above the official point of view, on the third additional head in the amended Clause (2) of Article 19. We have also referred to the views of the majority of the Press Commission in this connexion. We may even mention here in support of the official position that in the United States of America also the publication of "injurious charges against a foreign prince or ruler" is, under common-law rules still in force, "punishable as a public offence" as it tends "to embroil the two nations (concerned), and to disturb the peace of the world."⁶² Nevertheless, we are constrained to observe that the expression "in the interests of friendly relations with foreign States" in the said amended Clause (2) is rather too wide and too elastic in its connotation.⁶³ Even, as we have seen before, both Prime Minister Nehru and the majority of the Press Commission have admitted this. Herein lies the danger, notwithstanding the repeated personal assurances of the Prime Minister, of abuse of power, with the help of an obliging Parliamentary majority, by an unscrupulous Executive, or by an Executive under the influence of an unscrupulous foreign power.⁶⁴ That is to say, under this provision in our Constitution, but subject, of course, to what is stated hereinafter regarding the power of judicial review provided for therein, such legislation may be enacted by our Parliament, thanks to the implications of the modern party system, as may seriously interfere with our freedom of speech and expression, and, particularly, with what is generally known as the freedom of the Press. We sincerely hope, however, that this will not happen and that the advice of the majority of the Press Commission as quoted above will always be scrupulously followed by the Government of the day.

IV

We have so far dealt with the three additional heads in the amended Clause (2) of Article 19. We may also state here that the expression "in the interests of the security of the State" in the amended Clause (2) is much wider in its implications than the corresponding expression in the original Clause (2), namely, "any matter which undermines the security of, or tends to overthrow, the State." Although, therefore, there is some danger of abuse of power in the interests of the security of the State, yet, as shown below, that danger is to a large extent minimized by the provision in the amended Clause for a judicial review of legislation enacted under it, or of any existing law relating to any matter within its ambit. There is another point worth noticing in this connexion. When

59. See the Report of the Press Commission, Part I, 1954, para. 991.

60. See *ibid.*, para 993.

See *ibid.*, para 992.

62. See Cooley, *Constitutional Limitations*, 7th Ed., pp. 608-609.

63. Also see in this connexion the view of the minority of the Press Commission in Para. 1146 of the Report of the Press Commission, Part I, 1954.

the Constitution (First Amendment) Bill was before Parliament, it was repeatedly urged by Prime Minister Nehru and the Minister of Law that the proposed Amendment to Clause (2) of Article 19 was only "an enabling measure" which armed Parliament with the necessary power of legislation. This view was only partially correct. The amended Clause (2) is both an "enabling" measure and a "reviving" measure. It not only enables our Parliament and other competent legislative authorities in India to enact laws which they could not otherwise lawfully enact but for it, it has also brought back into use, provided they are in conformity with the requirements of the amended Clause, those laws of our country which had become unconstitutional and void as a result of the judicial pronouncements referred to before. It thus serves a double purpose.

We shall now refer to the safeguard against any misuse of power under any provision of the amended Clause (2) of Article 19. This safeguard is provided by the words "in so far as such law imposes reasonable restrictions," etc., in the amended Clause. The application of the safeguard is that any law made under any provision of Clause (2) of Article 19 as it stands today, or any law existing from before the commencement of the Constitution and relating to any matter in the said clause, is justiciable. This further means that if any such law is found by a competent Court of Law in this country as not fulfilling the test or requirements of reasonable restriction on the freedom of speech and expression, then it will be declared unconstitutional and invalid. What the Supreme Court of India declared on November 8th, 1950, in the course of its judgment in a case⁶⁵ involv-

64. The italics are ours.

65. *Chintaman Rao v. The State of Madhya Pradesh and Ram Krishan v. The State of Madhya Pradesh*: The Supreme Court Reports, 1950, Vol. 1, Part VIII, October and November, 1950, pp. 763-66.

ing Clause (1) (g) and Clause (6) of Article 19, is equally applicable to a case involving the amended Clause (2) of the Article. The declaration of the Supreme Court was:

The phrase 'reasonable restriction' connotes that the limitation imposed on a person in enjoyment of the right should not be arbitrary or of an excessive nature, beyond what is required in the interests of the public. The word 'reasonable' implies intelligent care and deliberation, that is, the choice of a course which reason dictates. Legislation which arbitrarily or excessively invades the right cannot be said to contain the quality of reasonableness The determination by the legislature of what constitutes a reasonable restriction is not final or conclusive; it is subject to the supervision by this Court.⁶⁶ In the matter of fundamental rights, the Supreme Court watches and guards the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and in exercising its functions it has the power to set aside an Act of the Legislature if it is in violation of the freedoms guaranteed by the Constitution. We are, therefore, of opinion that the impugned statute⁶⁷ does not stand the test of reasonableness and is therefore void."

Of course, the Supreme Court will deal with a case of this nature only when it is judicially brought before it. At any rate, herein lies a great safeguard against any abuse of power under Clause (2) of Article 19 as it stands now.

In our later articles we propose to deal with the other aspects of our Fundamental Right to Freedom as guaranteed by our Constitution.

66. This reminds us of what the Supreme Court of the United States of America declared in 1923 in the course of its judgment in *Meyer v. Nebraska* (262 U.S. 390). It said:

"Determination by the legislature of what constitutes proper exercise of police power is not final or conclusive but is subject to revision by the Courts."

67. The Central Provinces and Berar Regulation of Manufacture of Bidis (Agricultural Purposes) Act, 1948.



DEFICIT FINANCING IN A DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

BY PROF. N. G. GUJAR

DEFICIT finance assumes importance in the development expenditure in a community since development expenditure is large—much larger, in fact, than the normal expenditure undertaken by the State. The taxation or other sources of current revenue can be expected to meet the normal requirements of the Government. But when these requirements increase, as they do in any planned development, to a large extent an increase in taxation cannot be depended upon to yield sufficient revenue. The increase in the taxation-rates as well as coverage would be so great that it would adversely affect the psychology of private entrepreneurs.

But the deficit finance and the creation of money are not one and the same. The State may borrow money, that is, it may use the savings of the community. The public debt, thereby, increases. Strictly speaking this should not result into inflation except through increasing liquidity. When the public debt increases, debt holdings by persons, firms and banks increase; that is, there is the addition to the liquid assets. Increase in the liquid asset is likely to lead to a higher consumption expenditure out of current incomes. If the banks find that their liquidity is increased, as the proportion of the bonds in their portfolios increases, they will be willing to give more credit to the business community. Except this eventuality nothing like inflation would follow due to public borrowing. But if an important place is given to the private sector in the development programme, the State borrowing deprives the private sector of capital to a large extent. At least the private sector will find it difficult to raise capital, and its cost of borrowing is bound to increase. Only if the amount of savings increases, this possibility to some extent would decrease. Still the competition between the public and private sectors for securing capital cannot be avoided, unless, of course, the rise in saving is spectacular. Of course, due to the development programme itself the per capita income may increase, which may be expected to result into some rise in savings. But this increase in saving cannot be substantial. The reason lies in the fact that the development programme will always be accompanied by welfare measures. In any development programme, the emphasis will be on the redistribution of wealth. That is all to the good. Moreover, this emphasis is necessary if the co-operation of the public is sought. The point is, increase in income due to the development programme is bound to find its way in the pockets of the masses. The standard of living of the masses is already so low that any increase in their income is bound to be utilised for increased expenditure. In this connection, it is to be noted that

the total volume of savings available in a relatively poor, economically underdeveloped community is bound to be very small as compared with its requirements for development purposes, however the people may be persuaded to tighten their belts.

In the eventual competition for securing the capital, the private sector will be the worse sufferer. It may find either the capital market dried up by the public borrowings or will be compelled to offer inducements in the form of higher rates of interest with all the evil effects upon its capital structure.

Deficit finance with the help of public loans, and more so with the help of the creation of money, expands the relative power of the Government, vis-a-vis the citizens paying the taxes since with the help of loans, the Government can acquire resources without encroaching, immediately, upon private incomes. The economic power of the Government is bound to increase. The private sector is bound to decrease. If public loans can be resorted to for carrying on public expenditure, very likely the public sector may more easily expand than it may do if taxation or current revenue is the only means of raising funds required for Governmental expenditure.

Deficit finance with the help of the creation of money seems to be inevitable in the development programme of a backward economy. Deficit finance, this way, leads to inflation in two ways. Government expenditure makes net contribution to the effective demand. Secondly, additions to money supply contribute to inflationary pressure.

Unless there is a corresponding increase in production, the creation of money by adding to the effective demand increases price-level. Surely the Government creates money for the very purpose of increasing production. But there is bound to be a time-lag between the Government expenditure and the results of the Government expenditure. In all probability, because of this time-lag, public expenditure is bound to create the inflationary gap. This inflationary gap is very likely to be continued if the tempo of development is accelerated, as it must. The public expenditure devoted towards development cannot be evenly spread throughout the plan-period, simply for the reason, that the even distribution of development expenditure through time means too large an expenditure in the initial period, as compared to the absorptive power of the community, unless, of course, the total development expenditure is meagre. The inflationary gap is bound to lead to rising prices. If the inflationary gap is continued for some time, the inflationary spiral—the chasing of prices and cost—is sure to be developed. In this

general rise of prices the Government estimates of development expenditure are very likely to be under-estimates since the costs are bound to mount up. The estimates must be revised in the upward direction if the development plans are not to be left half-completed and there will be a further pressure on Governmental resources calling for further creation of money.

Secondly, the additions to money supply, due to Governmental spending, leads to the additions to bank reserves, which may encourage commercial banks to create further bank credit. Increase in the liquidity of banks, it may be argued, should be welcome when there is a general scarcity of funds. But we must sharply distinguish between funds and capital. Banks can create money and not capital. And in the face of the scarcity of capital the increased liquidity of banks is likely to be an inflationary potential, unless it is accompanied by countervailing measures.

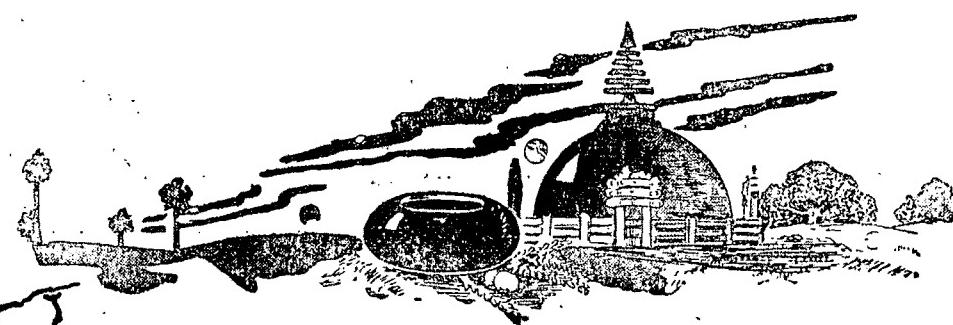
The constant increase in the price is correctly described as currency deterioration, since increase in prices is nothing but decrease in the purchasing power of money; that is, money deteriorates in real terms. If the central banking technique is properly developed then the deterioration in the currency may not be so harmful, purely from the monetary view-point. The loss of confidence in the currency or the fear of currency becoming worthless, may not be of such importance nowadays, still, and this must be pointed out, how to stop a run-away inflation may become a headache to the monetary authority. But the currency deterioration is dangerous due to at least two reasons. Inflation acts, and naturally, as a discouragement to saving. If the major part of the saving is to be so channelled that it finds its way in Government bonds, which at maturity time are realised in fixed monetary amounts, the propensity to consume is bound to be increased during the inflationary period; and it is definite that an increasing proportion of savings in the community will be taken by Government for its development purposes. During the development period what we require is an increased volume of savings. It is an elementary theory in Economics that inflation leads to a decrease in the volume of voluntary savings.

Apparently it can be argued that inflation can be utilized as an instrument of forced savings. Indeed that is what it amounts to when the development funds

are not secured by voluntary public savings or taxation (or in the form of other current revenue of the Government). But forced saving is not justifiable. Firstly, this way of getting capital is not available to the private sector. Secondly, this method of realising capital hits hard the private sector in that it finds its cost structure constantly increasing.

But the most important reason is, and this is the second reason why currency deterioration is dangerous, inflation works indiscriminately. Inflation is a concealed form of taxation, but it is, perhaps, most regressive in character. In countries where the standard of living of the masses is already low, inflation is bound to hit them hard. Indeed getting capital at their cost is cruel. Apart from this can the authorities expect to get public co-operation in their development programme, when the programme does not result in any visible gains? The common mass cannot be enthused much by dangling before their eyes the long-term interest of the community. It should be expected that in communities where the aim of welfare state is accepted, the emphasis would be on the redistribution of wealth; and inflationary finance which is regressive, and this emphasis upon redistribution of income, are at variance.

Deficit finance and the creation of money, it can be argued, are unavoidable in any development programme in a developing economy. Surely, one cannot expect the entire programme to be given up simply because without inflationary finance it cannot be carried. The point is that inflationary finance is a delicate instrument. It must be resorted to with all its implications in mind. There should be a limit beyond which no creation of money is allowed. The estimates of Government expenditure have the nasty habit of proving under-estimates. That must be avoided. Secondly, it is not the amount of money but its effective use that matters, (that is, what in economic parlance is called amount of money multiplied by its velocity). It is no use merely making provision for the creation of money since it is necessary in the budget for the development programme, but this inflationary finance must be related to some objective measure like the price-level besides the actual quantity of money. And lastly, inflation, when it is started, is very difficult to check.





Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru and Srimati Indira Gandhi at Stalingrad Airport. On his left is seen Mr. Shapurov, Chairman of the Stalingrad City Soviet, who received him at the Airport

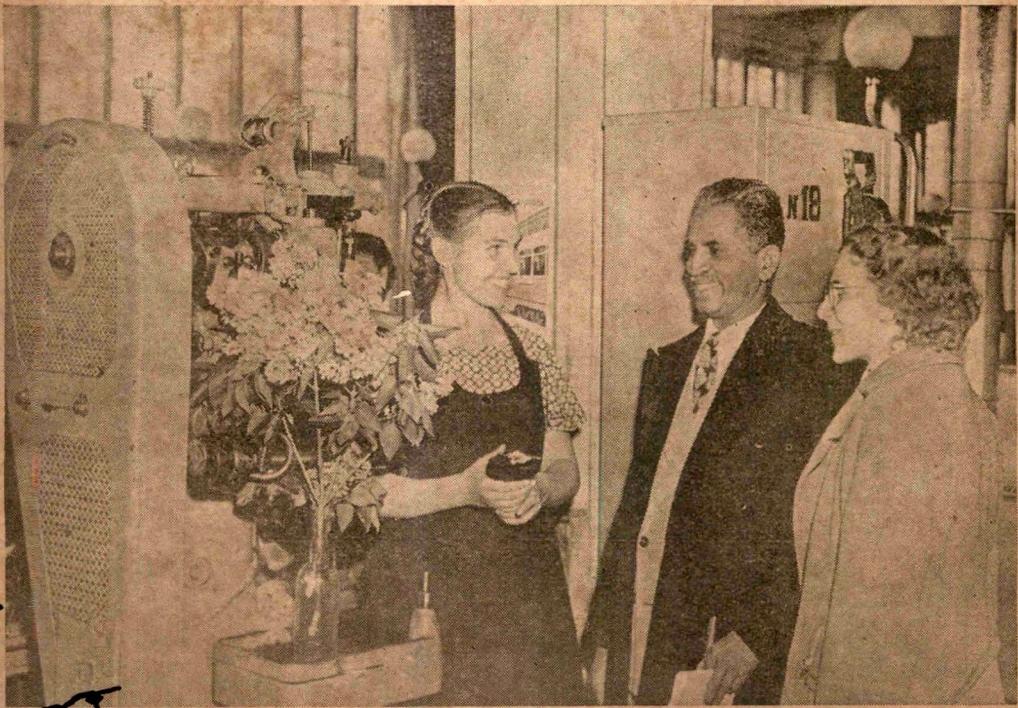


A Reception was held by Sri Dharma Vira, Ambassador for India in Czechoslovakia, in honour of Prime Minister Nehru, at the Embassy at Prague. (Right to left) Sri Dharma Vira, Mr. William Siroky, Prime Minister of Czechoslovakia, and Sri Jawaharlal Nehru are seen standing



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru inspects the collection of the Armoury Hall
in the Moscow Kremlin

Photo by V. Noskov



The Indian Parliamentary Delegation that visited the USSR called at a shoe factory in Kiev.
Prof. N. G. Ranga, Deputy of the Council of States, is seen in the picture

Photo by A. Stuzhin

ANCIENT INDIAN POLITY

Theocratic or Secular?

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THE question whether ancient Indian Polity was theocratic or secular still remains disputed. Some scholars maintain that it was theocratic; others believe that it was secular; and still others assert that it was none of the two but something in between. The object of this paper is to enquire whether the ancient Indian Polity was theocratic or secular, or, if none of the two, what were its theocratic and secular elements. Before we examine the same we shall first state briefly the salient features of both a theocratic and secular State.

I THEOCRACY

Theocracy has been defined "as a tribe or a state that claims to be governed by a god or gods". In it "the laws of the realm are divine commands rather than human ordinances." The priesthood is the promulgator and the interpreter of the divine commands, and is in absolute control of every phase of the life of the inhabitants. The State and the Church are merged into one.¹

The following deductions can be made from the above definition: First, since the ultimate sovereign power is vested with a god, it follows that the Head (we shall call him a king) of such a State is a mere spokesman, a representative, or a deputy of God, appointed by Him to govern on His behalf. His function is only that of a mediator between God and His (God's) subjects. He is believed to be in communication with God, as were the kings of ancient Israel,² and then conveying to the people what he has been told by Him. "Thus saith the Lord" is his watchword. His office is the creation of God's will (divine sanction) and, therefore, he is responsible to Him alone. In other words, he is in absolute control of the people he governs. They render him unquestioned obedience and have absolutely no say in the conduct of the public affairs. Second, such a State is the Kingdom of God. And from this may be deduced the principle of the unity of the Faith, i.e., the principle that only His worship is the 'true' form of worship.³ The other gods are false and fallen. The king derives his authority from God and, therefore, is charged with the duty of perpetuating his cult or religion. A theocracy is, thus, unless the circumstances otherwise warrant, an active proselytiser and persecutes the 'unbelievers' to bring them within the 'folk'. Thus when Mohammad founded the Muslim theocracy, the Caliph was primarily concerned with the defence of the Faith. Those who

believed in Islam were nothing but brothers. But those who did not were to be subjected to astringent antagonism. It was obligatory upon the Caliph to wage *jihad* (holy war), against the 'heretics'; to kill them unless they repent and join Islam.

"I swear by Allah," said Mohammad, "that marching about to fight for religion is better than the world and everything in it."⁴

In Catholic theocracy, too, the heretics were persecuted with a variety and barbarity of tortures which earned for Christianity the cognomen of being the biggest enemy in history of religious freedom.⁵ The Jewish theocracy also carried on an assiduous offensive against the rival cults of Palestine and Syria, Assyria and Babylonia.⁶ In a theocracy, therefore, there is religious discrimination. All those living within its jurisdiction must conform to the rituals of the one religion of the God whose domain it is or suffer penance, not unusually, to the point of extinction. Third, the king's function of conducting the public affairs becomes an aspect of his function of perpetuating the cult of the God.⁷ To put it in other words the temporal power (State) is subordinated to the spiritual power (Church). Either the former is supposed to be one with the latter, as in ancient Israel and the Muslim theocracy, or, if they are distinguished, as in Catholic theocracy,⁸ the former occupies a status of subordination to the latter. Thus, in the Middle Ages it was usual to explain their mutual relationship with reference to the moon and the sun. Just as the moon has its light from the sun, so does the State derive its authority from the Church.⁹ They were believed to be the two aspects of the same society, Christendom. But while the State was at best an institution necessitated by the wickedness of man, the Church was a perfect society established by God. The latter being the final interpreter of the Divine Will¹⁰ it was the duty of the former to execute its commandants. The State was, thus, reduced to the status of an office of the Church—its secular arm.¹¹ The tenure of the king depended upon the discretion of the Church in view

4. Durant, Will, *Age of Faith*, p. 183.

5. Ruggiero, Guido de, Art. 'Religious Freedom,' *Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences*, Vol. XIII, p. 241.

6. *Ibid.* p. 240.

7. Contarini, G., *Everyday Life in Babylon and Assyria*, p. 119.

8. Lytton, Lord, *The Western Tradition*, p. 40.

9. Rommen, Heinrich, *State in Catholic Thought*, p. 535.

10 Carlyle Brothers, *Medieval Political Theory in the West*, Vol. II, pp. 144, 216; Gierke, Dr. Otto, *Political Theories of the Middle Ages*, tr. Maitland, pp. 11-13; Sabine, G., *History of Political Theory*, 20, p. 161.

Sabine, G., *op. cit.*, p. 171.

11. Sabine, G., *op. cit.*, p. 171.

1. Smith, C. Ryder, Art. 'Theocracy,' *Encyclopaedia, Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings, Vol. 12, p. 287; Chamber's *Encyclopedia*, Vol. 13, p. 580; Heimann, Eduard, Art. 'Atheist Theocracy,' *Social Research*, Vol. 20, No. 3, p. 311.

2. Maritain, Jacques, *The Living Thoughts of St. Paul*, p. 1

3. Ruffini, Francesco, *Religious Liberty*, p. 79.

of the Pope's power of excommunication.¹² Fourth, the laws of the realm are divine, since, they originate from a supernatural object. Thus, the Jewish Polity was governed according to the laws of Jehovah's Book.¹³

The Muslim theocracy was governed in accordance with the laws as enunciated in the Koran.¹⁴ During the days of the Catholic theocracy the temporal law was distinguished from the canon law but where they came into conflict the former had to give way.¹⁵

II

SECULAR STATE

Strange though it may seem, a definition of secular State does not occur either in any of the standard dictionaries or in any of the more well-known encyclopedias. In recent times some authors in India have, indeed, given definitions which are not only unsatisfactory but are also ambiguous, inaccurate and incorrect. The term occurs here and there in certain standard works¹⁶ but no scientific attempt is made to define the concept. To the best of our knowledge, only R. H. Tawney gives an *en passant* definition in his *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*. "By the end of the 17th century," says he, "the secular State, separate from the churches, which are subordinate to it," had come into existence.¹⁷ This is the best definition available and can be accepted for further elucidation for arriving at a clearer understanding of the concept.

The phrase 'separate from the Churches' in the above definition implies that in a secular State the State and the Church are separated. The expression 'the State and the Church are separated' has caused confusion in the minds of certain scholars and, therefore, needs clarification. It is, no doubt, deceptive since it sounds as if it implies the mutual independence of the two societies. Starting their examination of their relationship with this assumption they come to the inevitable conclusion that their separation is not possible. Thus, Giacometti, Italian jurist Mario Falco, German Ulrich Stutz and President Maravyk of Czechoslovakia insisted that their complete separation was not possible.¹⁸ Ruggiero endorses their view when he says :

"Separation has a contingent character and a merely approximative significance; because two institutions cannot in practice be distinguished from one another with formal precision".¹⁹

12. Setton & Winkler, *Great Problems in European Civilization*, p. 142, 145, 153; Carlyle Brothers, *op. cit.*, pp. 203-4.

13. Smith C. Ryder, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

14. Durant, Will, *op. cit.*, p. 226.

15. Carlyle Brothers, *op. cit.* p. 216; Mc Govern W.M., *From Luther to Hitler*, p. 23.

16. For example: Gierke, *op. cit.*, p. 12; Laski, H. J., *The Rise of European Liberalism*, pp. 30, 58, 154; Heinrich Rommen, *op. cit.*, p. 580.

17. p. 20 (Pelican Edition).

18. Bates Stirling, *Religious Liberty—An Enquiry*, p. 312.

19. *History of European Liberalism*, p. 404.

Searle Bates gives the above view a confirmatory seal.²⁰ If, then, the separation of the State and Church is not possible what is the secular State? Is there nothing like a secular State?

The answer to this question can be found, as has been pointed out above, in the fact of misinterpretation of the expression as meaning the mutual independence of the two societies. They, in fact, cannot be independent of each other. They are composed of the same individuals and are constantly competing to command their loyalties. And let the philosophers and the jurists, again and again, develop systems of a clear demarcation of their respective spheres, in actual practice, there always remain certain spheres of man's life, e.g., marriage, divorce, education, etc., that are common to both. This gives rise to conflicts and consequently, according to Ruggiero, "there can either be a State oppressing a Church or a Church oppressing a State."²¹ This seems to be rather an exaggerated view, since, their relationship may not be necessarily that of oppression. But it is reasonable to conclude that as a result of their struggle, one of the societies has to accept a status of subordination to the other. If the Church subordinates the State, the latter loses its secular character. In a secular State, therefore, the Church is subordinated to the State. There cannot be any situation where their relationship is that of mutual independence. What the expression means is that, unlike the medieval polities, the State does not accord to any Church a privileged status. The following statement of Heinrich Rommen clearly reveals the significance of the expression :

"In the United States we find, from the beginning of its formation, that separation of the State and the Church in the constitutional provision that there shall not be an established Church."²²

The essence of the secular State, thus, lies in the fact that it does not accord to any Church a privileged status. To this may be added a feature implicit in it. Since it does not identify its interest with those of any one church, it follows that, the sovereign power in it does not originate from a god, a cult or a religion. A secular State may, therefore, be defined as a State which does not have a divine sanction behind it and which treats the various churches, which are subordinate to it, on religious grounds,²³ impartially and indiscriminately.

The following points emerge from the above definition : First, the State does not have a divine sanction and derives its authority from a secular (worldly) source. Thus in the U.S.A. which is a brilliant example of a secular State, the sovereign power flows

20. *Op. cit.*, p. 312.

21. *op. cit.*, p. 397.

22. *op. cit.*, p. 598.

23. The State may discriminate among the various Churches on other than religious grounds. For instance, if a Church is anti-national, it may be curbed while other Churches are allowed to exist. Such a discrimination will, however, be on political grounds.

from the people as indicated by the preamble to the Constitution. The Supreme Court, too, in one of its decisions, held that

"There is no mysticism in the American concept of the State or of the nature or origin of its authority. We set up government by the consent of the governed...."²⁴

Second, the State does not discriminate among the various churches or the individuals of religious grounds. The First amendment to the U.S. Constitution, thus, ordains that "Congress shall not make law respecting an establishment of religion." Third, from the above deduction follows the conclusion that the Church is subordinated to the State. For, if the State is subordinated to a church, it shall be associated with one and shall cease to be indiscriminate in its relationship with the churches. Fourth, since it does not derive its authority from a god, cult or a religion, it is none of its business to perpetuate any one cult or religion. It retires from any intervention in the spiritual sphere and becomes indifferent to and disinterested in the religious convictions of its citizens. Religion, thus, does not form the basis of its citizenship.²⁵ It does not persecute or proselytize. In it there is room for any church as long as it is prepared to subject itself to the limitations imposed by law on all churches. Thus in the U.S.A. not only there exist the various Christian sects, even a foreign religious movement like the Ramakrishna Movement is flourishing and making impact on it.²⁶ Fifth, the fundamental postulate of a secular State is that it does not discriminate among the various churches. From this it follows that if it patronises all churches equally, it shall not be a violation of its postulates. The State in the U.S.A., while not discriminating on religious grounds has adopted to religion a friendly, sympathetic and encouraging attitude. The attitude manifests itself in many ways, e.g. the recognition of the importance of religion by reciting prayers at public functions and in certain government institutions: by the employment of chaplains in the Army and Navy and by the enforcement of Anti-Evolution and Sunday Laws.²⁷ Under the

care of the State, religion has become one of its biggest businesses. The Church membership is increasing. Sixth, the laws of the realm originate from a secular source as is the case in the U.S.A., where the laws emanate from the Congress elected by the people.

III ANCIENT INDIAN POLITY

Having discussed the salient features of both a theocracy and a secular State we now pass on to an examination of the ancient Indian State. Ancient India had a multitude of forms of government. There were the Kulas (where the sovereign power is wielded by a family), the selfgoverning clans, and the Ganas (republics). Such States were, however, rare. Not only that, their existence is sometimes disputed. On the other hand, it is generally agreed that the normal form of the State in ancient India was monarchical. We shall therefore, deal with the monarchical State only.

Kingship: An analysis of the position of the Indian king clearly reveals that he was in no way a prototype of the theocratic kings. Neither did he derive his authority from a divine source nor was he in absolute control of his people. Here and there, certain passages occur in the ancient Indian literature which attribute divinity to kingship. Thus, to the question, 'How is it that the king who is one rules over so many subjects?' *Aitareya Brahmana* states that "the gods and demons fought with one another, but the gods were defeated. The gods said: 'It is because we have no king that the demons defeat us, so let us elect a king'. They elected a king and through his help obtained a complete victory over the demons".²⁸ Again, we find some kings claiming divine status for themselves. Thus, in the Rigveda a hymn is attributed to the Puru king Trasdaya who exclaimed: "I am Indra, I am Varuna. On me (the gods) bestow those principal energies (that are) characteristic of the Asuras."²⁹ Such utterances have led some to believe that the sovereign power of the ancient Indian king originated from a god. The fact is, however, that the secular literature of the Age (particularly Vedic) has not been preserved.³⁰ Our source of information is mainly religious literature. And it is but natural that in it secular ideas are explained in terms of divinity and the

24. West Virginia State Board of Education vs. Barnettees, 319, U.S. 624, 1943.

25. Art. VI of the U.S.A. Constitution provides that "no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public Trust in the United States."

26. Ross Floyd, H., Professor of World Religions, University of Southern California. See *American Reporter*, New Delhi, Vol. III, No. 25, p. 5.

27. These acts of the State apparently seem to be departures from the basic qualifications of the secular State. In fact, they do not amount to any discrimination since the U.S.A. for all practical purposes is a Christian nation. Property belonging to all churches is tax-exempt. (Burstein, Ahraham, *Laws concerning Religion in the United States*, See Chapter 1). Prayers are non-sectarian. The enforcement of Anti-Evolution Laws does not amount to a religious discrimination: "We are not able to see how the prohibition of teaching the theory that man has descended from a lower order of animals gives preference to any religious establishment or mode of worship . . . Belief or unbelief in the

theory of evolution is no more a characteristic of any religious establishment or mode of worship than is belief or unbelief in the wisdom of the prohibition laws. (Scopes Vs. State, 154, Tenn. 16, 289, S.W. 363, (1927). The enforcement of Sunday Laws does amount to discrimination in the case of Jews, Mohammedans, atheists and even certain Christian sects (Bates, *op. cit.*, p. 90). But their enforcement has been justified on the ground that a preponderant majority of the Americans so wish it. (Burstein, *op. cit.*, p. 36). Moreover, there is a growing inclination to accord the other religious sects right to observe their own Sabbaths. (See Courts ruling in Thomason's Case, Burstein, *op. cit.*, p. 40).

28. Majumdar and Pusalkar, *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. I, p. 426.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*, p. 425.

political theories are discussed in terms of gods. But, as V. M. Apte maintains, "no great stretch of imagination is required to interpret them as equally, or really, applying to human affairs."³¹ Dr. Beni Prasad, therefore, aptly remarks, while commenting on the answer of the *Aitareya Bhahmana*, that what it signifies is the theory of the origin of kingship out of military necessity, *deriving its validity from consent*.³² Similarly, the claim of Trasdasya, remarks Dr. Apte, can "be explained as an expression of personal vanity rather than the formulation of a political theory".³³ That the king, in fact, derived his authority from the people is well-illustrated by many actual historical instances of the king's election by the people. In the *Mahabharata* we read the election of Santanu as against Devapi, of Pandu as against Dhritarashtra, of Yudhisthira as against Duryodhana.³⁴ In the *Ramayana* is described how the king Dasaratha proposed the name of his eldest son, Rama, as his successor and sought the approval of an assembly of the people. The king declared his intention to abdicate the throne and enquired of the people assembled if Rama was acceptable to them as their king. The people willingly agreed but Dasaratha, dreading that their approval might be a mere acquiescence, requested them to give reasons of their acceptance of him.³⁵ After the demise of King Dasaratha we find people of Ayodhya petitioning for someone on the throne.³⁶ In later times, too, many cases of king's installation to power by the people are found. In the 2nd century A.D. Rudradaman was elected to kingship "by all the orders of the people": in the 7th century A.D. Harshavardhan was elected "by the ministers, magistrates and the people"; and in the middle of the 8th century a commoner Gopala was elected to kingship by the people of Bengal. Similarly, Brahmapala was elected by the people of Assam; Nandivarman Pallavamalla was raised to the throne by the *mula prakritis*.³⁷

Some writers would have us believe that the election of the king by the people was a mere formality. Thus, Goldner, for instance, asserts that the passages referring to the election indicate a purely formal approval rather than an election in all seriousness. Such a view is completely misfounded in view of the power of the people to inflict punishment on the king to the point of his expulsion from office or even the kingdom. Many cases of such banishments are recorded. The Srinjayas expelled their king Dushtaritu Paumasyana from the

kingdom; king Dirghasravas was banished from his kingdom as was also king Sidhusit.³⁸ At one place we find people rejecting the nomination of his younger son as his successor by an outgoing monarch and electing his eldest son as their king.³⁹ At another place we find King Rama banishing his beloved wife Sita, to meet the demand of his people.

Not only did the king derive his authority from the people, his powers were severely curtailed by the existence of some other political institutions. The Parishad, and the popular Assemblies, Sabha and Samiti, acted as a definite check on the king making it impossible for him to become absolute.⁴⁰ They exercised an effective control even on his person. The coronation oath (*pratijna*) bound the king to the people and subjected him to the law of the land.⁴¹ Although wielder of Danda he was himself subject to it.⁴² The protection of the people was his foremost duty. He was not the owner of the land. He was just an official of the State getting remuneration for his services in the form of taxes.⁴³

It is apparent from the foregoing that, whatever might be the claims of the kings or the methods of political speculation, in actual practice, the people were the fountain of the sovereign power. They could remove the king from the office and, therefore, he was responsible to them. In view of this it seems reasonable to conclude, contrary to the opinion that his election was a mere formality, that the king's claim of divinity was a matter of mere formality. Indeed, the attribution of divinity to kingship or the king's claim of divinity to kingship or the king's claim of divinity was much akin to the spirit of a modern practice of formally acknowledging the existence of God in the State-Constitutions. Article 6 (1) of the Irish Constitution says: "All power of government, legislative, executive and judicial, derive, under God, from the people..." The preamble to the Brazilian Constitution establishes a government "under the protection of God" but the sovereign power flows from the people. Similarly, the preamble to the Swiss Constitution begins with the words, "In the name of the Almighty God" although Article 3 of the Constitution declares that the sovereign power originates from the cantons. Just as these references to God, for all practical purposes, amount at best, in view of the people or the cantons being sovereign, to His mere formal recognition, and do not render these States a divine sanction, so did the Indian king's claim of divinity amount to a formal

31. *Ibid.*

32. *Theory of Government in Ancient India*, p. 15 (Italics mine).

33. Majumdar, etc., *op. cit.*, p. 428.

34. Sarkar, B. K., Art. "Hindu Politics," *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Ramakrishna Centenary Committee, Vol. III, p. 302.

35. Griffith, Ralph T. H., tr. *The Ramayana of Valmiki*, pp. 163-4.

36. Aiyangar, K. V. Rangaswami, *The Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 81.

37. Sarkar, B. K., *op. cit.*, pp. 302-3; Raychaudhuri, etc., *An Advanced History of India*, Vol. I, pp. 165, 191.

38. Majumdar, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 428, 486; Law, N. N., *Aspects of Ancient Indian Polity*, p. 10.

39. King Samudragupta nominated his son Chandragupta. But the people elected Ramagupta (Dikshitar, V. R. R., *Gupta Polity*, pp. 110-11).

40. Sarkar, B. K., *op. cit.*, p. 302; Dikshitar, *op. cit.*, p. 112.

41. The oath ran thus: "I shall always regard the *bhaumo* (country) as the Brahma (the highest God). And whatever is to be prescribed as law on the basis of the *script* I shall follow without hesitation, never my sweet will." (Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 302)

42. *Ibid.*, p. 267.

43. Majumdar, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 335, 423,

acknowledgment of God, in view of the people's right of expulsion. In other words, the king did not have a divine sanction behind him. He derived his authority from a secular source.

The State and the Church: There was an intimate relation between the State and the Church in ancient India as signified by the close association of the King and the Royal Priest (Purohita). But it was essentially different from the relationship existing between them in theocracies. In theocracies the temporal power (State) is subjected to the spiritual power (Church). In India, however, the direction of the flow of the power was from the king towards the priest. Here the king was not a secular arm of the Church. On the contrary, the Purohita was an official of the king acting in a purely advisory capacity.⁴⁴ The king was expected to, and he generally did, pay heed to the Purohita's opinions. But if he so chose, he could reject his viewpoint and follow his own course. The Purohita willingly submitted to the limits of his power, which enabled the king to maintain a general political control over the former. The priest could not interfere in the administration of both temporal and spiritual affairs as a matter of right.⁴⁵ The king had the power to dismiss his Purohita⁴⁶ which clearly indicates the subordination of the Church to the State.

This is, however, not to say that religion was not diffused with politics. It shall be rather too much to expect of the ancient Indian State which existed in an Age when religion had a firm hold on men's minds throughout the world. Religious considerations had a good deal to say in the determination of the State-actions. The important point to be noted, however, is that the Church was never allowed to swallow the State. The former could not use the latter as a sword which it could wield to persecute the 'heretics'. On the other hand, religion in India served the ends of the State. Thus we find, something which was inconceivable in the ancient and medieval West, an ecclesiastic, the greatest of the Purohitas, Kautilya, glorifying the State, giving a scientific view of it, solely by the conduciveness to its welfare, prescribing what would lead to its material prosperity and to its increasing power, expressing his views frankly without considerations of morality and thus earning for himself the nick-name of "Indian Machiavelli".⁴⁷ Their admixture was, therefore, to play an essentially different role from what it did in the ancient and medieval West. There it resulted in the identification of the State with a Church resulting in religious persecutions and religious wars, etc. Here, as

B. K. Sarkar has pointed out, the total effect of the diffusion was the moralisation of politics and therefore, serving as a check and restraint on the king.⁴⁸

Religious Policy: The independence of the State from the Church manifested itself in the absence of any religious discrimination on the part of the former.⁴⁹ It did not enforce any religion.⁵⁰ It patronised all religions equally. The choice of religion was left to the individual. None was persecuted on religious grounds. The absolute tolerance of the Hindu Polity has been thought by certain writers⁵¹ as only for Hinduism. Such a view is misfounded although, one might say, taking this for granted, that even that was a remarkable feature of the polity in view of the nature of religious discrimination as existing in some of the Western countries. In these countries there exists discrimination against sects within Christianity. Thus the United Kingdom has an official church which enjoys certain privileges over the other Christian religious bodies. The British Crown, according to the Act of Settlement (1700) cannot be held by a Roman Catholic. Article 5 of the Act of Constitution of the Kingdom of Denmark debars persons not belonging to the Evangelical-Lutheran Church from holding the Danish Crown. Article 6 of the Charter of the Spanish People accords to the Catholic Religion "official protection" and prohibits the "external ceremonies or manifestation" of religious beliefs excepting those of the Catholic religion. Similarly, Article 1 of the Fundamental Principles of the Government of Afghanistan forbids any person professing any other faith than Hanafi religion from holding the crown thus according a privileged status to a sect within Islam. The incorrectness of the above attitude, however, is clearly proved by the attitude of the ancient Indian State towards Syrian Christianity. At the time (52 A.D.) when Christianity was being persecuted in the land of its birth, St. Thomas visited India to spread the Gospel. He established churches and converted the local people to Christianity freely.⁵² The "ancient rulers of Kerala allowed the Christians with other religionists freedom to worship God as they liked . . .".⁵³ Not only that, the State patronised

48. *Hindu Political Philosophy*, op. cit., p. 488.

49. The caste-system had functional basis (Majumdar, op. cit., pp. 358, 387; Chakladar, H. C., Art. 'Social Life in Ancient India,' *The Cultural Heritage of India*, op. cit., pp. 168-70) and therefore, discrimination arising out of it is beyond the scope of this paper.

50. It was the duty of the State to enforce Dharma. What exactly constituted Dharma is controversial but it is agreed that it was not a creed (Kane, P. V., *History of Dharmasastra*, Vol. II, p. 2). D. Mackenzie Brown has described it as a 'way of life' ('The Premises of Indian Political Thought,' *Western Political Quarterly*, June, 1953).

51. Arnold, T. W., Art. 'Toleration,' *Encyclopaedia, Religion and Ethics*, Ed., James Hastings, Vol. 12, p. 361.

52. Daniel, Rev. Fr. I., *The Malabar Church and Other Orthodox Churches*, p. 22; Kuriakos, Ramban, M.C., *The Orthodox Syrian Church of Malabar*, p. 2.

53. Kuriakos, op. cit., p. 2.

44. Majumdar, etc., op. cit., Vol. I, p. 431, Vol. II, p. 323; Aiyangar, op. cit., p. 106; Law, op. cit., p. 38; Dikshitar, op. cit., p. 141.

45. Sarkar, B. K., Art. 'Hindu Political Philosophy,' *Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 33, p. 488.

46. Law, N. N. op. cit., pp. 40-1.

47. Machiavelli was one of the Western philosophers who pleaded for the emancipation of State from the Church. In this context the comparison of Kautilya with him is significant.

Christianity, as it did in the case of other religions, by giving aid in the form of land and cash.⁵⁴ Further, in the later period of the polity are to be found non-Hindus in the employment of Hindu monarchs.⁵⁵

The ancient Indian State, therefore, did not discriminate among the various churches. There occurs, however, an exception to this general rule. The State in the reign of Asoka became actively missionary. After his conversion to Buddhism vast resources of the State were pressed into its service. Missions were sent to foreign countries to propagate Buddhism. Within the Empire, too, special officers were appointed to look after matters pertaining to Buddhism. This was, of course, a departure from the strict postulates of a secular State. But it may be pointed out that the missionary activity in the reign of Asoka was not akin to the missionary activities of the ancient and medieval polities of the West. There the State persecuted and compelled the heretics to join a particular faith. Here the guiding principle was *persuasion rather than compulsion*. In spite of the privileged status of Buddhism other religious bodies like the Brahmanas, Ajivikas, and Gosalas were fully honoured.⁵⁶ Use of harsh language against these was forbidden. The State never became their enemy and continued to shower gifts on them.⁵⁷

Laws: The legal system in India, too, was remarkably at variance with the theocratic legal system. In theocracies the realm is governed by the rituals of the cult or religion of the god whose domain it is. The priests, specialists in the religious law, are the final law-givers. Thus, the Jewish theocracy was governed by Jehovah's Law. And when a dispute arose about it the case was referred to the priests whose decision was final. In the case of India, the religious tracts are, no doubt, listed among the sources of the laws. Manu, Kautilya, Yajnavalkya, Narada, Brihaspati, Katyayana, and Vyasa all include religious tracts among the various sources of the law. But these constitute only a part of the legal system. Laws originating from secular sources, e.g.; custom, contract, and royal commands also formed an essential part of the system.⁵⁸ As to which shall supersede in case of a conflict between the two bodies of the laws the opinions of the writers differed. But the majority view was that the latter precedes the former. Manu, Yajnavalkya give precedence to the religious laws.⁵⁹ Narada, Brihaspati, and Katyayana give precedence to the latter body of laws.⁶⁰ Kautilya gives a revolutionary dictum about the relative importance:

54. Ibid., Daniel, op. cit., pp. 22-30.

55. Sarkar, B. K., *Hindu Political Philosophy*, op. cit., p. 488.

56. Thus an edict of Asoka reads: "The King beloved of the God honours every form of the religious faith." (Arnold, T. W., op. cit., p. 361).

57. Raychaudhuri, etc., op. cit., pp. 108-9.

58. Smith, C. Ryder, op. cit., p. 287.

59. Majumdar, etc., op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 335, 336, 345, 348; Sarkar, op. cit., p. 274.

60. Majumdar, etc., op. cit., pp. 335, 345.

61. Ibid., pp. 348, 354; Vol. III, p. 357.

"Whenever," says he, "the sacred law is in conflict with the rational law, then reason shall be held authoritative."⁶²

The superiority of the State over the Church is further revealed by the actual administration of justice. Unlike the Jewish theocracy the Indian priests were not the final interpreters of the laws of the realm. The king headed the judiciary and himself administered justice.⁶³ His was the final decision.⁶⁴ The Purusha was, no doubt, invariably a member of the royal court. But he was only one of the many officers (judges, ministers, assessors, accountants, scribes, etc.) of the court. Since the king could overrule his opinion, it follows that the religious law was, ultimately, enforced as interpreted by the king. In other words, religious law was enforced to the extent it had a sanction of the king.

IV

CONCLUSION

Perhaps something can now be said by way of conclusion. The foregoing discussion shows that the ancient Indian Polity was far from being theocratic. It did not have a divine sanction; did not discriminate on grounds of religion or enforce any; the Church was subordinated to the State; and the religious laws were enforced to the extent those had a sanction of the king. These characteristics are a direct negation of the theocratic ideals. On the other hand, the ancient polity almost qualified the basic tenets of a secular polity. The influence of religious considerations on the conduct of the public affairs was, of course, a departure from the rigid principles of the secular polity. But, as has been said already, the motivating force of their diffusion was quite different from what would render it theocratic. Mere contact of State with religion does not render it non-secular. They have got to be in contact with each other. The cardinal principle to be noted is as to which of these is controlling the other. During the Middle Ages the Church performed certain secular functions. Its officials served as Ambassadors, Lord Chancellors, Lord Treasurers, etc.⁶⁵ Yet it did not lose its theocratic character, since, it kept its essence intact. Similarly, the mere performance of certain religious functions by a State, which otherwise preserves its essence, will not ipso facto render it non-secular. Moreover, it is well to remember, that the political institutions are distinguishable not because a single principle exhausts them but because some one is dominant. The Jewish Polity had democratic elements;⁶⁶ the British constitution has monarchical elements; and the U.S.S.R. economy has certain minor capitalistic elements. Yet these cannot be styled as anything but theocratic, democratic and socialist States. A perfect secular State, perhaps, like Plato's Ideal State remains a 'pattern set in Heaven' ever to be envied by human beings but never to be attained by them. Even the modern secular

62. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 336.

63. Raychaudhuri, etc., op. cit., pp. 45, 72, 127, 193, 194.

64. Majumdar, etc., op. cit., Vol. II, p. 354.

65. Carpenter, S. C. *Christianity* (Pelican Ed.), p. 117.

66. Smith, C. Ryder, op. cit., p. 287.

States only approximate to the 'pattern'; they do not departures, are to be found in the case of other modern identify themselves with it. The departures in the case secular States. In spite of the minor deviations, there-of U.S.A. have already been mentioned. Similar fore, the ancient Indian Polity was essentially secular.

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THE ETHICS OF COEXISTENCE

BY ELEUTERIO SOARES

THERE is no denying the fact that India's policy of peaceful coexistence is today one of the most significant factors in international relations. Subtly but decisively its influence is being felt on world political trends and with a growing number of nations favourably responding to its appeal India's role as the acknowledged mediator between the East and the West is becoming more and more sharply defined. (Although embodying nothing spectacular or essentially revolutionary the policy of coexistence rings with a note of reassurance and a message of hope amidst the encircling gloom of world tensions and the ever-growing threat of nuclear warfare.)

There is, nevertheless, both among the critics and eulogists of India's foreign policy, a considerable degree of misunderstanding over what this country means by peaceful coexistence. More often than not our efforts to promote international accord and harmony are assessed without full appreciation of the motives that induce India to undertake such missions and a clear vision of the goal she is striving to achieve. To a very large extent these misconceptions spring from a failure to appraise our foreign policy in the proper context of the historical and contemporaneous forces that have shaped it and the values from which it derives its moral sanctions.

Viewed in this perspective coexistence is neither an exclusively Indian or even a modern innovation. The vision of all the nations of the world living together in peace and friendship notwithstanding the inevitable political and ideological differences between them, has inspired men from time immemorial and continues to be a cherished dream of all men of goodwill. Apart from logically pursuing her policy of non-alignment India has merely given this age-old concept the form and substance of a definite programme, partly because it is in tune with the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, a way of life which is true to the temperament and genius of the Indian people, moulded in the crucible of centuries of history, and partly because in the light of the rapid development of nuclear weapons, the only alternative to coexistence is co-extinction. Idealism and the compelling force of circumstances blend together to make the policy of coexistence not a matter of choice but of necessity.)

This is no idle fancy, for the supreme lesson that

emerges from the bitter experiences of the past is that wars solve no problems but only create them. A war, however serious the problem or righteous the cause that provokes it, is unjustifiable both from the practical as well as the ethical point of view, and much more so would be a war that spells total extinction of life and civilisation, a lesson for failing to learn which mankind has paid and continues to pay very dearly and which in the face of existing circumstances can no longer be overlooked. The very survival of the human race demands an emphasis on peaceful and constructive efforts to solve international problems and the renunciation of violence. (To realise the dream of lasting peace men must give up the ways of war.

(Considered in this light the theory of "peace through strength" and the belief that the saturation of armaments is the best guarantee against war, which dominate the international scene today and find practical expression through the hectic armament race now in progress and other military preparations, (are contradictions in terms.) Accumulated strength always seeks an outlet and the ultimate result of an armament race can, by the operation of the inexorable laws of nature, only be a war and not the realisation of the hope that a balance in armaments, if it is possible to achieve it all, would prevent a conflict by making war unprofitable for all nations. (Even if it were possible to avert such a catastrophe, the atmosphere of mutual fear and suspicion, the unavoidable accompaniments of the so-called "situations of strength" would hardly be conducive to international peace.

The same applies to the military pacts and alliances, designed ostensibly to promote collective security but which in practice constitute provocative measures, adding to existing tensions and accentuating the elements of discord.) A cold war is not the path to peace for the means must always be in conformity with the end sought. Mankind therefore can no longer afford to ignore this unambiguous warning and persist in its attachment to the cult of the bomb, except at the cost of courting virtual suicide.

However the mere rejection of war would not constitute coexistence nor would a reduction in armaments or a ban on nuclear weapons bring the world closer to peace. These are certainly important factors but the peace that is envisaged in the concept of peace-

ful coexistence would be a reality only when human society is remolded to conform to the ideals of justice and tolerance and international relations are reshaped on the pattern of universal brotherhood.) It is a long and arduous process, demanding all the patience, perseverance and ingenuity that men can command, but negotiations, however well-meant and skilfully and sincerely carried on, will always lack a sense of realism and the necessary driving force, if war is not totally outlawed. An irrevocable renunciation of war is indispensable to create confidence in negotiations, a method for the settlement of disputes, on the effectiveness of which the entire structure of the policy of coexistence rests.

This extraordinary emphasis on peaceful methods for the settlement of disputes however does not imply surrender to evil or injustice and the acceptance of the status quo. Far from it, (coexistence is a dynamic policy that seeks to revolutionise international relations by proclaiming the supremacy of moral values over expediency and exploiting to the fullest man's constructive genius and his nobler instincts.) Not only does it stand for a just and fair settlement of international problems but it endeavours to dispel the atmosphere of mutual fear and suspicion so as to create the necessary climate for their peaceful settlement, by assuring through the *panchshila* the minimum guarantees indispensable for friendly relations between one nation and another. (The "five principles" are not an end in themselves but only the means for the evolution of a pattern of collective security, as prelude to a constructive and peaceful approach to world problems, by binding together nations not to oppose or fight another group of nations but to respect mutual rights and co-operate for the common good.)

And that brings us to the accusation made in some quarters that coexistence is a pro-Communist stunt. The warm support which the Communist powers have accorded to the *panchshila* is perhaps mainly responsible for giving rise to such a suspicion. The Communists, of course, may or may not be sincere in their attitude to India's programme for peace, but the issue does not reflect on the intrinsic merits of the policy of peaceful coexistence. Certainly, taking a realistic view of the prevailing situation, the policy of coexistence must take cognisance of the indisputable fact that Communism is

a vital force which governs the destinies of millions of people all over the world. The concept of coexistence is also based on realisation of the fact that Communism cannot be countered by getting tough with the Communists of planning to bring about the downfall of the political powers in Russia or China, for the consequences of such an approach, even if it does not culminate into a war, would be the creation of just those conditions in which Communism thrives. Communism can only be conquered with moral force and coexistence aims at achieving just that end by creating conditions in which the Communist countries would be compelled to honour their commitments and fulfil their international obligations. It seeks to reform the Communist powers through persuasion rather than threats.

Apart from that the policy of coexistence, considered as an integrated whole, seeking as it does the application of democratic values to the wider field of international relations, is by itself neither pro-Communist nor anti-Western. (It is on the contrary an antidote as much to Communist expansionism as to colonialism, racialism, economic subjugation and everything that smacks of exploitation of one nation by another, and offers an affront to the honour and dignity of any nation, however small or insignificant.) Its object is to evolve conditions of genuine peace, to lead nations along the path of mutual goodwill and understanding to the goal of universal brotherhood and it is imperative that its primary objective should be to eliminate, through peaceful means of course, all obstacles, whether of Communist making or resulting from the actions of the Western democracies, impeding progress towards the desired goal.

It must undoubtedly be admitted that the policy of coexistence is not easy of achievement but then all good things must be sought the hard way, and it would be an insult to human intelligence to aver that men cannot conquer their deficiencies and shortcomings and rise to a higher level of constructive endeavour. (Indeed, any debate on the practicability or otherwise of coexistence is redundant. The issue has long since been decided by the interplay of numerous forces and the mission before all peace-loving people is to strive ceaselessly to translate the ideal of peaceful coexistence into a concrete reality.)



BHUVANESVARA—THE SITE OF SILENT SHRINES

BY PROF. BRATINDRA KUMAR SENGUPTA, M.A.

BHUVANESVARA, in Orissa, is an ancient site of architectural monuments which sweep our imagination in admiration and wonder. It is quite in the fitness of things that this ancient capital of Orissan Kings under whose lavish patronage these wonder temples were erected here, is going to be the new metropolis of Orissa. In a decade this deserted and desolate site bearing testimony to the old glory will grow up into an ideal modern town as the administrative seat of Orissa.



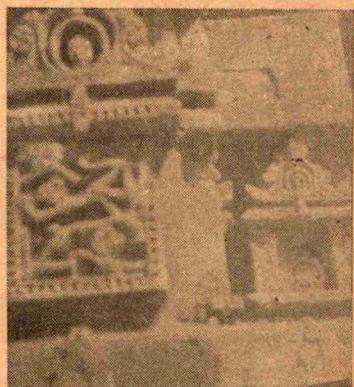
The wall of Muktesvara Temple

This site still possesses some ancient shrines in their pristine glory besides the relics of some others, either desecrated or worn out by ravages of time. These monuments have been divided chronologically by scholars and have been assigned the period between *circa* middle of 8th Century A.D. to *circa* middle of 13th Century A.D., thus covering a period of incessant artistic and architectural creations in this part of India. The finest specimen of this architectural craftsmanship is the famous shrine of Lingaraja, standing in height and magnificence as the most marvellous monument of this belt. Besides, there are the shrines of Kapilesvara, Brahmesvara, Parasuramesvara, Ananta Vasudeva, Vaital (Lankesvari), Muktesvara, Siddhesvara, and Kedaresvara which are still standing in their old magnificence.

Chronologically speaking, Percy Brown in his *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu)* has divided these temples into three groups. His division, however, seems to be based more on stylistic grounds than on clear historical details. Deva Prasad Ghosh (*Orissan Temples* published by Thacker's Press and Directories, Ltd.) has also studied this chronology and the topo-historical questions. However, when that division is not open to challenge from any opposite point of view, we may accept their chronology as a working hypothesis. Ananda Coomaraswamy in his *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (p. 115) also remarks: "The most complete series illustrating the development of the Nagara Temple from

the eighth to the thirteenth centuries is found in Orissa, at Bhuvanesvara, Puri, and Konarak."

The Orissan temple-architecture is a peculiar form of curvilinear (*rekha*) design with a series (commonly 4) of structures completing the whole shrine. The main structure where the *sanctum sanctorum* is situated is known as the *deul* or the *vimana**, while the structure just contiguous from where the pilgrim can have a view of the idol is known as the *jagamohana*. Nirmal Kumar Bose in *Orissan Temples* (Thacker's Press and Directories, Ltd.) opines that this *jagamohana* is of the *bhadra* order, i.e., a pyramidal structure of stepped roofs in clerestoried divisions. But besides that there are two other structures, the *bhogamandira* and the *natamandira*—the offering-sanctuary and the dance-sanctuary respectively—which also represent to some extent a less exaggerated form of pyramidal clerestories. These four structures are the common features of the Bhuvanesvara temples, except some earlier ones like the *Parasuramesvara* or the less elaborate ones like the Vaital Deul which have a complete shrine in the *deul* and the *jagamohana* taken together.



Another view of the wall of Muktesvara Temple

We need not enter into details here as to the architectural designs and measurements of the Bhuvanesvara group of temples under review. Suffice it to say that *vimana* or the main icon-sanctuary is an elaborate structure of rock-cut paraphernalia of a tapering type. The superstructure is from without a huge mass of rock that has been given a rhythmic form with the chisel by the Orissan *sthapatis* (architects and sculptors). The *bada* or the ground-plan is often a square and flat surface like a quadrangular *verandah* running around the

* "Vimana is the name of the temple built according to tradition (*Sastra*) by the application of various proportionate measurements or various standards of proportionate measurement. The nodule is either purely architectural, or being taken from the Linga or image in the Garbhagriha is, in principle, common to the building, the main object of worship and the builder." (Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple*, Vol. I, p. 138).

vimana. Next is the *pida* or the first structure on which the whole gigantic super-structure is rested and which contains carvings of figures all around. Nirmal Kumar Bose (*ibid*) has given special names to the parts of the figure-inlaid portions of the wall below the curvilinear tower. His *pida*, however, is an extension of the *bhadra structure*, but Percy Brown (*ibid*) has made the *pida* a generic name. Be that as it may, the elaborate inlays and carvings on the outer walls of the structures are really masterpieces of Orissan architecture. Deva Prasad Ghosh (*Orissan Temples*) has shown that this decorative impulse of the Orissan *sishapatis* was the outcome of rare genius. "They transformed," he observes, "the cold and bare surfaces of the walls into a glowing mass, with carvings of intricate variety and delicate fancy." The linear spire that rises up towards the dome in a tapering measurement is often called the *amla* in the Bhuvanesvara group of temples, and the metallic (originally golden?) emblem resting on a lotus-like circular cap on the *amla* is called the *kalasa* or often the *ghantakalasa*. This in a nutshell is the plan of the Bhuvanesvara temple.



Animal-faced Deity at Bhaskareswara Temple

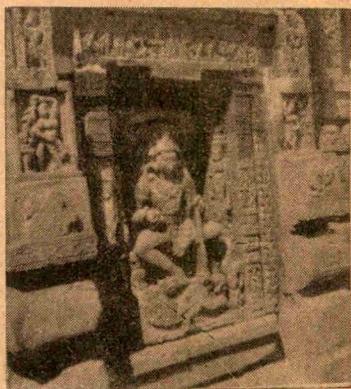
The Bhuvanesvara temple is rich in decorations and the iconographic studies are an interesting one. The main icon in the *garbhagriha* (*sanctum sanctorum*) is always a *Linga* but in the Bhuvanesvara *Linga* we find two religious cults meet. The *Linga* is always the representation of a two-icon deity called *Harihara* of which we shall have occasion to speak below. The outside decorations and the iconographic specimens are varied and not only are the main deities of the Hindu pantheon represented in bold relief but there are also male and female figures, epic-representations, *naga-nagini*s and profuse floral or ornamental decorations. Yajna Datta Sharma (*Orissan Temples*) has opined (*contra* Mano Mohan Ganguly, *Orissa and Her Remains*) that "it would be better perhaps to view the temple ornament from two separate but allied angles, (i) architectural and (ii) sculptural." His endeavour to restore from oblivion names in the local art-school

of various motifs on the walls, pillars, cornices, clerestories and ground-plans is laudable.

Let us give an idea of the ornamental motif on the outer walls of the Bhuvanesvara temples. The *bada* of the Muktesvara temple is rich in floral decorations and the lotus-motif is very prominent as being present in a row of decorative balustrades (see Fig. 1). Moreover, the Muktesvara *bada* has a human-motif and there is a superb representation in a peculiar posture of two human figures lying one upon the other but giving two more postures from a different angle, thus giving four human figures though two are actually carved (see Fig. 2).

A rare specimen of symbolic Orissan decoration is found in a figure in an obscure shrine just at the outskirts of the town, viz., the Bhaskaresvara temple. It is the three-handed figure of a human body with an animal mouth† with a *nijamurti*-figure (of a female-nymph) on the left-hand side holding in a dancing posture a resting-place for the left arm of the statue—a rare specimen indeed (see Fig. 3). The standing figure, has *kundalas* (ear-ornaments) and *upavita* (the sacred thread around the neck and chest) and holds a weapon in his right hand.

The Parasuramesvara temple in Bhuvanesvara which is hailed as the specimen of earliest Orissan temple-architecture is a two-structured shrine still standing in its pristine purity. The *jagamohana* is of a simple clerestoric fluted disc with figures inlaid on the *pida* walls. There are *mahalakshmi* images with a pronounced sexual relief as representation of a symbolic divinity of fertility. In Orissan temple-architecture we believe, the

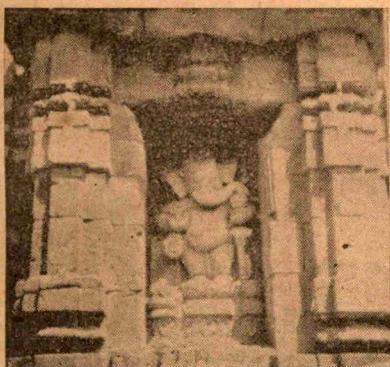


The figure of Kartikeya at Parasurameswara Temple

artist was trained to a sort of erotic representation representing the symbol of Life. Be that as it may, a very fine *Kartikeya* image, though somewhat mutilated, is to be found on the outer wall of the *vimana* of this Temple.

† It is difficult to identify the image—the face being somewhat like a lion's (or better a tiger's) puzzles us in correctly identifying it. Is it the *narasimha* incarnation of Vishnu? But that will tell against the stylistic representation of the image. Or, is it that the famous *kirttimukha* (lion-mask) is here superimposed on a deity, though the *kirttimukha* is only a symbolic decoration on the niches of the walls?

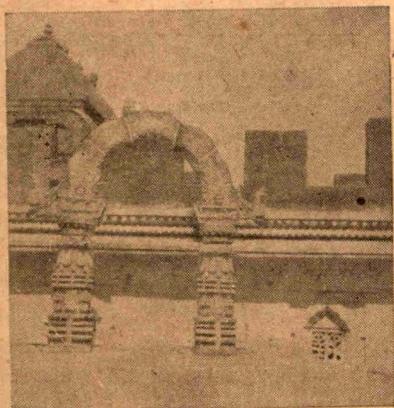
The serene face of the god with one of his feet and a weapon resting over a couchant peacock, his carrier, is an exquisite representation of earliest Orissan temple-sculpture (see Fig. 4). Then the *Ganesha* image is a common iconographic representation on the outer walls of the *vimana* or the *jagamohana* of Bhuvanesvara Temples. Leaving aside the famous huge black-stone *Ganesha* image in the Lingaraja shrine, we have an exquisite specimen on the *jagamohana* wall of the Siddhesvara temple at Bhuvanesvara (see Fig. 5). It



Ganesha image of Siddheswara Temple

is a *Ganesha* standing on a lotus-pedestal with four hands, having the four kinds of things that he is wont to carry (a rosary, a pot of *nadus*—a favourite sweet with him, etc.), together with a fat mouse, his carrier, standing on a pedestal.

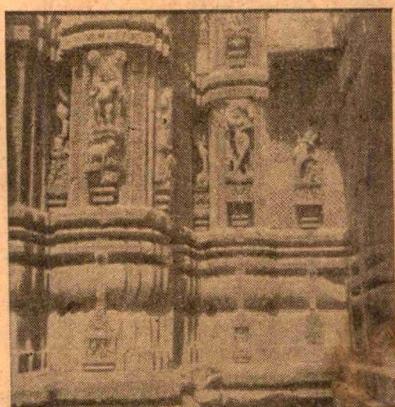
Now we shall speak a few words about the artistic representations and the architectural designs of a few specimens of the Bhuvanesvara temple-group. The Vaital Deul in the town is a gabled structure reminding us of the Buddhist *Chaitya*-type architecture. It is a new



Gateway of Vaital Deul

type, and strange to say, the Konarak *Surya* in his celestial car is represented here in miniature in a medallion and there is a fine *Nataraja* on the *bhoga*-projection of the *jagamohana* clerestory. An exquisite *Mahishamardini* figure on the outer wall of the gabled

vimana is a rare specimen of Orissan sculpture. Moreover, outside the boundary-wall there is a miniature gateway probably erected later (see Deva Prasad Ghosh in *Orissan Temples*), which is nevertheless a beautifully artistic one with fine beads and floral and animal designs with a *Kirttimukha* on the top-centre (see Fig. 6). This gateway is, however, not so artistic as the one at Muktesvara temple which contains human figures and other vegetation-designs in a more artistic and symbolic representation. The Rajrani (King and Queen) temple at Bhuvanesvara with no icon in the *garbhagriha* is, to us, the finest specimen of Orissan sculpture. Its walls (see Fig. 7) with exquisite figure-works and ornamentations, its rich niches with pendant floral and necklace-like strings and its general tone and temper lend to it an aura of grandeur. A part of any wall takes hours to study fully and it is all around inter-set with such decorations. There is a local tradition that a certain native prince built it not for any religious purpose but for taking delight in seeing his subjects' keenness of execution in sculpture. Hence, perhaps, there is no icon and the name is like that. Be that as it may, the walls contain figures of *nartaki*, *nagini*, *dvarapala*, and *yoddhri* (dancing girls, serpent-girls, gate-keepers and warriors respectively). Some incidents are also recorded in bold relief. Besides that there are floral



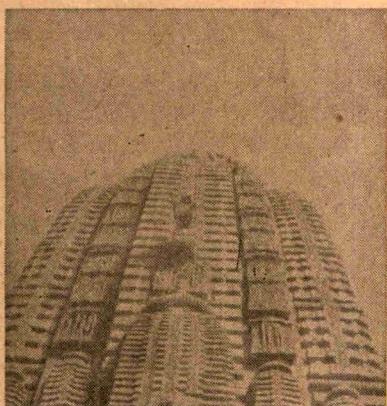
Figures in the wall of Raja Rani Temple

and bead designs, fine lattices and decorated pilasters—all of which are lavishly executed. The Ananta Vasudeva temple in Bhuvanesvara is the only Vishnu temple there and it is also a grand one. The dome of the *vimana* (see Fig. 8) containing human figures in pairs and converging towards the *ghantakalasa* is a masterpiece of architecture. The tapering dome or *amla* of the Bhuvanesvara temples contains, besides *Kirttimukhas* referred to above, the peculiar *gajasimhas* (couchant lions on prostrate elephants) of the Orissan School. These may be said to be the guardians of the temples, as not only in the *amla* but even at the gateways these are prominent.

The Lingaraja—undoubtedly the most magnificent of Orissan temples—is an enormous plan within a huge

courtyard containing many other smaller temples. The four-structured shrine of the presiding deity of the town with its *jagamohana* and *vimana* containing celestial figures, human figures, animal figures and narrative figures from the Epics, besides the *gajasimbas* and *kirttimukhas* and all kinds of designs, makes the spectator stand amazed. Besides, the Brahmesvara and the Kapilesvara temples at the two outskirts of the town are huge and grand structures. The two-structured Brahmesvara is *panchayatana* in plan, i.e., four other

smaller shrines at the four corners of the same compound are existent along with the main shrine. The Kapilesvara temple is a four-structured one with many smaller shrines within the compound. The covered *verandah* or corridor connecting the *bhogamandira* with other parts is a majestic one with figures illustrating narratives from the Puranas inlaid on its walls. It is strange that Percy Brown in his book referred to above has not noted this grand temple of this belt. The Brahmesvara temple is also rich in narrative decoration.



The dome of Ananta Vasudeva Temple

A few words on the *Harihara* cult of Bhuvanesvara should be said. The presiding *Lingas* or even figures on the outer walls (as two such beautiful figures are to be found in the dilapidated Ramesvara temple) are Siva-Vishnu according to the cult of this belt. The Ramesvara figures show that in the same image the characteristics of both these deities are preserved (half Siva and half Vishnu). Therefore in these temples the offerings are purely vegetarian for the association of Vishnu. Parvati, the consort of Siva, and Lakshmi the consort of Vishnu, are given equal status. This Siva-Vishnu cult is a particularly Orissan one and we suppose that Orissa was the meeting-ground of not only artistic but also religious cults. The strong Saiva current of the North and the Vaishnava current of the South might have met and mingled here on the congenial soil of peaceful Orissa.

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RAM GOPAL VIJAYVARGIYA AND HIS ART

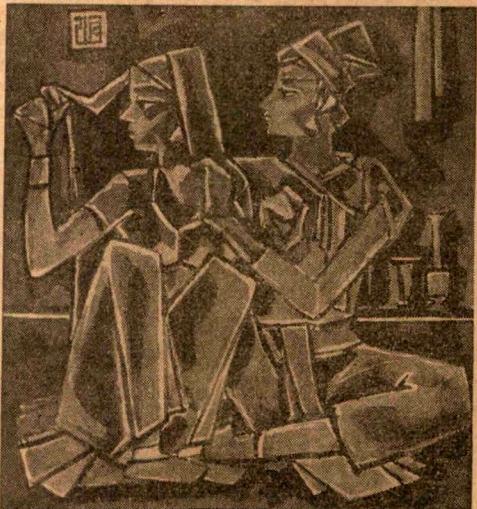
BY MANOHAR PRABHAKAR, M. A.

A few miles away from the important town, Sawai Madhopur, in Southern Rajasthan is a village with dense forests, pretty hills, tall trees and scattered houses known as Baler. This is the native place of Shri Ram Gopal Vijayvargiya, the celebrated artist of India, who was born here in November, 1905 with silver spoon in his mouth and grew into manhood with brush and colours in his hands. His worthy father, the late Shri Bhanwari Lal, was a successful businessman as well as the *Kamdar* of the Baler estate. From his very boyhood, Vijayvargiya had a natural aptitude and a strong attraction for drawing and painting. But his father wanted to see him as a high Government official. That was why he was very often rebuked whenever his father found him engaged in sketching and drawing. Despite all these difficulties and obstacles, his practice could not be discontinued.

ON THE PATH OF PUBLICITY

In the year 1930, *The Modern Review* was the first journal to publish his painting, captioned *Water Carrier* in which three Rajasthani ladies carrying water-pots on their heads were portrayed. After that all the leading journals of the time came to appreciate his artistic talents by publishing his paintings in prominent

places. *Prabasi*, *Vishal Bharat*, *Saraswati*, *Madhuri*, *Chand* and *Hans* were the magazines in which his paintings used to appear very often.



Lovers

EXHIBITIONS AND HONOURS

In the year 1932, the first exhibition of Vijayvargiya's paintings was held in Calcutta which is considered to be the main centre of paintings of modern style. Here, the paintings of Vijayvargiya captivated the attention of reputed Bengali artists and art-critics. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee writing about his art in the *Advance* expressed that some of Vijayvargiya's artistic creations reminded him of Ajanta paintings. Just after a year of this exhibition, the Fine Art Institute of Calcutta honoured Ram Gopal by awarding him a certificate of high proficiency. In 1934, in the Delhi Art Exhibition his

influenced by the Oriental school of painting developed in Bengal and also by the Rajput school of painting. He independently experiments his own original style.

SUBJECTS OF PAINTINGS

The subjects of Vijayvargiya's paintings are rich and varied and they possess great emotional power. On the one hand his brush portrays the romantic scenes full of voluptuous beauty and exuberant youth, on the other, he takes delight in depicting the supermen of epics and history.



Fruit-seller

work was very much appreciated and he was rewarded by His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala. Since then his fame began to grow and spread not only in India but abroad also, and today he occupies a unique position among the well-known artists of India. The museums of London, Allahabad, Banaras and Jaipur have the proud privilege of possessing his masterpieces in their sections of fine arts.

ORIGINALITY OF STYLE

Artist Vijayvargiya does not follow any particular style. However, it may be remarked that he is deeply



On the way to market

Vijayvargiya has intensively studied Persian and Sanskrit, and has taken his themes from the *Kadambari*, *Abhijnan-Shakuntala*, *Meghadoot*, *Kumar-Sambhava*, *Geeta-Govinda*, *Raghu-Vansha* and *Rubaiyat of Omar Khaiyam*. He has also painted folk life. For such paintings, he has derived his inspiration from indigenous sources.

CHOICE OF COLOURS

Painter Ram Gopal prefers soft, delicate washes of two or three colours in their graded shades. Sky-blue is one of the pet colours of Vijayvargiya.

CONCEPTION OF ART

Vijayvargiya has always given his recognition to the principle of 'Art for art's sake.' But at the same time he does not ignore the utilitarian viewpoint of art in life.



Women carrying pitchers

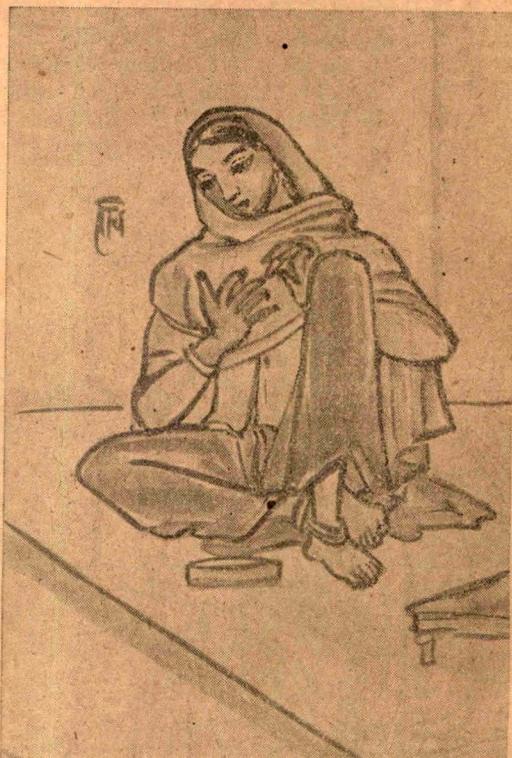
AN OUTSTANDING POET

Anyone who has availed himself of the opportunity of being personally acquainted with Shri Vijayvargiya will vouch for the fact that his outward appearance give the impression rather of a poet than a painter. Fair complexion, middle height, smiling lips and curling hair are the distinguishing characteristics which lend him the personality of a poet. As an outstanding poet Shri Vijayvargiya has contributed 'Alkavali' 'Chingariyan' 'Shatdal' and 'Nisha Abhisar' to Hindi literature and enriched its treasure. His recent publication entitled

Rajasthani Chitra Kala will also be regarded as the most informative and the best book on Rajasthani styles of painting.

PRINCIPAL AND MEMBER OF N.A.F.

Passing through the forty-eighth year of his life Shri

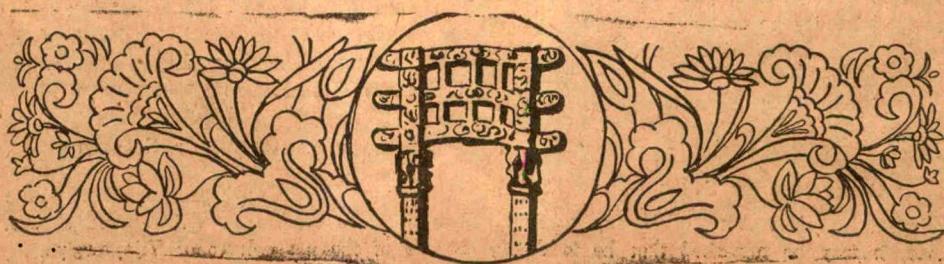


Toilet

Vijayvargiya is working as the Principal of the *Rajasthan Kala Mandir*, a Government Institute of art-education for girls. He is also the head of the department of painting in *Lalit Kala Sansthan* at Jaipur. He has also been nominated as a member of the National Academy of Fine Arts from Rajasthan.

CONCLUSION

Artist Vijayvargiya is one of the top-ranking artists of our country. He has a style of his own and his best paintings will ever remain alive in the mind of man.

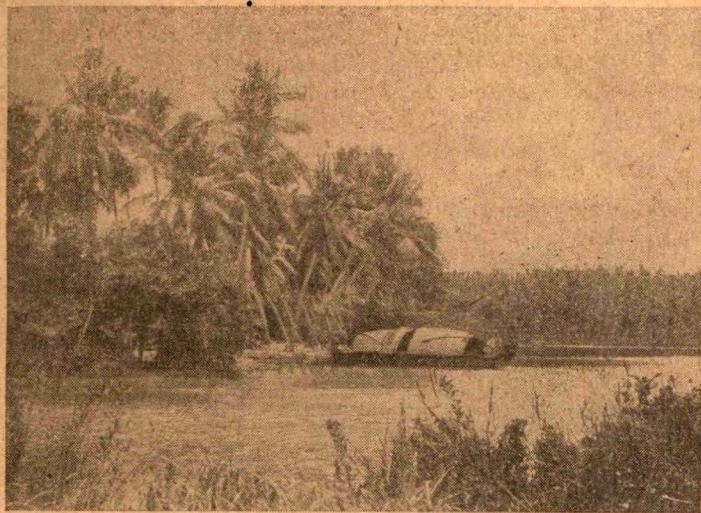


PICTURESQUE KOVALAM

By K. P. PADMANABHAN TAMPY, B.A.

THE most alluring beauty spot which lies nearest to Trivandrum is Kovalam situated in a seaside village nestling amidst dense palm groves. Ten miles to the south of the city is this popular week-end resort and

whole of India is another temple dedicated principally to Sri Parasurama other than at Thiruvallam, and this unique feature adds to the importance of this shrine. The temple is situated amidst picturesque surroundings and the Karamana river winds its way close by. The peculiar gable style of architecture, the wood carvings and stone sculpture in the temple are of especial interest. Orthodox Hindus perform *shraddas* (religious rites in honour of their departed relatives) at Thiruvallam and worship at the temple.



A view of the canal leading to Kovalam

sanatorium. Kovalam is a pretty hamlet consisting of thatched cottages scattered over a vast area on and nearabout the sea-shore and hiding as it were in the midst of luxuriant tropical vegetation. The shimmering sea and the picturesque rocky cliff lend rare enchantment to this region. With a landscape richly blessed with fragrant hilly pastures and delightful hills, Kovalam, the favoured goal of tourists, offers a wealth of attractions and experiences to the visitor who is seized with curiosity and longing to examine the contrasts of landscape presented here. Few spots on earth are better calculated to give an idea of Nature's infinite grandeur. The drive from Trivandrum to Kovalam is particularly beautiful. The principal charm of a trip to Kovalam is its complete restfulness and the entire absence of bustle, while something interesting is always within sight. Villages slip past and extensive paddy fields stretch flat to a distant horizon.

On the way to Kovalam, just four miles from Trivandrum, you cross the Karamana river at Thiruvallam. At Thiruvallam is a famous and sacred temple dedicated to Sri Parasurama. Nowhere else in the

Leaving Thiruvallam the drive is across a typical rural area. A short detour from the main route to Kovalam leads to Vellayani. Splendid views over the sea are obtained on this country road which cuts across the countryside. The Vellayani Kayal is a fresh-water lake surrounded by dense cocoanut plantations and green paddy fields. At Vellayani is an old Bhagavati temple.



A view of the river which empties itself into the sea at Kovalam

As you approach the outskirts of Kovalam, the dry wind changes into a cool and balmy sea-breeze. The first and at once entralling glimpse of Kovalam is across the cluster of sheltering palms lining the sea-front, and the undulating valley of green. At certain points the sea seems to stretch almost parallel

to the road. The whole region is undulating. Every inch of arable ground is covered with tapioca, the principal food of the poor, and the labouring classes. Cocoanut, mango and jack trees and different varieties of luscious plantains are also seen in abundance. The car glides right down to the end of the well-laid-out road, to the sands and you stand face to face with Kovalam.

Kovalam has deservedly become the most popular week-end and holiday resort owing to its proximity to the town. This charming spot which is reached from Trivandrum by car in half an hour can also be reached by the Karamana river which empties itself at Kovalam into the sea. Kovalam can also be reached by the sea from Trivandrum in a *vallam*, country boat, or the distance can be walked along the sandy seashore. In any case, the trip is pleasant.



A view of the quiet countryside on the way to Kovalam

A beautiful piece of low-level land terminating in a cape higher than the contiguous coast, Kovalam comprises two promontories in between which is a sheltered bay. There is a very small village port with a lovely bay which affords tolerably safe landing in fine season. On the southern boundary of the bay is the picturesque rocky cliff with black rocks of varying sizes and diverse shapes piled one over the other in wild and chaotic disorder. The cliff is austere, imposing and magnificent. A view from the crest of this cliff offers one of the finest sea-views in the world.

At Kovalam there is a mysterious cave around which time has woven many interesting legends. This wonderful cave is in common parlance called *Udayar Vazhy*. A furlong to the interior of the picturesque rocky cliff is a precipitous and narrow pass. The cave is at the farthest end of this pass. Weird sounds are

caused when sea water rushes into this deep and dangerous cave. It is not possible to see clearly water rushing in, for the mouth of the cave is partially hidden by a huge globe-like stone towering six feet above the sea level. It is said that if this black rock is blasted away, the interior of the cave would be fully visible. To the right of the narrow pass visitors could stand and look round. The left side presents the appearance of a small forest. To obtain the best possible view of this strange cave one should embark either a catamaran or canoe and take a position facing the cave. Of course, this is a difficult and irksome task full of thrill. The interior of the cave is broad. The figure of a person seems to occupy the centre of the cave. When the rays of the setting sun reflect inside the cave, two eyes of flame are noticed there. One hears the noise of the sea water flowing into the

recesses of the cave. The sea water, however, does not flow back into the ocean. Legend avers that this awe-inspiring cave has its terminus at the foot of the Mookunni Malai, a small mountain range about 20 miles to the interior. Aged people who inhabit the coast say that terrible sounds emanate from the cave before the outbreak of the monsoon. It is believed that such sounds indicate an imminent monsoon.

Legend says that many years ago when Kovalam was occupied by Pandarams, a section of the Saivities, one of their priests or *Udayars* as they were called, used to observe penance inside this cave. The *Udayar* who was a saint was in the habit of praying inside the cave for days together at a stretch without coming out or partaking of food.

At last he informed his disciples that he had determined to take up his permanent abode inside the cave and commanded them to close the mouth of the cave. The dutiful disciples rolled down a huge stone to cover the mouth of the cave but the stone failed to serve the purpose. The *Udayar* did not again make his appearance outside the cave. Religious belief asserts that in places where such saints attain *samadhi* (casting off their mortal coil), *Siva Lingams* (Phallus consecrated as God Siva) occur. It may be that the figure which appears to occupy the interior of the cave is either a *Siva Lingam*, or the body of the *Udayar* himself turned into stone!

Another interesting sight is the balancing rock on the southern side. There a huge oval-shaped black rock of ominous appearance rests upon another equally huge rock maintaining a sort of precarious balance. When the gales blow, the balancing rock

swings gently and this sight is awe-inspiring. This place though fraught with danger affords ample scope for the experienced and daring rock-climber to enjoy a bit of strenuous rock-climbing. To the eastern side there is a huge black rock which resembles a big elephant in a crouching posture. This rock in common



Kovalam bathing beach

parlance is called *Anappara* (Elephant Rock). Tradition and legend aver that many many years ago an elephant which had set its foot on the particular spot (where the rock now stands) was all of a sudden transformed into a rock and there the unfortunate beast stands petrified even to this day!

The perfection of the beautiful unfolds itself to the gaze of the visitor at this lovely spot. See Nature's pranks and her splendour at Kovalam. The beach gleams. The pretty rocky cliff on one side of the Kovalam beach rises in delicate curves, imposing and lovely. Thirty and more feet above the visitor's head the feathery leaves of the coconut palms wave gracefully. They have no community of action, but blow this way and that at their pleasure only protesting unanimously if the breeze annoys them with full-volumed force. When the air is calm the palms converse with graceful gestures beckoning with suavest invitation. Warm breeze, gentle and invigorating, caresses the entire area. Colour and light enliven the landscape. Here beauty is everywhere in hill and dale, sea and river, nature and art, land and ocean, all joined together in the imperishability of the sublime.

On clear mornings and evenings when the sun shines, when the picturesque rocky cliff and the emerald green meadows close to the shore are clothed in majestic splendour the tourist should hike along the contiguous coast and then will he behold a magnificent sight. Land and sea seem to merge into one another till he hardly knows where the earth ends and the waters begin. A riotous carnival of colours greets his vision.

To witness on a summer evening sunset at the Kovalam beach is to see an indescribable spectacle of beauty, majesty and charm. What wonderful colours for the artist's palette this bewitching scene conjures up! The luminous glories of colour that creep into the sky are simply entralling. The glorious arch overhead, of a deeper blue than the sky ever was, is lavishly embellished with patches of sheeny clouds tinged with the deepest and softest hues of infinite variety. The clouds themselves are of all shapes changing every moment, both in form and decoration



The picturesque rocky cliff at Kovalam Beach.
The P.W.D. Bathing Shed is also seen

through the varied effects of light and shade. On all sides as far as the eye could reach is the blue ocean, the sheltering palms lining the coast, the luxuriant herbage and the sparkling white sands. The bright sun shows his broad and crimson disc through an aperture of the light clouds and the abundant glories which fall in torrents in divergent pencil rays render the place lovely and romantic beyond description. The

setting sun leaves behind a whirl of pink opal where the clouds jostle against each other. To the east the sky is topaz, lemon and turquoise while the sea assumes myriad tints and the palms are dark green. The glassy casements of the P.W.D. Camp Shed which stands silhouetted against a flaming sky blaze in the crimson light due to the magic of the vanishing Sun-God. Birds chirp and dash fast to their nests. Fishing boats are launched into the ocean by the daring fisherfolk. All is quiet and mysteriously solemn. To sit on the Kovalam beach and watch this gorgeous natural phenomenon is to witness and enjoy one of the most colourful and thrilling sights of the earth. The sands themselves glitter and sparkle in the fading red light of the setting sun and there is a glorious shimmer on the surface of the rolling sea. The tiny lamps burning in the hovels of the fishermen give forth a reddish yellow light and add to the charm of the scene.

To stand on the rocky cliff and see the fiery red ball of the setting sun leaving multi-coloured luminous streaks on the horizon as it sinks into the sea, is a thrilling sight, clothed in a halo of mystery. The waters of the turbulent sea dash into the grottos with tremendous fury shooting up powerful sprays. See Kovalam at dusk when the heat no longer reflects off the mounting sand, when the cool ozone-bearing night breeze hisses across the palm-fringed shores with lovely sand dunes, when the tide booms against the shores throwing up sprays and the sea takes an unearthly glow.

Kovalam is an incomparably beautiful paradise for camping, picnic, sea-bathing, angling, fishing, swimming, surf-riding and yachting. In dug-out canoes and catamarans, quaint little crafts constructed by the dexterous fisherfolk who inhabit the coast, they brave the heavy surf and venture far out into the sea in pursuit of their livelihood. This familiar sight at Kovalam beach at the break of dawn and close of day is thrilling. It is a pleasure to be rowed into the sea on a catamaran in the evening and from there to gaze into the immensity which stretches itself

before the visitor and to spend a pleasant hour beneath the blue summer sky.

Seated on one of the rocks buttressing into the sea, one can try his hand at fishing. Buoyant fisher-folk striplings with but a semblance of dress comprising a loin cloth tightly drawn over the waist can be seen standing over the slippery rocks and fishing with rods and tackles for hours together without knowing any fatigue or losing patience. Or one can wade into the sea, stand in the waist-deep water and enjoy a game of angling. To observe agile fish and crabs darting across and hiding in the abundant creeks is an interesting sight.

When evening shadows cast their mystic spell of secrecy and soft murmurings and whispers emanate out of the sea, enjoy a sea-bath at Kovalam. The bathing beach here is one of the most delightful beaches in the world. The shore is rapturous with the unending music of the waves over the rocks and the sand dunes. The sea in the ample embrace of pretty bays, or clear and limpid in narrow creeks, is always charming. Bathing at the swimming place at Kovalam is safe and most refreshing.

Kovalam on a moonlit night is simply bewitching. The silver moon hangs in the air shedding her rays on the ripples, waves, rocks and sands making them all the more lovely. The scene then seems like the Throne of the Invisible sentinelled by a galaxy of bright stars. On such a night when the land lies lovely beneath the moon it is a great experience to enjoy a sea-bath at Kovalam and watch the grand panorama which unfolds itself before us.

The splendours of Kovalam have remained unchanged; only things have been made more convenient for those who wish to enjoy them. It is in this lovely and unspoiled scene where nature and mankind are so coalescent that the profound sublimity of Nature can best be appreciated.

"Ah, what pleasant visions haunt me
As I gaze upon the Sea!
All the old romantic legends,
All the dreams come back to me."





The Hindu College.

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THE HINDU COLLEGE, PREDECESSOR OF THE PRESIDENCY COLLEGE

The Story of Its Foundation

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

THE Presidency College has just completed its hundred years. This has given occasion for the centenary celebrations of the institution. The College started work on the 15th June, 1854. It formally opened on the same date a year later as the Presidency College, Calcutta, after the approval and sanction of the Court of Directors reached the country. But the College was not altogether a new thing. Its predecessor, the Hindu College, was split up into two separate and distinct institutions in 1854. Its senior department formed the Presidency College and junior department the Hindu School, and the scholarships and bursaries were divided between them. The Hindu College had a chequered career. Its contribution to the progress of the country can never be overestimated. It is but meet to discuss the history of this pioneer institution not only in Bengal, but in the whole of India as well. I propose to give here in brief the story of its foundation only.

The importance and far-reaching effect of the instruction imparted in the Hindu College, attracted the notice of the publicists and authors even in the thirties of the last century. *The Calcutta Christian Observer* gave a running account of this institution, based on contemporary evidence, in its first three issues—June, July and August, 1832. James Kerr, Principal of the Hindu College (1843-48), devoted a considerable portion of his book, *Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency* (1851), to the history of the Hindu College. Rajnarain Bose of hallowed memory traced the origin and progress of the Hindu and the Presidency College on the occasion of the first College Re-union in early 1875. *Presidency College Register* was compiled and published under official auspices in 1927. In an important

paper* on Indian education of those days by Brajendra Nath Banerjee, much new light was thrown on the origin and foundation of the Hindu College. The present writer discovered, two decades ago, the MSS. *Proceedings of the Hindu College Managing Committee*, written in detail from 1816 to 1832, and in brief from 1833 up to 1850 in the family library of Rajah Radhakant Deb. He also contributed papers at that time on the Hindu College, in its first phase, based on these MSS. records and supplemented by the contemporary newspapers. The present article is also mainly based on these materials, in MSS. and in print.

II

The educational policy of the East India Company took a definite shape after 1813. This year the Company's Charter was renewed, and it was stipulated in one of its Clauses that the Company's local government should spend one lakh of rupees annually on education. There was no question of English education at the time in spite of the far-fetched construction of the Clause by Thomas Babington Macaulay twenty years later in favour of English education. The sum of one lakh was to be spent exclusively for oriental studies—Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian. And this was for two reasons: (1) The official language, including the language of the Courts, was Persian, and (2) The Company's local authorities thought that official encouragement of studies other than oriental might alienate the sympathy of the

* "Rammohun Roy as an Educational Pioneer" in *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XVI, Pt. II. Mr. Banerjee has quoted the letter of Sir Edward Hyde East, dated 18th May 1816, in full in this paper. I have occasion to refer to it in this article.

pe: He towards British rule. The former was the main reason that those versed in Persian found employment in the Government as *Sadar Ameens*, corresponding to the modern Munsiffs, and other similar posts. The English-educated youths were not given employment worth the name in any government department till the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1833.

But the Indians had already come in contact with the British officials and non-officials. Necessity of learning the English language was keenly felt by even the rank and file for their constant intercourse with the British businessmen. Some schools had been started for giving the Indian boys rudimentary instruction in English. Radhakant Deb, Dwarkanath Tagore and Rameomul Sen, who rose to eminence in after life, took their first lessons in English in these *pathsalas*. Drummond's Dhuramtollah Academy was an institution of a higher type. It was here that the famous Derozio studied in his early life. But the gentlemen named above as well as a good many others acquired proficiency in English language and literature by private study and began to appreciate their values. Raja Rammohun Roy preceded all of them in acquiring sufficient knowledge in English. But it is not on record that he received English instruction in any school or *pathsala* then in vogue. Even the *mandits* or the learned Sanskrit scholars heard of the richness of English literature through their compatriots and favoured the idea of imparting instruction in this lore to the younger generation.

The idea was already there. But it was left for David Hare, the watch-maker, to give it a concrete shape. He envisaged the prospects and possibilities of English education in India. He mooted the subject at a private meeting at Rammohun Roy's house. When the credit for the foundation of the Hindu College was sought to be divided between Sir Edward Hyde East and Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson in 1830, a bitter controversy started in the newspapers, and it was agreed by almost everybody that the 'originator' of the College, truly speaking, was David Hare, because the idea of such an institution at first originated with him. It was also David Hare who prepared the plan for the Hindu College. It was on the basis of this plan that subsequent efforts were made. We have the following recorded in the June, 1832 issue of *The Calcutta Christian Observer*:

"The late Mr. Derozio, who, from his intimacy with David Hare and the Native community, as well as from his knowledge of the proceedings of the College, certainly had good grounds for the assertion which he so resolutely maintained, that 'previous to the aforesaid meeting being held (on the 14th May, 1816), a paper, both author and originator of which was Mr. Hare, and the purport of which was, a proposal for the establishment of

a College, was handed to Sir Hyde East by a Native for his countenance and support.'*

This point was elaborated in the July (1832) issue of the *Observer*. Here we find that a few persons assembled at Rammohun Roy's house when David Hare made the above proposal. This proposal received general approbation from those present there. Hare subsequently prepared a plan for the same, and Dewan Baidya Nath Mukherjee was deputed to collect subscriptions. Rammohun Roy was in the know of the proposal made at his house and in his presence, as well as the plan for founding a well-organised English seminary. The *Observer* writes that 'this circular was put into the hands of Sir E. H. East, who was very much pleased with the proposal, and after making a few corrections, offered his most cordial aid in the promotion of its object.'

From other contemporary or nearly contemporary sources it is clear that Rammohun Roy was closely associated with David Hare and some of their common friends in communicating the plan of the College to their opulent as well as learned countrymen. It may be presumed that the weighty support of no less a distinguished person than Rammohun was responsible for its being publicised in so short a time. It is, therefore, difficult to appreciate the view of those who say that Rammohun had no connection whatsoever with the foundation of the Hindu College.

III

Sir Edward Hyde East, Chief Justice, Supreme Court of Calcutta, was held in high esteem by the members of the Hindu and the European community. Invitations were sent in his name to the leading members of both the communities, to assemble at a meeting in East's house. As scheduled, the meeting was held there on 14th May, 1816. The Hindus necessarily predominated. This meeting is very memorable, because it is from here that the history of modern education in India properly begins. We have two accounts of this momentous meeting, one very brief in the *MSS. Proceedings of the Hindu College*, and the other in considerable details in the letter of Sir E. H. East, written only four days after the meeting took place. The account in the *Proceedings* tallies substantially with that given in the letter, and is inserted as follows:

"A very respectable meeting of the Hindoos assembled at this meeting by individual invitation at the house of the Hon'ble the Chief Justice, for

* *Vide "A Sketch of the Origin, Rise and Progress of the Hindoo College"* in the June, July and August, 1832, issues of *The Calcutta Christian Observer*.

† The sources referred to are: (1) Sir E. H. East's letter to J. H. Harrington, written on 18th May, 1816; (2) *Samachar Durpan*, 8th July, 1831, (3) Peary Chand Mitra's *A Biographical Sketch of David Hare* (1877), p. 6, besides *The Calcutta Christian Observer* (1832).

the purpose of subscribing to and forming an Establishment for the liberal education of their children.

"The business of the day was opened by the Chief Justice, who addressed the meeting as to the object for which they were assembled and as to the benefit that his Lordship considered would be derived by the country at large from forming an establishment for the education of their youths.

"The proposal was received with the unanimous approbation of all the natives present including the most eminent pundits, who sanctioned with their express support, and recommendation.

"A large sum of money was immediately subscribed by most of those present, and it being understood that there were many Hindoo gentlemen who were not present, that were anxious to become subscribers to the Institution, another meeting was by the consent of the Chief Justice appointed to be held at his Lordship's house on Tuesday the 21st of May, when a committee might be chosen for preparing details of the plan, and taking measures for proceeding to a project and place for the College proposed to be erected. The Meeting was therefore adjourned till Tuesday 21st May and subscriptions appointed to be received in the meantime by W. C. Blaqueire and J. W. Croft, Esqrs."

In his above-mentioned letter Sir E. H. East noted some 'singularities' of this important assemblage. In his words, 'One of the singularities of the meeting was, that it was composed of persons of various castes, all combining for such a purpose, whom nothing else could have brought together; whose children are to be taught, though not fed, together.' East was struck with the enthusiasm of the prominent pundits, Sanskrit scholars, for the introduction of Western literature and science. He writes that 'when they were about to depart, the head pundit, in the name of himself and others, said that they rejoiced in having lived to see the day when literature (many parts of which had formerly been cultivated in this country with considerable success, but which were now nearly extinct) was about to be revived with greater lustre and prospect of success than ever.' According to the letter, the subjects to be taught in the proposed institution, were:

"The cultivation of the Bengalee and English languages in particular; next, the Hindostanee tongue, as convenient in the Upper Provinces; and then the Persian, if desired, as ornamental; general duty to God; the English system of morals . . . grammar, writing (in English as well as in Bengalee), arithmetic (this is one of the Hindu virtues), history, geography, astronomy, mathematics; and in time, as the fund increases, English belles-lettres, poetry, etc., etc."

A few things are to be noted. In both the accounts, the name of David Hare, the 'originator of the plan,' did not occur. Hare never liked to come to the forefront. In the letter of Sir Edward, 'Ram-

mohun Roy came up prominently. The orthodox pundits objected to his having any connection with the proposed institution. One of them went so far as to say that he would have nothing to do with it, if they accepted subscriptions from Rammohun Roy. Rammohun retired, even before the foundation of the College was formally resolved upon.

IV

At the second general meeting held on 21st May, the proposal took a definite form. Some resolutions were accepted. By one the establishment of the institution was resolved upon, and its name was to be



Gopee Mohun Tagore

"Hindoo College." By another resolution, a General Committee was appointed for the realisation of this object. This Committee consisted of ten Europeans and twenty Indians, representing the elite and enlightened of both the communities. It should be noted that amongst the Indian members, as many as five were the most prominent pundits, or Sanskrit scholars. Joseph Barretto, the famous businessman and philanthropist, was appointed treasurer.

Subsequent meetings of the General Committee were also held at East's house and under his chairmanship. At the meeting on 27th May, Lt.-Col. Francis Irvine of the Military Department and Dewan Baidyanath Mukherjee who had taken keen interest in the matter from the very start, were appointed European and "Native" secretaries temporarily. Some tentative rules were framed on this

occasion, and the members were requested individually to give their opinion on them. They might also make some rules themselves and send them to the Committee. A Select Committee was formed 'to take measures for providing a proper place for the site of the intended College as well as to procure a temporary building for the purpose of commencing institution in the Bengalee and English language as soon as possible.'

The General Committee again met on 11th June. After the formal business was finished, the European members withdrew in a body, never to take any active part in the proceedings. Even Sir Edward Hyde East and J. H. Harington, two very ardent supporters of the cause, were to be regarded as private friends. The reason of their withdrawal is that even in 1816, the local authorities believed that co-operation with the Indians in such matters might be construed as governmental interference. The actual lines of the *Proceedings* in this connection are:

"The English gentlemen of the Committee desire to relinquish their right of voting on any question which may come before the Committee, though they will always be ready to assist the Native committee with their advice in any matter in which they may consult them.

"Sir Edward Hyde East and Mr. Harington desired to be considered as private friends to the Institution in common with the rest of the English gentlemen, to assist the gentlemen of the Native committee, but without making any honorary appellation to themselves."

Henceforward the Committee worked almost single-handed, though the venue of its meetings was the same. In its sitting on 25th June, a sub-committee was formed to prepare a digest of the rules and plans received heretofore from individual members. The General Committee did not meet for the following two months. The Sub-committee held its sittings during this period and thrashed out a digest of fundamental rules after mature deliberations. The local newspapers noticed the progress of the work of the General Committee and its Sub-committee from time to time. *The Calcutta Gazette* of 11th July, 1816 commented on the work of the Sub-committee as below:

"While the greatest unanimity of sentiment has prevailed with regard to many points, there are others which have excited much diversity of opinion among the subscribers. This diversity far from being a subject of regret, is only one out of many proofs of that zeal and animation with which the leading families and characters among the Hindoos have engaged in the design."

The *Gazette* of the same date informed the public of the large donation of Maharajah Tej Chand of Burdwan, amounting to rupees twelve thousand. It should be mentioned here that Gopee Mohun Tagore of Pathuriaghata subscribed rupees ten

thousand, and the Mullicks of Burrabazar, rupees twenty-five thousand. The *Calcutta Gazette* of 27th June had already referred to the amount and to the suggested ways of its expenditure:

"The amount of the subscriptions at present is Rs. 66,700, of which not less than 25,000 has been contributed by the Mullicks. Almost all the subscribers declare their resolution to add to their contributions as soon as a definitive plan should have been agreed on, which shall decide the mode and terms of the subscription. Calculations have in the meantime been made which purport to show, that one lac subscribed to a fund destined to remain at interest during the first year, afterwards to purchase ground and erect those buildings soonest required, together with half a lac constituting a fund, the capital and interest of which may be gradually expended, during the four years ensuing, on current expenses, will enable the managers of the institution to commence instruction, with every reasonable prospect of final success."

V

The Sub-committee, appointed for the purpose of preparing Rules for the College, finished its labours on 20th August 1816 and sent the printed copies of them to individual members of the General Committee. Both the General Committee and the subscribers met separately on 27th August at the house of Sir Edward Hyde East, to consider the Rules. The Sub-committee formally placed the Rules before both the meetings, which were passed unanimously, the pundits, too, giving their full consent.

The Rules were thirty-four in number, divided into three sections, namely, Tuition, Funds and Privileges, and Government. The object of the institution was described in the 1st Rule of the first section as "The primary object of the Institution is, the tuition of the sons of respectable Hindoos, in the English and Indian languages and in the literature and science of Europe and Asia." According to Rule 3, the College would include a School (*Pathsala*), and an Academy (*Maha Pathsala*). The subjects of study in both the divisions would be on the lines mentioned before. The work of the School was to commence first. Another Rule in this section is very interesting, and may be followed with profit even today. The Rule lays down:

"The English language shall not be taught to boys under eight years of age, without the permission of the Managers in each particular instance."

The second section, Funds and Privileges, consists of sixteen rules (10—25), forming the pivot of the constitution. There should be two distinct funds for the College: (1) 'College Fund' and (2) 'Education Fund.' The object of the College Fund is stated to be "to form a charitable foundation for the advancement of learning, and in aid of the Education Fund. Its ultimate purpose will be the purchase of ground, and construction of suitable buildings here-

upon, for the permanent use of the College; as well as to provide all necessary articles of furniture, books, a philosophical apparatus, and whatever else may be requisite for the full accomplishment of the objects of the Institution." In the meantime, until the buildings were constructed, house-rent and other current expenditures would be paid out of this fund. The amount subscribed to the "Education Fund" would be appropriated to the education of pupils, and expense of tuition.

According to the amount of subscription, paid on or before the 21st May, 1817 (being the anniversary of the day on which it was agreed to establish this Institution), the subscribers should be placed in different categories. The highest single contributor would be designated the "Chief Founder"; those paying Rs. 5,000 or upwards, the "Principal Founders," all other subscribers, "Founders of the College." The "Heritable Governor of the College" should be one who would contribute 'Rs. 5,000 or upwards, to the College Fund, before the aggregate sum of a lac and a half of sicca rupees might have been subscribed to that Fund.' Members of the Managing Committee, called in the Rules, as 'Directors' or 'Managers' would be elected annually from amongst subscribers of a certain amount. This is clearly expressed in the following Rule:

"Subscribers to the College Fund, who are not governors, and whose joint or separate subscriptions to it, (made before a lac and a half of sicca rupees shall have been contributed to it), shall collectively amount to 5,000 rupees, shall be entitled to elect anyone of their number to be a Director of the College."

Privileges of the subscribers have been described in some other rules. The Directors would determine their privileges when they would meet after their election.

The third section, "Government," contains nine Rules (26—34). The government of the College would be vested in a Committee of Managers, consisting of 'Heritable Governors, Governors for Life, Annual Directors, or their respective Deputies.' The Managers should 'possess full powers to carry into effect the whole of the Rules now established. They shall pass also additional Rules.' They would be the trustees of both the College and the Education Fund. The Committee of Managers would be the appointing authority in all cases. Three Managers would form a quorum in the committee-meetings, and all affairs would be decided by a majority of votes. The thirty-fourth Rule lays down the compulsory convention of an annual general meeting of the subscribers, 'at which a Report shall be made to them of the state of the funds and of the progress of the Institution.'

VI

In accordance with the Rules, the Managing Committee of the proposed Hindu College was consti-

tuted with two Heritable Governors—Maharajadhiraj Tej Chand Bahadur of Burdwan and Gopeemohan Tagore of Pathuriaghata, Calcutta, and five Directors or Managers, namely, Ganganarain Das, Radhamadhab Banerjea, Joykissen Singh, Gopeemohan Deb and Harimohan Tagore. Tej Chand very rarely attended the Committee meetings. The Committee began their work immediately. The first meeting of the Committee of Managers was held on the 4th December, 1816, at the house of Sir E. H. East. Five members attended the meeting, the absentees being



Joykissen Singh

Tej Chand and Harimohan Tagore. The Committee appointed James Isaac D'Anselme of Chandernagore, Head Master, on a salary of Rs. 200 per mensem. Lieut. Francis Irvine was appointed at this meeting European Secretary and Superintendent with a monthly salary of Rs. 300 subject to the permission of the Local Government, and Baidya Nath Mukherjee, Native Secretary, Superintendent and Accountant on a monthly salary of Rs. 100. The next meeting of the Committee came off at the same place on the 12th December. Several other teachers and monitors were appointed and formal matters transacted. The Committee approved of the draft of a letter to be sent to the Governor-General seeking his permission to allow Francis Irvine to serve the Institution. The letter was sent to the proper quarters.

The Committee held two subsequent meetings,

one on the 6th and the other on the 13th January, 1817, and finalised the way in which the College was to be founded. The site for the College was selected at No. 304, Chitpore Road, the house of Gorachand Bysack, on a monthly rental. Thirteen "free" scholars were ready for admission on account of the subscriptions to the Education Fund by some gentlemen. Francis Irvine was permitted to serve in the College in a letter written on behalf of the Governor-General to the Committee. The letter, however, expressly stated that in signifying "his Lordship's permission to accept the office of Secretary and Superintendent of the Institution, his Lordship desires it to be fully understood that his aquiescence implies no sanction of the exercise of European interposition or influence in the selection and appointment of the officers of the Institution." The formal opening of the College in its school department was fixed on 20th January, 1817.

Now we come to the end of our story. The formal opening of the Hindu College came off on the scheduled date. There were only twenty students on the Roll. But the enthusiasm of the Indians, the gentry as well as the Pundits, was the uppermost. Some Europeans also attended the opening ceremony. *The Calcutta Gazette* of January 23, 1817, gave a detailed account of the opening day of the College, which runs mainly as follows:

"During the whole or part of this day were present the following members of the College, viz., Gopee Mohun Thakoor, a Governor of the Hindoo College, Baboos Radhamadhub Banorjya, Joykissen Sing, Gopee Mohun Deb, and Hurry Mohun Thakoor.—Many opulent natives, who were in general the parents or patrons of the scholars—Ragoomonee Bidyabhoosun, Chaturbhuj Nyaeerutnu, Sooba Sastry, Mirtoonjoy Bidyalunkur, Taraparsaud Nyaeebhusun, Ramdulal Turkoocchooramonee Bhattachari, Subhanund Bidyabagis, and other Pundits; besides Mohunpersad Thakoor,

Baboo Radhakant Deb, and other literary natives. . . . Among those (English gentlemen) who came, were the Honorable the Chief Justice, Mr. Harrington, Mr. Loring, and Mr. Barnes.

"Teaching commenced, and was carried on under various disadvantages. Although everything had been avoided, which might assemble numerous spectators, their number and curiosity were sufficient to cause inconvenience. The teachers and scholars had no previous acquaintance or communication; and the proficiency of the latter, on which their distribution into classes depended, was to be ascertained on the spur of the occasion. Those present, however, expressed themselves to be much pleased with the economy of the school, and exertions of the teachers. Some of the natives were much struck with several of the practices of the new method—the monitors pointing with rods the use of a large card for a whole class, and the sand-writing. They observed that this method was quite unknown when they were scholars; and they doubted not that it will cause their children to make such a more rapid progress than they had done.

"Most of the scholars having previously been in other seminaries, or received instruction at home, were found to possess some knowledge of English reading and writing. Their parents and friends observed that they had taken them from under other teachers, in the confidence that in this institution, expressly intended for the liberal education of the Hindoo children, their progress would be more rapid and their ultimate proficiency greater. The pundits testified greater satisfaction on this interesting occasion; and said that that day they witnessed the beginning of what they hoped would issue in a great diffusion of knowledge. A learned native expressed his hopes that the Hindoo College would resemble the Bur, the largest of trees, which yet is at first but a small seedling."

From this humble seedling the Hindu College certainly grew into a Bur or huge banyan tree within twenty years of its existence.

:O:

THE RIDDLE

BY SANGITACHARYA TARAPADA CHAKRAVARTY

Why this wealth of love, this warmth of endearments
in a world girdled around by wreaths of death?
Why on earth this blossoming of timid hopes,
the hopes of union in a blasted heart
brimful of the pains of languishment?
Right from the dust and the grassy green
all things move and have their being,
just for a fruitless chase of the ignis fatuus.
Tears, unending tears blind the eye,
and yet we laugh our heartiest laughs.

Gnawing away the river's shores the waves roll on,
not feeling for their agonies, neither looking back

And lo, the shores would fain clasp that flowing tide
in their loving embrace!
Loose are the ties, and broken in a moment's time.
How merrily do birds build their nests of woe
on the boughs of trees!
The ship sails adrift tossed over the unfathomed deep:
where lies the port?

Wilder and wilder be the raging storm
man would rear his home none the less,
and birds their nests evermore.*

* Translation of a song from his book *Sura-Tirtha* in Bengali.

HOW THE INDIAN BORDER STATES SHOULD BE REORGANISED

BY MAJOR. B. N. MAJUMDAR

INTRODUCTION

THE Butler Committee in its report some 30 years ago observed :

"Politically there are two Indias, British India governed by the Crown according to the statutes of Parliament and enactments of the Indian Legislature, and the Indian States under the suzerainty of the Crown and still for the most part under the personal rule of the Princes. Geographically India is one and indivisible, made up of pink and yellow. The problem of statesmanship is to hold the two together."

A glance at the map will however show that India is geographically one and indivisible. The Provinces and the States are so interspersed and dovetailed that these territories overlap and that the States had enclaves in the Provinces and *vice versa*. The Indian States Finance Enquiry Committee in 1948-49 has aptly remarked in their report :

"Provinces and States lie interspersed all over the continent, the boundaries being in most cases artificial and not representing any natural divisions; and all parts of the country are interlinked."

In actual fact the political division of India into two parts by the foreign ruling power was artificial and was an unwanted legacy of the Moghul period. This fact has been rightly observed in the White Paper on the Indian States :

"The geographical set-up of the Indian States did not coincide with any ethnic, racial or linguistic divisions. The people of the provinces and the States had suffered alike from the waves of foreign invasions and foreign domination. Close ties of cultural affinity, no less than those of blood and sentiment, bound the people of the States and the Provinces together."

How then India came to be divided into two parts ? There were two reasons—the historical factor that the States had not been annexed and the political factor that the States maintained the "traditional" monarchical form of government."

With the rise of nationalism considerable changes in the whole world came about and India also underwent important political transformation. After the attainment of independence in 1947 the whole outlook changed. The Princes readily realised the necessity to fall in line with the changing political aspirations of their people and consented voluntarily to remodel themselves. They surrendered their "legalistic stand on time-worn treaties or their anachronistic prerogatives and powers."

In spite of this change in attitude it took considerable time and effort of the authorities to consolidate this reorganisation. Difficulties faced were complex and many.

"It was inevitable that the profound change that has come over the States should bring in its wake a crop of difficult administrative problems. Local affiliations and political habits die hard; not all the newly established units, therefore, could be

expected to settle easily in the new mould. A radical change-over from an autocratic set-up, which had been maintained for a century and a half, to a democratic order and task of piecing together into a co-ordinated pattern the diverse administrative systems of integrated States could by no means be easy," observes the White Paper.

A complete change came over after the Independence of India Act. Under Section 7 of the said Act the "Suzerainty of His Majesty over Indian State" lapsed, and many States acceded to the Indian Union or executed "Stand-Still" agreements to maintain their existing "Codes" with regard to the subjects of common concern till such time a political set-up was devised.

Soon further tremendous changes were brought about "by a process of twofold integration, firstly, consolidation into sizeable and viable administrative units, and, secondly, growth of democratic institutions and responsible governments," observes the White Paper.

Of late, however, there has been a fresh wave of public opinion to reorganise the States in manners more suitable to the needs of the people and the country. While agreeing to the desirability of such a step, it is necessary to trace the historical setting of the whole problem, how it came about, why it was necessary and what principles were borne in mind at the time of the initial organisation of the present units. Only after this survey we shall be able to know how far the requirements of national security and defences were kept in view.

HISTORICAL REVIEW

Even though the States had studded the map of India from the dawn of modern history, it was mere accident that the present problem was inherited by Indian government after independence. The legacy had been so deep-rooted after 130 years of British rule that it was then thought that nothing substantial will be achieved without a fierce revolution. However these fears were unfounded and a remarkable change-over took place which astounded even many optimists.

The States in their present form came into being since 1819 when their existence and continuance were recognised by the various treaties and "sanads" which they negotiated with the paramount power of India. By the various policies of subsidiary system (Wellesley), subordinate isolation (Hastings), and annexation (Dalhousie), the British consolidated their position vis-a-vis the Princes, in the country.

The Indian mutiny of 1857 proved the far-sighted statesmanship of the British when the Princes gave active support and enabled them to crush the mutinous army. In 1858 Queen Victoria proclaimed, "We shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of native Princes as our own." Thus the two Indias were completely isolated and grew up independent of each other.

World War I brought about a radical change in

the outlook. During the war the need for common policy and action between the Provinces and the States gathered force as the entire resources of the country had to be mobilised. This involved co-ordination and closer co-operation of administrative machineries of the Provinces and States. Thus the two component parts of the country were brought together by chance and sowed the seeds for that attitude of mind which became so pronounced during the period of partition.

Gradually the people were also politically awakened and clamoured for popular government and better economic conditions. These aspirations of the people of the country were recognised and Montagu made the historic announcement when he said about the acceptance of "gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of self-government in India as an integral part of the British empire." This was, however, not to the liking of the Princes who wanted to hang on to their gains and neutralise the growth of Indian nationalism. The Butler Committee recognised certain demands of the States in that their rights and obligations will not be transferred to any other Indian authority without the agreement of the States. Thus there were the following categories of States:

(a) States, the Rulers of which were members of the Chamber of Princes in their own right. (108 States).

(b) States, the Rulers of which were represented in the Chamber of Princes by 12 members of their Order elected by themselves (127 States).

(c) Estates, Jagirs and others (327 in number).

All these States had varying degrees of relationship with the Crown.

"It was based on Treaties, Engagements, Sanads as supplemented by usages and sufferance and by decisions of the Government of India and the Secretary of State embodied in political practice. The rights that the Paramount Power claimed in exercise of the functions of the Crown in relation to the States covered matters both external and internal," observes the White Paper.

In other words the British exercised their paramountcy under conditions suitable and beneficial to them. The Indian States Committee of 1927 viewed this as:

"Paramountcy must remain paramount; it must fulfil its obligations, defining or adapting itself according to the shifting necessities of the time and the progressive development of the States."

Further changes in the reorganisation of the States on a federal basis took place under the Government of India Act of 1935. Even though the accession of the States to the federation was voluntary and was to be conditional on the basis of the Instrument of Accession, it was an important step towards unity and co-operation. This change could not be tried out properly as World War II broke out soon after and the scheme was abandoned in 1939.

During the war the Cripps Mission arrived to solve the Indian political complications. But it was

a failure and this gave a new turn to India's political struggle.

After the war the Cabinet Mission arrived in India in 1945 to make another effort to solve the political deadlock. This time the efforts were successful and India was divided. This division of the country completely broke the geographical coherence of the country and hence active efforts were made to solve the problem of the States.

After partition it was vitally necessary to retain the "unity of what remained as India" as it was "most essential not only for the political strength, full economic development and cultural expression of the Indian people but also for facing the aftermath of partition," remarks the White Paper. This point has been further ably substantiated by Coupland when he says:

"An India deprived of the States would have lost all coherence. For they form a great cruciform barrier separating all four quarters of the country. If no more than the Central Indian States and Hyderabad and Mysore were excluded from the Union, the United Provinces would be completely cut off from Sind. The strategic and economic implications are obvious enough."

After various negotiations the States eventually agreed to join in the Indian Union under the "Standstill Agreement." Thus the first phase of fitting the States into the constitutional structure was achieved.

The next step of integration took the following three forms:

(a) Merger of States in the Provinces geographically contiguous.

(b) Conversion of States into centrally administered areas.

(c) The integration of the territories of the States to create viable units as Union of the States.

These various forms of integration had been based on the following: (a) Sizeable and viable units, (b) Geography, (c) Linguistic and Cultural affinity, (d) Man-power and wealth-power, (e) Economic potentiality.

With the reorganisation of the States, the relationship with the Centre was based on the following principles:

(a) The Union Government have authority in the reconstituted States over the same range of subjects as in Provinces.

(b) The Union Government exercises its functions in States through its own administrative agency as in Provinces.

(c) The States contribute to the finances of the Union on exactly the same basis as the Provinces and receive grants and other forms of financial assistance on the same basis.

The reorganised set-up as it exists today has brought about many benefits. It has given the people a stable, popular and democratic government; effected economy in governing agencies, pooling of resources and national wealth; enabled people to have modern amenities of life and benefits of social welfare schemes; improved communication system; given the people

justice and law; in the new set-up there should be no room for special privileges of classes, immunities from taxation, judicial and quasi-judicial privileges, and other feudal practices," remarks the White Paper.

Even under the Constitution of India the States are as much a part of the country as the Provinces and there is no discrimination on this account. The whole system is operating efficiently with the exception of a few states whose political future has yet to be decided. These are Jammu and Kashmir, Hyderabad and Junagadh.

Under the new constitution, the constituent units are of three classes :

(a) *Part A States*

These are former Governor's Provinces.

(b) *Part B States*

These are Unions of States, Hyderabad, Mysore and Jammu and Kashmir.

(c) *Part C States*

These correspond to the former Chief Commissioner's Provinces.

Thus the distinction of Provinces and States has vanished and that those States which had merged with the Provinces have lost all vestiges of existence of separate entities. Henceforth the word "State" has its proper shade of meaning and not as coined by the British.

Thus under the new set-up,

"The Union of India will conform to the pattern of other Federations and function with the same rights and obligations throughout the country, and that all the units will likewise have equal rights and obligations. Only so can the Union of India make an effective contribution to the solution of the difficult economic problems that face India, meet the strains and stresses of the post-war world and maintain the national unity," sums up the Indian States Finance Enquiry Committee.

After a study of the historical background it will be seen that the present set-up requires some changes though small, to conform to the organisation of the growing and vital needs of the security and defence of the country. In most cases all the salient factors were considered before merging and forming unions. But in the case of border states other factors should not have outweighed the security and defence aspects. It is, therefore, now for consideration as to what principles of reorganisation should be particularly applicable in the case of border States of India. Before we enumerate these principles let us first consider the salient requirements of national defence.

REQUIREMENTS OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

War in modern times has a totally different scope.

"Modern war is total, involving every branch of national life. All phases of the national war effort are inter-dependent, from the fields and the factory to the front line".—*Conduct of War* by War Office.

Today the strength of a nation is not measured in terms of the number of the armed forces. It is much more than that. All aspects of national life have to contribute their best to the adequate and efficient defence of the country. Even work in connection with

the defence of the country is closely inter-related with others and thus make up a gigantic and a strong single national war machine.

The nature of war of the by-gone days has passed into history and oblivion. Today war engulfs every individual in the nation and depends for its success on the unbending will of the people as a whole. Soldiers may win any number of victories in the front line but if the home front collapses, the successful prosecution of the war may be jeopardized.

Every branch in a nation—the Government, the armed forces, the civil administration, the farmer, the labour, the factory worker, the businessman, and every other individual, whatever his work in life may be, is an important member of the team and has an important part to play. All components of the national effort are thus geared to the ultimate goal of successfully defending the nation at war.

What then are the basic factors on which the national strength is based? These are : (a) A strong national character and indomitable will to fight, (b) Economic stability, (c) Industrial and self-sufficiency, (d) A high national physical standard.

How can these conditions be achieved and developed? It is only by national unity and creating adequate opportunities for the people to enable them give out their best in times of war. All these points are closely interlinked with the suitable grouping of the states, so that all concerned can develop their spheres of contribution under a congenial atmosphere.

From a study of the principles underlying the organisation of the various states it will be noted that certain points have been considered but some are yet to be given their due weight and importance. This emphasis on the principles will vary in each state but the border states need a different consideration. It is felt that under the present set-up, the States on the border of India, need reorganisation. The problem will be considered in detail in the succeeding paras.

THE BORDER STATES

The present border of India is vulnerable. It has not been based on defendable features but only on political factors. India's border, therefore, requires a more stable and secure governmental organisation than the other States of India.

India has a very long border with the adjoining countries, with all of whom relationship is not very cordial.

The border States are : (a) Jammu and Kashmir, (b) Himachal Pradesh, (c) Assam, (d) Manipur (e) Tripura, (f) Saurashtra, (g) Rajasthan, (h) Kutch.

The geographical position of the above states will reveal that these border States are situated on India's vulnerable portions and therefore should be organised on a different level. With the exception of Jammu and Kashmir, Assam, Saurashtra and Rajasthan all the other States are centrally administered. There are at

present a few other States, such as Bilaspur, Bhopal and Bindhya Pradesh, which are also centrally administered. The main points for such a step are backwardness of the area, economic wealth, nodal points and location of vital natural resources. These may have some importance but not to the extent admitted. In a vast country like India there are many other places which have equally and even more important items essential for the very national existence but it is not possible to have all of them centrally controlled and administered. A line must be drawn somewhere for the demarcation.

It is therefore for consideration as to which of the states on the border of India are strategically important from the national defence point of view? All the border states are not so placed as to be important but some are. These States have already been indicated in the foregoing paras. The principles to be followed should be the following:

- (a) Political and military importance of the State.
- (b) Location of strategic communication system.
- (c) Existence of strategic industrial and natural resources.
- (d) Vital points in India's defence system.

These principles should be borne in mind in the case of the States only on the border. But other States may have some or all of these items and it is not necessary to give them special consideration.

The defence requirements are many. Already the main points have been enumerated and for successful conduct of defence of a country the salient requirements are political and economic stability. The forces operating in that part of the country should never be hampered by disrupted or disorganised conditions in their rear. Then, distances being vast they have to depend on local resources for their maintenance and this the area must be able to give to the troops stationed there. Similarly, the will of the people inhabiting must be strong so that they can stand up to all kinds of stress and strain.

During the process of organisation of the States the Government took into consideration the wishes of the people, their desire to have unions on linguistic, cultural and ethnic considerations, geographical proximity, economic factors and such other matters akin to them, but in the case of border States these may not all be taken notice of. The overriding and primary considerations of defence and security must influence the decisions in the case of border States.

The units as they exist at present are already constituted according to the wishes of the people who want to be together, but the question that has to be decided relates to the governmental responsibility of these States. Also all border States have not been considered

previously. Hence, it is necessary to review the problem of reorganisation with special reference to defence requirements. Other requirements of integration will have to be considered but the overriding importance should have to be given to the points essential and vital for national security.

All the border States should be centrally administered. The appointment of the chief should be held by an able soldier statesman. This will ensure efficiency and stability of government, continuity and uniformity of administrative procedure, co-ordination of national defence programme between military and civil requirements and adequate and efficient consideration of defence requirements of the State. Direct Central control is necessary not only for adequacy of measures but also for implementing defence measures which is a central subject and is formulated and controlled at the highest level of the government.

CONCLUSION

In view of India's geographical position, defence considerations are of vital importance to the country. Under the present set-up the Centre has little or no control in the internal affairs of the States on the border of India which are not centrally administered. All the border States are not under central control and therefore many important defence requirements might be overlooked. To carry through any proposal, powers to implement and control the machinery must exist. And to bring about such a control it is necessary to reorganise all the important border States which are considered vital in India's chain of defence set-up. As the subject of re-organisation of the States is already under consideration, the question of border States should also be carefully gone into.

It will be noted from the historical evolution of the States to the present day, the existing organisation had followed certain principles but in all cases economic factors were given more importance. This might have been so in some cases but not in all. The border States should have been viewed with a different outlook.

It has to be admitted that the present set-up of the States is the best that was possible under the circumstances and the speed in which it was done. But it was not the last answer in all aspects. It could have been better and it is now the opportunity to do so.

Whatever might have been the basis behind the organisation of the other States in India, it is considered that these should not be made applicable in toto to the border States. Some factors should be omitted in preference to the requirements and necessity for defence and national security. This fact has been rather regrettably missing and is vital to our national solidarity and independence.

"JIBANDEBATA" CONCEPTION IN RABINDRANATH'S POETRY As Seen in the Light of Sri Aurobindo's Philosophy

By SANTOSH KUMAR BRAHMA, M.A.

VERY few people will disagree if we say that Rabindranath was a poet-philosopher. Now philosophical poetry, like poetical drama, is a peculiar genre composed of warring elements. And one naturally asks where poetry ends and philosophy begins.

But one thing is certain. Poetry is not the same thing as philosophy. Poetical experience and philosophical concept are different things. Philosophers look behind and after and find that "all is right." But poets sing in a different tune. Poets when they look before and after pine for what is not. There is always an element of sadness, an undefinable yearning, in the poetic mind. No one can miss this longing whether he reads the love-laden lines of Keats or the lovely lyrics of Shelley.

The conception of *Jibandebata*, be it poetic or philosophical, has aroused much controversy among the critics of Rabindranath. One school of thought led by Prof. P. C. Mahalanobis argues, not without reason, that *Jibandebata* is personal. In the words of Prof. Mahalanobis:

"*Jibandebata* is personal—the presiding deity of the poet's mind—not quite that even—the Innerself of the Poet, who is more than this earthly incarnation."

The other school goes the other way in suggesting that *Jibandebata* is impersonal. It suggests the idea of Universal Godhead. As against these conflicting views we have the opinion of the poet which on the authority of Dr. Thompson runs as follows:

"The idea has a double strand. There is the Vaishnava dualism always keeping the separateness of the Self and there is the Upanishadic monism . . . when the *Jibandebata* came to me I felt an overwhelming joy—it seemed a discovery, new with me—in this deepest self-seeking expression . . . Today I am on the same plane as my readers. I am trying to find what the *Jibandevata* was."

The words of the poet even do not carry us far. To his mind the conception of *Jibandebata* is at once personal and impersonal.

Rabindranath like Sri Aurobindo is opposed to the doctrine of the monistic spirituality. In a famous lyric the poet has condemned in unmistakable terms what Sri Aurobindo has called "the great Refusal of the Ascetic" to recognise the material world. The poet and the philosopher are at one in regarding both Matter and Spirit as real. As Sri Aurobindo says:

"But there is also this other indubitable experience that the Divine is here in everything as well as in all things, that all is in that and is that when we go back from its appearance to its Reality."

Sri Aurobindo goes further and makes the disquieting reflection that the Divine descends into the world of matter. So it is possible to realise the Divine, however imperfect that realisation may be, in the material world. One need not get completely beyond the world of senses to catch fleeting glimpses of the veiled Divine which we can get in the "Overmind stage." This leads us to the conclusion that Rabindranath's *Jibandebata* is a partial realisation of the Divine or Absolute Spirit in the world of Matter. It is not the Supreme Being of God which can only be realised, in Sri Aurobindo's words, on the Supramental stage.

The first thing to note about the idea of *Jibandebata* is that it is an experience of the poetic mind. No less a person than the Poet himself has said in his "Kamala Lectures" on the Religion of Man that

"All that I have tried to speak about *Jibandebata* is an experience of the poetic mind."

Any attempt to philosophise on them will lead us wrong. The second thing that strikes us is that we do not find in the poet's conception of *Jibandebata* that decisive experience or spiritual certitude that characterises a spiritual aspirant who has realised God. Hence, the poet has called it by various names.

The conclusion seems irresistible that the *Jibandebata* in Rabindranath's poetry is an experience of the poetic mind and not a philosophical concept as some learned professors and critics of Rabindranath make us believe.

THE SPELL OF AMERICA

By DR. MATILAL DAS, M.A., B.L., PH.D.

ROUND the world!

Yes, I went as a pilgrim in quest of principles that should guide human life in modern times. I went to give what Indian culture has to offer to the world and the world has to offer India. My job was to find out a harmonious relation between scientific knowledge and the art of life and to preach the world-view given by our ancient seers.

Alas, how many can say that he has spent this time as he will like to recount it. I am not surely in that favoured group. But still I am proud of my travel-experiences. The days I spent in foreign land will remain unforgettable for their varied experiences on the world-background.

Among the many countries I visited, I liked America the best and I shall try to analyse the spell

that mighty country to the best of my power. What strikes a foreigner on his first arrival in the United States of America is the wonderful living democracy in that wide and beautiful country.

In a letter of June 8, 1783, the first President, George Washington, wrote:

"The foundation of our empire was not laid in the gloomy age of ignorance and superstition, but at epoch when the rights of mankind were better understood and more clearly defined, than at any former period. The researches of the human mind after social happiness have been carried to a great extent; the treasures of knowledge acquired by the labours of philosophers, sages and legislators, through a long succession of years are laid open for our use and their collected wisdom may be happily applied in the establishment of our forms of government."

This boast is amply justified by the achievements of the American people in the domain of politics.

America is the oldest republic on the face of the earth. The American people is world-conscious. Its people is conscious of its peculiar role on the face of the earth. It wants to voice forth the hopes and aspirations of the whole human race upon the wilderness environment of a new country—it wanted to build a new history and it has not failed to fulfil this destiny. It is because of this feeling that the American people are very hospitable, without much introduction I was able to live as guests in different American homes.

America is the great melting pot of races where individuals of different nations, speaking different languages and having different customs and manners are changed into a new nation by the alchemy of two powerful forces, puritanism and democracy, to become the great American nation. The average American is frank and cordial and he is generally hospitable and affectionate. He has no prejudice against you. He, therefore, soon becomes an endearing friend and remains so for your life, for, he has an abundance of the warmth of heart and ardent enthusiasm. I remember meeting a young divorced wife and her mother coming to listen to my lecture. Thereafter they invited me to have a round of the beautiful San Francisco city in their car. In our journey, the old mother talked with me in a very friendly manner and divulged to me the secrets of their personal lives. In no other country on the face of the earth such intimacy can be found. It is the frankness and brave attitude of a brave people.

I remember also the many conversations I had with one of my pupils. She wanted to read the Vedas with me, but unfortunately she was the only student I got and the Dean stopped my classes. But I shall never forget her eagerness to learn about the great mysteries of India. She invited me to her flat and had deep discussions on the intricate problems of life. When I

had to leave San Francisco, she invited her friends into a small meeting and asked me to give a little talk so that she and her friends may offer me something for my lecture.

America is a favoured land. Because of its vast natural resources and its wonderful human enterprise, America is the land of plenty. It gives chances to young men and women to make something of life. But this abundance, this plenty does not make them idlers. Even the richest man in America could find nothing wrong in driving his car nor could his wife deem it a dishonour to look after the home-affairs. The dignity of labour is not a copy-book maxim in America—it is the general practice. I loved America because of this.

I was the guest in the riverside drive of Manhattan of a very respectable professor of the Columbia University. He used to wash his own dishes after dinner and I tried to help him to the best of my power and ability.

I had occasion to criticise the love problems of America in some of my lectures. My listeners listened to my pungent remarks with good graces. But still the problem remains and every third marriage in America ends in a divorce. In spite of Hollywood pictures which give many the idea that America is the land of poetry and passion, the fact is that America has the largest number of divorces. But one of the many reasons for it is that an average American woman looks out for glamour in his marital life and it is for this reason that she seldom bears with mal-adjustments in life's partnership.

Success is the keynote of American life. Everybody is working hard for achieving success. Millions of men are daily panting and sweating to make a success of something or other. There is endless effort to make things work perfectly. The average American is a man with great faith. He believes that there is a keyword which would solve all the intricate puzzles of life and some one or other knows it. Because of this national conviction, everybody is moving and moving.

This speed, this hurry, tires our eastern conceptions of life but it is part of the American life. Along with this, there is always tall talk and self-gloryification. Everything of America seems to the Americans to be of the superlative degree. In this brag, there is a childish joy of a new nation which does not hurt you.

The Americans are directly a commercial people. Dollars influence their outlook in life. To many wealth and not the enjoyment of wealth, seems to be the principal aim of life but still they are the most generous people on the face of the earth. The charitable institutions of all descriptions bears gifts from the wealthy classes in profuse numbers. This charity is not simply confined to the four corners of America.

The Sanskrit maxim that to the high-minded the whole world is kith and kin is true to American character than to our own.

Matthew Arnold did not find elevation and beauty in America but I cannot agree with his view. There is a deep earnestness in the American character and they are the most ardent lovers of beauty. An American is eager to identify himself with world-wide and age-long adventure of mankind.

America today is a leader of nations. I found everywhere from the gleaming Pacific to the wide Atlantic, peoples of the different states eager to know more of India. I personally believe that we should gain much if we can have the friendship and love of America, for, America will help without expecting any obligation on our part.

The dramatic and picturesque expansion of America will be an inspiration to Free India. The spirit of freedom and enterprise which characterise the American nation when mingled with our depth of spirituality will usher in a far more glorious India.

George Warrington Steevens wrote about the American:

"You may differ from him, you may laugh at him; but neither of these is the predominant emotion he inspires. Even while you differ or laugh, he is essentially the man with whom you are always wanting to shake hands."

I must agree with him wholeheartedly when I remember with gratitude the many friends I made in America and their courteous and warm friendly services.

—:O:—

THE MOSCOW KREMLIN

In the centre of the Soviet capital, on the largest of its seven hills, stands the Moscow Kremlin, the greatest memorial of Russian culture. It houses the Soviet Government, is the venue of Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, plenary meetings of the CPSU Central Committee, sessions of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, and all important conferences.

The gates of the Kremlin are hospitably open to excursions of the working people and to numerous foreign guests. In 1954 alone it was visited by over half a million excursionists including delegations from Britain, France, America, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, Japan, Rumania, Finland, China, Korea, Albania, Belgium, Sweden, Israel, Norway, Germany, India, Czechoslovakia, Denmark and other countries.

The Moscow Kremlin is a magnificent architectural ensemble which has been developed and added to over a number of centuries.

Of great historical value are the superb collections of applied and decorative arts kept in the State Oruzheinaya Palata, the oldest museum in the country, which make it possible to trace the development of almost all the branches of Russian applied arts. Especially well represented there are metal handicrafts, articles of carved bone and wood fabrics, gold and silver embroidery.

Most of the art valuables collected in the museum are closely linked with Russia's history beginning with the eleventh century and, specifically, with the history of the Moscow Kremlin. These articles testify to the high level of Russian art. Under Soviet power the Oruzheinaya Palata collections have been replenished by the more historically important treasures from Russian palaces and the patriarchic vestry.

The Moscow Kremlin is rich in architectural monuments. To them belong the Uspensky Cathedral dating back to 1479, the annunciation (Blagovesh-

chensky) Cathedral erected in 1489 by Moscow and Pskov architects, and the Archangel Cathedral built in 1509.

Each of them contains a large number of painting memorials. The Blagoveshchensky Cathedral, for instance, is decorated with works by Andrei Rublev, Feofan Grek and Prokhor of Gorodets. To better preserve these memorials the Cathedral has been air-conditioned. Restoration of 17th century frescoes and paintings is nearing completion in the Archangel Cathedral.

Visitors to the Kremlin can see some magnificent samples of the art of foundry, such as, for example, the tsar cannon, cast in 1586 by the Russian master Andrei Chokhov. This 89 centimetre piece of ordnance weighs forty tons and is five metres thirty-four centimetres long. It was built to defend the Kremlin against a Tatar invasion at the end of the 16th century. The enemy never reached Moscow, however, so that the cannon was never used though it has all the necessary requisites.

A no less interesting monument of the art of casting is the tsar Kolokol, standing near the Ivan the Great belfry. This giant bell, 6 metres 60 centimetres in diameter and weighing over two hundred tons, has no equal in the world either in weight or the quality of work. It was cast by the Russian master Ivan Motorin and his son Mikhail. After the casting it was raised on scaffolding for further treatment. During the great fire of 1737 the scaffolding collapsed and the bell, heated by the flames, fell into a ditch with cold water. The metal cracked and a piece weighing 11.5 tons broke off. The bell lay in the ditch one century, and it was only in 1836 that it was raised and placed on a granite pedestal.

The architectural memorials and other structures in the Kremlin underwent restoration last year.—Tass.

THE ALEXANDER-VON-HUMBOLDT FOUNDATION

The Alexander-von-Humboldt Foundation was originally established in 1925 and reconstituted in 1953 by Chancellor Adenauer to commemorate one of Germany's greatest scholars, scientists and diplomats. Alexander von Humboldt was a friend and contemporary of such figures as Goethe, Schiller, Bunsen, Gauss, and others. Primarily a naturalist and botanist, his voluminous writings were based on an amount of personal exploration, which would have been remarkable even today, but which, in the eighteenth century, was nothing short of phenomenal. In addition to his native continent, von Humboldt's explorations led him through large parts of North and South America and Asia. His name is immortalized by such discoveries as the Humboldt Current in the Pacific Ocean, which flows down the west coast of South America, and by rivers and mountain ranges in many parts of the Americas. His whole life was devoted to bringing spiritual values and classical idealism into harmony with the newly emerging spirit of the natural sciences. That he combined such spirits in himself is best proven by the fact that in addition to his achievements as a naturalist, he had a notable career in diplomacy, serving his country at embassies and legations in France, England and Denmark.

It is perhaps only fitting that in keeping with the great tradition embodied in its name, the Humboldt Foundation today has as its chairman the internationally famous physicist and Nobel Prize winner, Professor Werner Heisenberg of Goettingen University.

The Humboldt Fellowships are awarded on an international basis, i.e., there are no fixed number awarded to any one country. The holders of Humboldt Fellowships may therefore rightfully be considered members of an international elite. The fact that many Indians have held Humboldt Fellowships in the past is a tribute to the high level of Indian education and to the respect which her scientists enjoy in the eyes of the world.

* * * * *

Dear Sir,

I take great pleasure in informing you that applications may again be made for the Alexander-von-Humboldt Fellowships for the academic year 1955/56. As you are perhaps aware, the Humboldt Foundation takes a limited number of fellowships available each

year to enable a select group of specially qualified foreign students and scientists to pursue their studies and research at Universities and Institutes of Technology in Germany. The fellowships normally have a duration of ten months, but in special cases can be extended for a further 10-month-period.

To qualify for an Alexander-von-Humboldt Fellowship, the applicant must be the holder of a post-graduate degree who intends to make a career of university teaching or research, or who may be expected to hold a leading position of some other kind after leaving the university. Only highly qualified and particularly well-recommended applicants will therefore be considered.

During the period of his fellowship, the holder receives a stipend of 350 DM per month, of which his room rent will amount to about 50 to 75 DM and his food to approximately 175 DM. All tuition fees, as well as transportation costs from the German border to his place of study and return, are paid by the Foundation.

The applicants must possess an adequate knowledge of the German language. The letter of application should be handwritten in German, and contain a statement of the reasons why the applicant desires to study in Germany. The accompanying application forms should be completed in triplicate and forwarded, together with three photographs, to this office *prior to March 1, 1955*.

A memorandum stating the terms of the fellowship in detail, together with application forms, is enclosed. Selections are made by the Fellowship Committee in Germany, the result of which will be announced by July 1st.

While the number of these fellowships is naturally limited, we would very much like to see a high percentage of them awarded to qualified Indian students, and would therefore appreciate it if you would circularize this information at your institution as widely as possible.

Should additional application forms be required, the Consulate General will be happy to supply them upon request.

Yours sincerely,
H. M. Schafhausen
Vice-Consul, the Federal Republic of Germany



GURU GOVIND SINGH AND THE KHALSA

BY NAGENDRA KUMAR GUHA ROY

GURU NANAK was the founder of the Sikh religion which had to make its way through organised opposition and tremendous difficulties. At the time of his appearance (1469—1539 A.D.) India was groaning under the tyranny of the Moslem rulers. The nine succeeding Gurus kept the spiritual lamp lighted by Nanakji burning in the midst of tempest. The advent of Guru Govind Singh, the tenth and the last Guru, in the latter part of the seventeenth century, opened a new chapter in the annals of Sikhism and the Sikh nation. During the period Aurangzeb, the orthodox Moghul autocrat, was the ruling Emperor. His bigotry, fanaticism and unscrupulousness reached their zenith due to which the sufferings of the non-Moslem subjects knew no bounds. His sole motive was to convert the non-Moslems to Islam by any means fair or foul and failing that to cow them down or to turn them into a race of helots. That very policy, pursued by Aurangzeb with much hope and zeal, not only proved abortive but also brought about the downfall of the great Moghul Empire built by Akbar, a far-sighted Emperor and statesman, who followed a reverse policy.

When Guru Govind had to take his seat as the tenth Guru he was only ten years old. He decided to live the life of a recluse in a solitary and safe place for the purpose of gathering strength both temporal and spiritual through *sadhana*, devotion, meditation and study. He retired to the Siwalik hills in the Nahan State of the Punjab where he spent about two and a half decades. He appointed several reputed scholars and poets with whose assistance he learnt Sanskrit, Hindi and Punjabi. He made a deep and extensive study of Puranic, epic and scriptural literature of the Hindus. The young Guru was deeply impressed by the message conveyed through Sanskrit literature that when righteousness would face decay due to the domination of unrighteousness, a divine saviour would descend to the earth from time to time for the revival of religion by rescuing the righteous and destroying the unrighteous. Guru Govind came to believe that God the Almighty had ordained him to discharge the noble duty of the deliverer by emancipating the good and the oppressed and annihilating the bad and the oppressors. He mentioned this in his autobiography *Vichitra Natak*. He may be said to have inherited his poetical gift from his forefathers. He developed a style of his own in composing Hindi poems through which heroic sentiments and martial

spirit found expression. It was Guruji who introduced blank verse in the Punjabi literature. His poems, which were extensively read, infused a new spirit into the hearts of the Sikhs.

During the period of his seclusion Guruji evolved a new scheme of regenerating the Sikhs and with a view to shaping it he directed them to rally on the first of Baisakh, 1756 Sambat (1699 A.D.) at Anandpur in the district of Hoshiarpur. About eighty thousand Sikhs assembled on the occasion. They eagerly waited to have a *darshan* of their Guruji and to listen to the message to be personally delivered by him. The people assembled were astonished when they saw Guruji coming out of his camp pitched nearby with an unsheathed sword in his hand. Addressing the congregation he said that they had gathered there at a time when the Sikh religion and the Sikh nation were in a critical position. Never before the Sikhs had to face such a crisis. If they wanted to save their religion and nation, they would be required to sacrifice their lives. Then he asked whether they were prepared to do that. None responded. Then he repeated his question for the third time. In response thereto a Sikh proceeded to the rostrum and standing before Guruji with his head bending in reverence said: "I shall feel blessed if Guruji orders me to lay down my life." He was forthwith taken to the tent wherefrom Guruji came back alone after some time holding that unsheathed sword as before. His call for sacrifice was heard by the mammoth gathering for the second time with rapt attention. Another Sikh appeared before him and offered himself for sacrifice. In this manner when the fifth Sikh offered himself as sacrifice there was no further call. After some time Guru Govind Singh with his flashing sword in hand appeared before the congregation accompanied by those five Sikhs all of whom were dressed in new clothes. Some of the people got unnerved and slipped away from the gathering.

Guru Govind called those five disciples *panch piyara* which means the Five Beloved Ones. They were baptised by him. He sprinkled baptismal water with the pointed portion of his sword to the accompaniment of *Gurbani*. He then requested his five followers to administer baptism to him in the same way. His request having been complied with he told them that he was their Guru and collectively they too were his Gurus. They were called the *Khalsa* which

means pure. Guruji laid down a two-fold doctrine for the Khalsa:

"Blessed is he who repeateth God's name and is ready for war for a righteous cause."

The conversion into Sikhism was hereafter to be performed jointly by five Sikh devotees. Guruji gave this message to his co-religionists:

"Where there are five Sikhs there is God."

It was on this auspicious day of first Baisakhi known as *Baisakhi* about 256 years ago Guru Govind, the far-sighted spiritual leader of the Sikhs, inaugurated the *Khalsa* through which not only a brotherhood of faith but also a brotherhood of arms was built up. His *Khalsa* which subsequently turned into an invincible army, fought the oppressive Moslem rulers, faced death as martyrs in defence of their faith and liberated their land of birth, the Punjab, from Moslem domination. Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the famous Sikh warrior, himself a devoted member of the order of the *Khalsa*, conquered Lahore, Kashmir, Jammu, Dera Ismail-Khan and other important places and turned out the Moslem rulers from the Punjab and the adjoining places. He founded a Sikh State extending from the banks of the River Jamuna up to the Khyber Pass.

Along with the inauguration of the *Khalsa* Guruji introduced some changes in the customs of the Sikhs. The word Sikh was replaced by the word Singh as title. In Punjabi, the word Singh means a lion and this title was used only by the Rajput Kshatriyas. He wanted the Sikhs to be as fearless as lions. The form of salutation by touching the feet was dropped; in its place the custom of folding hands for saluting or exchanging greetings was introduced. Furthermore, while greeting each other the Sikhs were to utter this couple of sentences, *Wa Gurujiki Khalsa, Wa Gurujiki Fateh*, which means victory of the *Khalsa*

is victory of God. He made it mandatory for every Sikh to carry a *kripan* (sword) with him as his constant companion. He asked his followers to give equal preference to the cult of *bhakti* as well as to the cult of *Shakti*. The *Khalsa* brotherhood did not recognise caste system and untouchability. Every human being is a son of God and service to humanity is service to God—this universal truth, propagated by Guru Nanak, was again placed before the Sikhs by Guru Govind with an appeal to follow it with devotion. "The Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of man" is the *summum bonum* of the *Khalsa* brotherhood.

Guru Govind was not a visionary but a man of action. He himself did what he asked others to do and this was the characteristic of the Sikh Gurus. He himself fought battles and encouraged his sons to fight like a true Sikh. Four of his sons died in the battle-field. His family had a glorious record of martyrdom which was a source of inspiration to him. His great grandfather Guru Arjun Dev was charged with treason and executed by Jahangir (the grandfather of Aurangzeb); the grandfather Guru Har Govind was clapped in prison by Shah Jahan (the father of Aurangzeb); and his father Guru Tegh Bahadur was executed under Aurangzeb's orders. Guru Govind had unswerving faith in his religion and deep love for his mother-country and the nation to the service of which he dedicated his life.

Through unflinching devotion to the leader, sacrifices and sufferings for the sacred cause of religion and national freedom, and death-defying courage and spirit of martyrdom, the great *Khalsa* of Guru Govind created a tradition of its own which has no parallel in history. This glorious tradition inspired the Sikhs to fight gallantly in our national struggle for liberation from British imperialism. They played a significant role in the Azad Hind Fouj—the I.N.A. of Netaji Subhas Bose.



Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE CALL OF THE VEDAS : By Abinash Chandra Bose. Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay 1954. Pp. 278. Price Rs. 1-12.

This is one of the most important monographs that have appeared so far in the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan's Book University Series. It consists of quotations of single verses, numbering three hundred in all, selected mostly from the *Rigveda Samhita* and partly from the *Atharva-veda Samhita* and the *Vajasaneeyi recension of the Yajurveda*. The quotations with appropriate titles are accompanied with English translations and short commentaries. In his Preface the author claims to have limited his choice to the texts about which there is no divergence of interpretation between the orthodox scholars and the [Western] Orientalists, but in explaining their spiritual and religious significance, he has drawn upon "Indian sources (including the work of Indian spiritual leaders)," instead of following "the anthropological approach" of the Orientalists. The three hundred verses have been grouped by the author after his own system of classification under five sections representing different spiritual attitudes in the manner of the *Bhagavad-Gita*. These are (a) the Path of Devotion (*Bhakti-yoga*), (b) the Path of Knowledge (*Jnana-yoga*), (c) the Path of Mysticism or Spiritual Realisation (*Raja-yoga*), (d) the Path of Splendour (*Vibhuti-yoga*), and (e) the Path of Action (*Karma-yoga*). The fourth Path in this list is, in the author's opinion, "the most characteristic of the Vedas with their poetic approach to the Divine." The author's long introduction (pp. 1-75) is specially valuable for his very thorough and critical account of Vedic theism differing alike from monotheism and polytheism and conveying a wider connotation than henotheism (the term coined by Max Muller for this religion), as well as his detailed analysis of the basic principles of the Vedic religion comprising truth, order, consecration, austerity, prayer and ritual. The introduction ends with an estimate of Vedic Realism, collectivism and universalism.

The above analysis will help the reader to judge the nature of contents of this work. On some points (e.g., in the author's system of classification, admittedly based upon the late *Bhagavad-gita* and in the relative paucity of the texts quoted from the *Atharva-veda* and the huge literature of the *Yajur-veda*, which is utilised here only in its shortest recension), there may be legitimate grounds for criticism. The present reviewer again finds it difficult sometimes to follow the author's interpretation, as when he makes the sweeping assertion (p. 260) that "the word Brahmana does not imply a caste in the Vedas," nor again is he convinced that the Path of Splendour is "the most characteristic" attitude of the Vedas, in view of the prominent part played by

charms, spells and incantations especially in the Atharva-veda. These minor defects of omission and commission however do not detract from the high value of this monograph alike for the general reader and the scholar.

U. N. GHOSHAL

INDIA—1955 : Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8.

We have received a copy of *India—1955*, a "Reference annual compiled by the Research and Reference Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting of the Government of India."

This year's annual shows a distinct advance on the previous years. The arrangements are more compact and the range of sections slightly wider. The reference value, as seen with a cursory glance through the pages, has also increased due to the inclusion of comprehensive tables and statistical data.

Two sections are wanting in this publication as in the previous ones. Firstly, there should have been a survey of efficiency in the services, public utilities and industrial production. This would have given a better idea of real progress than mere bald figures of money allocated and spent and structures erected. Secondly, there should have been a comprehensive bibliography of official and other authoritative publications, wherein there is more detailed information about the various sections included. Nevertheless the publication is useful and handy.

K. N. C.

STRUCTURE AND WORKING OF VILLAGE PANCHAYATS: A survey based on case studies in Bombay and Madras: By A. V. Raman Rao, M.A., Ph.D. Publication No. 28. The Gokhale Institute, of Politics and Economics, Poona-4, (India). 1954. Pp. 218 + iii. Price Rs. 7 or 11s. or \$1.50.

The volume is a consolidated report on the structure and working of Village Panchayats in Bombay, Kolhapur, Aundh and Madras. It sums up the results of investigations carried out by Dr. A. V. Raman Rao as the Besant scholar at the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Poona, during the years 1946 and 1947. As Sri D. R. Gadgil says in his Foreword, ". . . the study was directed toward obtaining field data regarding the working of Panchayats. It was planned as a series of case studies of a selected sample of Panchayats from different administrations."

In the report Dr. Rao has first of all described the administrative and legislative position of the Panchayats on the eve of enquiry. Next, he has analysed the facts revealed by the survey under four heads: (a) Structure, (b) Finance, (c) Functions, and (d) Supervision and Control. Lastly, he has made

his own observations. On the whole, Dr. Rao's report with its factual material, comparative data and intelligent *obiter dicta* is a very useful publication.

Village Panchayats as units of self-government and schools of citizenship have appeared and reappeared in Indian history. In the first decade of the 20th century, the Decentralisation Commission appreciated their vitality and recommended their revival. But practically nothing was done till 1920. Since then experiments in democracy in rural areas have spread and these 'little republics' have proved their worth. Indeed, Village Panchayats will play an increasingly important role in the near future. Organisation of Village Panchayats is one of the directive principles of State policy. Article 40 of the Constitution of India may be referred to. The Planning Commission visualize Village Panchayats as agencies for carrying out rural development programmes. Thus the more the citizens of New India know about Village Panchayats, the better for the country. Against this background the importance of Dr. Rao's book is to be judged. It will serve as a valuable guide to our understanding of perhaps the most interesting sector of public administration in the India of tomorrow.

NRMAL KANTI MAJUMDAR

RUSSO-AMERICAN RIVALRY IN ASIA: By *Hector Abhaya-Vardhan*. Published by *Vora and Co., Publishers Ltd., Bombay-2*. Price Rs. 4-8.

Mr. Abhaya-Vardhan's Russo-American Rivalry in Asia is a well-written study of what is perhaps the most important international problem of our age, viz., the relation between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. and their rivalry in Asia.

In Part I, comprising eight chapters, the author surveys the former's policy in and attitude to Asia in general and China in particular during the last one hundred years. American policy in Asia, the author holds, aims at the subordination of Asia to American capitalism and imperialism. The objective is to be achieved by peaceful means, if possible, and by war, if necessary.

The nine chapters comprising Part II survey the Soviet foreign policy. The aims of this policy too, the author contends, are the subordination and exploitation of China and the rest of Asia. Hence, the rivalry between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. The gulf between them widens and our planet draws nearer the edge of the precipice.

The eight-page epilogue (pp. 175-82) of the volume under review is in the nature of the peroration of a prosecution counsel's argument, the U.S.A. being the prisoner in the dock.

The author, it is true, does not openly champion either the Russian or the American cause. Yet it is evident that he is anti-American, more anti-American than anti-Russian, at any rate. His work is however on the whole, an honest, "critical and non-partisan narrative and analysis of the Foreign policy of the U.S.A. and Russia" in Asia and merits a perusal. All his conclusions need not be accepted.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJEE

A HANDBOOK OF SAIVA RELIGION: By *Subramaniyar Katiresu*. Second Edition. Published by *G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras*. Pp. 114. Price Rs. 2-8.

The author of the book under review is a retired lawyer and law lecturer of Ceylon. He has half a dozen books on Ceylon law and Saiva religion. The

Tamil Telegraphic Code invented by him is a distinct mark of his genius.

This small book treats within a brief compass the essential features of Saiva *siddhanta* mainly prevalent in the Tamil province and Ceylon. It is shorn of technical terms and pedantic discussions and meant for English-educated devotees and students. That is why the University students of Ceylon have taken to it as an introduction to their deep study of Saiva Siddhanta. *Sivagnana Bodham* and *Sivagnana Siddhiar*, the two foundational scriptures of Saiva Siddhanta, are summarised in the third chapter. The last chapter gives a descriptive list of the scriptures and sacred books of this school of Hinduism.

Kashmir school of Saivism is another important branch of Hinduism and is different in several aspects from Saiva Siddhanta. The sacred books of the former sect are in Sanskrit whereas those of the latter are in Tamil. Thus various aspects of our religion and philosophy have to be studied and broadcasted as widely as possible in this age. This is needed to enliven the cultural revival necessary for the preservation of our Swaraj.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE GREAT SECRET (Six Monologues and a Conclusion) : By the Mother. Published in 1955 by Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Pages 27, 6½"×7½". Price 8 annas.

In it six world-famous men—The Statesman, The Writer, The Scientist, The Artist, The Industrialist, The Athlete—have been thrown together in a life-boat where they took refuge when the ship carrying them to a World Conference on Human Progress sank in the middle of the Ocean. When there was no hope and death was a certainty they narrated the stories of their lives, and expressed utter disappointment in their ultimate achievements. There was an Unknown man in the boat who was so long taken to be a negligible quantity. Now he rises full of serene power and opens before them a new meaning of life. Further he advises them to invoke the intervention of Grace. On invocation, Grace descends upon them and leads them out of destruction to salvation and new life. These Monologues can be staged with profit by students of both schools and colleges.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

SANSKRIT STUDIES: By *M. Hiriyanna*. Kavyalaya Publishers, Mysore. Price Rs. 4 or 6s.

We have here a collection of nine 'papers of a general nature relating to Sanskrit literature and language of the late Prof. Hiriyanna.' In a simple and attractive style they mainly seek to focus the attention of readers on the characteristic features of Sanskrit literature with special reference to Kalidasa and a number of works of Bhāṣa and Bhavabhūti. In the last paper on the study of Sanskrit valuable advice is given as to the way in which a serious student of Sanskrit should proceed in his studies. The book occasionally gives a new insight which will interest and benefit the students.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

YESTERDAY AND TO-DAY: By *Rao Bahadur Prof. A. Chakravarti, M.A., I.E.S.* Printed at the Diocesan Press, Madras. Pp. 104. Price Re. 1-8.

The author of the book under review is a veteran educationist and a retired member of Indian Educational

Service. For very many years he served as a distinguished Professor of English in several Government Colleges in Madras Presidency.

This small volume is a collection of ten articles written by the learned professor in different times and is prefaced by Sri C. S. Mallinath, ex-editor of the *Jaina Gazette*, Madras. The first seven of the ten articles appeared in the *Jaina Gazette* between 1919 and 1933 and the last one was specially written for this booklet. The philosophical, political, social, economic and other aspects of Indian culture are generally dealt with in these essays. Rightly Sri C. S. Mallinath observes in the preface that the views of the author are as true to-day as when they were originally written. The present generation of students and youths will be immensely benefited by a perusal of these suggestive and readable articles. But it is strange how a professor like him can pass such a perverted opinion about the dominant religion of India. In his extreme exuberance of appreciation of the Jaina practices he has gone so far as to call 'animal sacrifice of the Hindus a barbaric act' without trying in the least to realise its underlying significance. There is a number of cases which can be cited from the booklet where the writer has unjustly attacked Hinduism from an irrational outlook. We expected from the learned professor a more sober and dispassionate view of our religious practices. If the book were free from this limitation, its value would have been greatly enhanced.

SHIBANI PRASAD MAITRA

COMMERCIAL FRUITS OF INDIA: By G. S. Cheema, D.Sc., I.A.S., Fruit Development Adviser to the Government of India, S. S. Bhat, M.Ag., Horticulturist to the Government of Baroda, and K. C. Naik, B.Ag., M.Sc., Ph.D., Fruit Specialist, Madras :—It bears a foreword of Mr. Ronald G. Hatton, Director, East Mailing Research Station, East Mailing, Kent, England and a preface from Sir R. G. Allan, Commissioner of Agriculture (retired), Baroda.

The book is the fourth in a series of authoritative manuals prepared for the Indian Council of Agricultural Research on subjects relating to agricultural and horticultural research and practice. It deals in considerable detail with the culture of banana, mango, orange and allied citrus, fruits, guava, pomegranate, papaya, grape, sapota, fig and ber. And these ten fruits have been dealt with in about 400 pages, and this alone will indicate how exhaustively the culture of each fruit has been described and discussed. In fact all available literature, whether it is a leaflet or a pamphlet or a treatise has been consulted and useful information relating to each fruit has been embodied in it. A bibliography has been annexed with regard to each of the fruits dealt with in the book. And it has to be admitted that the authors have spared no pains to present an authoritative treatise on the ten fruits they have chosen for their book. And it will indeed be very valuable to those who are interested in the cultivation of fruits—whether on a large or a small scale.

Messrs. Macmillan and Co. have printed and published the book. Its get-up is excellent and it contains a good many illustrations. It is priced at Rs. 18 only. A treatise of this nature in vernaculars is likely to be more popular and useful towards the development of culture of fruits in the country.

DEBENDRA NATH MITRA

JUSTICE AND PEACE FOR ALL: By Abdul Hasanat. Published by Pakistan Co-operative Book Society Ltd., Chittagong. Price Rs. 7-8.

There is something about law and justice that at once attracts and repels. In this book the author wades through the intricacies of law; as it prevails in India and Pakistan, to see if justice, peace and normal living bliss can be had more cheaply and expeditiously. The book is full of practical suggestions for improvement of our laws and the instruments through which they are administered; but how far they will appeal to our rulers is a different question. For example, the author calls our Jury system, and we think rightly, a farce, but in India, at least, it is going to be put on a firmer basis.

Reform of the police is a baffling task; yet an account of the author's own experiments (and he is one of the Police Chiefs of East Pakistan) in this behalf at Chittagong seems to be encouraging. It will, I hope, attract the serious attention of those who have the police reforms in view.

On other cognate subjects, namely, the civil and criminal laws, the judges, the lawyers, the litigant public and the like, the author's constructive criticisms are also thought-provoking. But we miss in his discussions a systematic treatment. Perhaps the author was thinking of the possible dimension of the book if he entered fully into those subjects; but then he might save much of his space if he had reserved an account of his own experiments for a separate monograph. We hope that in the next edition the author will devote more pages to the reform of other agencies of the administration of law.

Law's delay, at least, should have received fuller attention from the author who has, unlike many similar other writers, vast practical experience added to learning and good sense. In Chap. XX relating to factors initiating administration of justice the author might, for greater effect, cite Indian cases instead of American.

On the whole, the book is an original contribution to our not very copious literature on law and as such it will, we hope, be welcomed by all who are interested in the study of law and legal institutions.

P. C. ROYCHOURDHY

RECENT TRENDS IN INDIA'S FOREIGN TRADE: By Dr. R. N. Poduval, Ph.D. (Lond.). Premier Publishing Co., Fountain, Delhi. Pp. 83. Price not mentioned.

The book contains two lectures delivered by Dr. Poduval at the Madras University in February 1950. In the first lecture, the author discusses the changing pattern of India's foreign trade. Since the beginning of the Second World War and after its close India's foreign trade has passed through several stages. A further development commenced since 15th August, 1947, when two independent Dominions emerged as a result of the partition of the country. Emergence of India after the Great War as a creditor country had new implications in her trade relations with the outside world. Birth of Pakistan has made trade relations between India and her neighbour foreign. Division of India has made one portion mainly producer of raw materials and the other industrial, thus breaking the economy so far enjoyed by the whole Indian Empire. Devaluation by India and non-devaluation by Pakistan of their respective currencies in respect of Dollar have created complications whose result it is not possible to foretell in all its aspects but it may be stated without fear of contradiction that these actions are sure to be disastrous to economies of both, apart from unfriendly political relations already in existence.

The second lecture discusses the commodity balance of trade before, during and after the War, visible and invisible trade, trade balance with Pakistan, effects of devaluation on Indo-Pakistan trade—Disequilibrium—Balance of Trade Problem in International context. The treatment of the subjects is illuminating even to a layman.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

GANDHI AUR SAMYAVADA: By Kishorlal Mashruwala. Published by Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 132. Price Re. 1-4.

SARVODAYA SIDDHANTA: A Symposium. Published by Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. Pp. 74. Price twelve annas.

There is a fundamental difference between the ideology of the Communist and that of the believer in the principles of Sarvodaya or Gandhism, though both avow that their sole objective in pursuing their particular path of reform or revolution is the creation of a classless society. For, violence or non-violence as a means to this end makes all the difference between the two ideologies. Shri Mashruwala brings this out clearly in his book while the symposium on Sarvodaya, to which Gandhiji, Vinobaji, Shri Narhari Parekh and others have contributed, only helps to confirm this difference, emphasising at the same time that justice must be assured "unto this last."

G.M.

GUJARATI

VIJNAN MANDIR: By Prof. Dr. Kantilal C. Panayya, M.A., Ph.D. Published by N. M. Tripathi

& Co., Bombay-2. 1950. Thick card-board. Pp. 436. Price Rs. 4.

Dr. Pandya has served for a long time in St. John's College at Agra as the Professor of Science and is therefore naturally interested in spreading the knowledge of scientific subjects and of scientists in his own mother tongue. He is a practised and known writer connected with literary families both on the paternal and the maternal sides. Biographies of famous scientists of both hemispheres and of India have been set out in easy language, with narrations of the works turned out by them and their discoveries. A thoroughly valuable work.

KALBHOJ: By Ramanlal V. Desai, M.A. Published by R. R. Sheth & Co., Bombay-2. 1950. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board cover. Pp. 345. Price Rs. 4-8.

Kalbhoj who is identified with Bappa Raval of Mewad (A.D. 734-753), was a king who valiantly withstood the coming onslaughts of Muslim invaders of India, and reigned over a country glorious in every way: a sort of golden age in the history of old Bharat. The practised pen and the splendid vision of this unique novel-writer of present Gujarat, has recreated the state of society prevalent then and presented an enchanting picture of the times which leads the reader into believing as if he was living in those times. It is a novel which will live.

K.M.J.

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ADVAITA ASHRAMA

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Draft Second Five-Year Plan (1956-61)

Science and Culture writes editorially :

The draft Plan-frame of 17 March 1955 as prepared by Professor P. C. Mahalanobis seeks to supply a logical foundation and a consistent frame-work for the formulation of the Second Five-Year Plan 1956-61. The chief aims are :

- (a) to increase the national income by 5 per cent per year, that is, to double it in about 14 years; and
- (b) to create opportunities of work for about 11 million persons during the plan-period.

This is sought to be done, on the one hand, by large investments in the heavy industries and construction, and on the other hand, by expanding the household and industries to the fullest extent. The development of heavy machineries, iron and steel, coal, irrigation and electricity, cement, heavy chemicals, etc., would lay a sound foundation for rapid industrialization in future. The expansion of hand industries would create a large volume of employment and increase the production of consumer goods to meet the increasing demand caused by large investments in the heavy industries.

Tentative targets of production have been given in the draft Plan-frame. It is not claimed that these are final. In fact, the chief object of the Plan-frame is to have the targets revised as necessary by detailed examination at a technical level. The Plan-frame emphasizes, however, that the targets are related to the rate of increase of national income and the volume of new employment sought to be created during the plan period. Secondly, there are technological connections between the different items ; a change in one item may require consequential changes in other items. Finally, the targets of production obviously are related to capital investments. The targets are thus basically inter-connected and also related to the rate of investment, the rate of increase of national income, and the rate of creation of new employment.

The chief merit of the draft Plan-frame lies in the attempt to give a coherent and logical structure to the second plan. This is why great emphasis has been laid on the consistency between different objectives and targets of the plan and balances between supply and demand at every stage.

It is interesting to observe that this type of planning requires thinking at a physical level. In fact, at one time there was a good deal of controversy about the alleged conflict between physical and financial planning. The fact of the matter is that a financial counterpart can always be arranged for any programme which is physically realizable but the converse is not true. The draft Plan-frame has clearly pointed out that the physical and the financial approach are but two aspects of the same reality.

Some of the basic ideas of the new approach were given by Professor Mahalanobis in two papers in 1952 and 1953, in which he reached the conclusion that for a satisfactory growth of the national economy it would

be necessary to have an average rate of investment of at least 10 or 11 per cent and that a large part of such investment should be allotted to the heavy industries. Both these ideas have found expression in the draft Plan-frame.

Work on this subject in the Indian Statistical Institute was more systematically organized when basic studies on planning for national development were inaugurated in the Institute by the Prime Minister in November 1954. Since then there was rapid progress.

We understand that the Central Statistical Organization (which works under the technical guidance of Professor Mahalanobis) has been closely associated with the studies on national income from the beginning. From December 1954 leading economists in the Economic Divisions of the Planning Commission and of the Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, began to work with the statistical group and the draft Plan-frame of 17 March 1955 represents much of this joint thinking. The group was also helped in many ways by exchange of ideas and experience with a large number of foreign economists and statisticians who worked as visiting professors in the Indian Statistical Institute during the cold season of 1954-55.

It is important to notice that the draft Plan-frame is not a copy of any foreign model. In the economy of more advanced industrial countries there is a conflict between consumption and investment. It is usually stressed that investment can not be increased without tightening the belt, that is, without reducing consumption. In the draft Plan-frame, the strategy is to increase both consumption and investment at the same time. In fact, it is the surplus production of consumer goods in the hand industries which would enable large investments being made in the heavy industries.

The draft Plan-frame proposes to restrict further expansion of factory production of such consumer goods as would be competitive with hand-made articles until unemployment has been eliminated. This emphasis on the use of hand products is in keeping with the cultural traditions of the country. However, once the fear of unemployment is eliminated, it is proposed to expand the factory production of consumer goods to attain a continually increasing level of living in future.

Although much-needed emphasis has been given to industrialization, the draft Plan-frame has taken into full consideration the need of expanding agricultural production and giving increasing attention to rural welfare through Community Projects and other measures.

It is also worth noticing that the draft Plan-frame does not contemplate nationalization of organized industries on ideological grounds. In fact, its emphasis is on the expansion of hand and household industries which are all in the private sector. It advocates the use of electricity to supply power for small-scale and household industries and is thus in favour of a wide disposal of industrial production.

The pattern of economic growth visualized in the draft Plan-frame is thus quite different from develop-

xents in U.S.S.R. and the socialized countries. The present approach has its roots in Indian traditions, is suited to Indian conditions, and has been the outcome of some hard thinking on the part of Indian scientists.

As far as we can judge the proposals made in the draft Plan-frame would be of great advantage to the agriculturists, artisans, the labouring classes as well as to the intelligentsia. There would be no nationalization on ideological grounds. The public sector would expand at a faster rate, and the private sector would have an expanding and assured market. The only basic change would be a restriction on the unlimited expansion of big business which is inescapable in the context of the Avadi resolution of the Congress party affirming its faith in progress towards a socialistic pattern of economy in India.

The draft Plan-frame of 17 March 1955 is accompanied by a supporting paper of 21 March 1955, giving more detailed information about targets and the financial position, prepared by the Economic Divisions of the Planning Commission and of the Department of Economic Affairs in consultation with the Central Statistical Organization and the Indian Statistical Institute. The draft Plan-frame and the Secretariat working paper represent much joint thinking and are consistent with each other but not identical. The draft Plan-frame is more comprehensive, and covers a wide range of question of economic policy and administrative and constitutional changes.

The draft Plan-frame of 17 March 1955 and the supporting Secretarial paper of 21 March 1955 were considered by the Panel of Economists (consisting of 17 leading economists of India with Shri C. D. Deshmukh, Minister of Finance, as Chairman and Professor D. R. Gadgil as Vice-Chairman) of the Planning Commission on the 8th, 9th and 10th April 1955. The Panel of Economists submitted a Memorandum on the draft Plan-frame which also has been released by Government. This Memorandum (which is practically unanimous with only one note of dissent) gives general approval of objectives of the draft Plan-frame and strongly supports the broad lines of policy. At one time there was some controversy between statisticians and economists which now seems to have had a happy ending with practically complete agreement about the present approach to planning.

The three papers were considered by the Standing Committee of the National Development Council on the 5th May and by the full Council itself (which consists of the Central Cabinet, the Planning Commission and the Chief Ministers of all the States) on the 6th May; and the draft Plan-frame was accepted as a basis for detailed formulation of the second plan. It is intended to get ready a draft outline of the second plan by October or November of this year, and the plan itself by March 1956. The Prime Minister, who presided at both the meetings, desired that wide publicity should be given to these papers.

The most important feature of the present approach to planning is its emphasis on the need of detailed technical work to ensure the internal consistency and the balances of the plan. It is fully recognized that the work of planning itself would call for a large staff of economists, statisticians, scientists, engineers, technologists and administrators (Chapter 6, 1.3). The draft Plan-frame emphasizes the need of a large scale organization for the training of technical personnel; and stresses the importance of re-orienting scientific and technological research to serve the needs of national development (Chapter 2, para 16). It also gives a

warning that the existing administrative machinery of Government may prove the greatest obstacle to the implementation of the plan, and emphasizes that such a bold plan, roughly twice the size of the first plan, can be undertaken only with the full support of the general public.

In view of the importance of the subject it is hoped that every one interested in the future progress of the country would make a serious study of the new approach to planning and offer constructive criticisms.

Whatever changes may be made in the targets and other details, the draft Plan-frame can give a definite direction to economic thinking and scientific and technological research in this country.

The readers of *Science and Culture* will find it of interest to note that more or less similar points of view were expressed in a series of articles on 'Rethinking our Future,' which appeared in this journal early in 1953. These articles were the result of a special study on planning by Professor M. N. Shah and were later published by the Indian Science News Association in the form of a booklet, *Rethinking Our Future*. The following may be quoted:

"It is clear from the foregoing sections that the economic laws which any Plan for a country has to follow are :

(a) that the existing productive machinery of the country (the word machinery is used in a figurative sense to include all means of production) must be maintained at full strength by the compulsory provision of adequate depreciation (or amortisation). This is not being done in India in many industrial groups (jute, coal, tea, cotton, chemicals, iron and steel etc.).



(b) There must be large new net investments in new productive enterprises which should be geared to the natural resources of the country. For India, if we want really an increase of national income, and if the per capita income has to be increased within a reasonable period (doubling of per capita income in 10 years) we must have $a=20$ i.e., invest annually two thousand crores for the next 5 years in national enterprises. The amount should go on increasing as the national income increases.

(c) The investments should be such that they yield large over-all dividend i.e., large B .

(d) In an overpopulated country like ours the rate of population growth should be kept down as far as practicable.

It does not appear possible that the Government can take much active steps in (d), except by propaganda and education. This must be left to "God" for the present, as one of the Bombay planners said to Professor A. V. Hill.

The conclusions (a), (b), (c) emerge as consequences of the general laws of economics which are of universal application, and are independent of any type of political ideology. But the political ideology can certainly affect all the three factors (a), (b), and (c) either favourably or adversely, as is apparent from the analysis of planning in the three countries given above.

Mahalanobis's PYP has taken $a=.12$, and insured for large B by accepting Prof. Saha's advocacy of heavy, or producer goods industries.

It is a happy augury that the Planning Commission and the Government of India have now a large measure of agreement with the patterns of planning which Professor Mahalanobis and his able workers of the Indian Statistical Institute have indicated in their studies. We hope that the Second Five-Year Plan will be based on these principles and lay the foundation of solid economic well-being of India's 370 millions.

Some Aspects of Life in the U.S.S.R.

Professor Dr. B. C. Guha, writes in the *Bulletin of the Ramakrishna Institute of Culture*:

On the invitation of the University of Moscow, a delegation of six Professors and twenty students from six Indian universities visited the Soviet Union last autumn. I went as a delegate from Calcutta University with three students whose respective subjects were history, law, and applied mathematics. The delegation represented also other subjects including economics, political science, languages and literature, chemistry, medicine, pharmaceutics, etc. While that delegation visited some general institutions like libraries, museums, and art galleries, different members of the delegation had also ample opportunity to visit the institutions and departments of studies, to which their own activities were related. It was therefore in no sense a 'conducted tour,' as has been alleged. Because of our regrettable ignorance of the Russian language, it was, of course, necessary to have interpreters with us, but these interpreters belonged to Moscow University and were not professional. Our students moved freely in Moscow and actually travelled on their own by bus and the underground railway to different places including the Indian Embassy. Where the Russians could speak English or any other language known to us, such as French, German, Bengali, Hindi, or Urdu, interpreters were not needed and conversation went on freely.

We spent a considerable part of our time in the different departments of Moscow University according to our specializations. The new thirty-two-storeyed Moscow University building on the Lenin Hills is indeed an architectural beauty. It combines massiveness with refinement. It houses not only the teachers and their families, but also seven thousand students, of whom fifty-one per cent are girls. Each student has a cozily furnished single-seated room, and every two rooms have an attached bath-room. I do not think there is in any other country such a gigantic residential university with such amenities.

In the Faculty of Chemistry alone there are one hundred and ten teachers including thirty-six professors. This indicates the scale on which the different departments are staffed. The pay of professors is as high as eight thousand roubles a month. In fact, in the entire Soviet Union professors and similar intellectuals are very well, perhaps too lavishly, looked after. Over ninety per cent of the students of Moscow University receive stipends varying from two to eight hundred roubles a month. This is sufficient, as the monthly room-rent in the University is twelve roubles and food may cost five roubles a day. The University course is of five years' duration after the school-leaving examination, which the students take when generally they are seventeen years old. In the last year of the course, they have to do a certain amount of research. After they pass out with a diploma from the University, they may take employment or may choose to be 'aspirants' and pursue a research career. After three years' research they are eligible for the Candidate's diploma. After this, they can proceed for the doctorate degree, for which some more years of research work are necessary.

The universities cater for fundamental subjects, such as literature, history, economics, chemistry, physics, botany, zoology, etc. The institutions for applied subjects, such as technology, engineering, medicine, and agriculture, are not under the universities, but are directly controlled by the Ministry of Higher Education with the exception of medical institutions, which are controlled by the Ministry of Health.

In discussion with the Vice-Minister of Higher Education, it was revealed that the Minister of Higher Education was a metallurgist and gave regular lectures at a metallurgical institution, and also the Vice-Minister of Agriculture was an agricultural geneticist and gave lectures in an agricultural college. He said that in this way the ministers kept contact with both teachers and students. They do not believe in an 'administrative caste.' People go into different fields of employment

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according to their ability and aptitude. The system is flexible, and it is clear that this arrangement ensures unity between administration and the people and prevents the administration from degenerating into a bureaucracy.

The scale on which science is supported in the Soviet Union is indicated by the fact that the Soviet Academy of Sciences has an annual budget of one billion roubles, with which it runs one hundred and ninety institutions. Besides the Academy of Sciences, there are several other academies, such as the Academies of Agricultural Science, Medical Science, Fine Arts, Architecture, Pedagogy. All these are financed by the State, and they all run numerous institutions. Besides these there are smaller academies in the constituent republics. Altogether there are about one hundred thousand research workers in the different institutions of the Soviet Union. The universities of the Soviet Union, including those of the constituent republics, are financed by the Centre. A comparatively small university like the Stalin University of Tbilisi (capital of Georgia) receives an annual grant of about thirteen million roubles. We had also occasion to visit the Lenin University of Tashkent (capital of Uzbekistan), which was also generously financed by the Soviet Government. All the scientific institutions I visited in Moscow, Leningrad, Stalingrad, Tbilisi, and Tashkent had modern equipment, and quite a few of them used electron microscopes and radio-active isotopes—all manufactured in the Soviet Union. Their progress, particularly in some applied fields, appears to be revolutionary. In Tashkent it was found that phosphatic fertilizers sprayed on the leaves of cotton plants were better utilized than fertilizers applied to the soil. In this work they are using the most modern isotopic and radio-autographic techniques. Agricultural scientists in Russia have shown that high yields of crops are obtained from a plot of land if it is ploughed only once every three or four years, though sowing is done every year. This builds and maintains the structure of the soil and also eliminates the labour of annual tilling. A plough developed by Maltsev has been very useful in this regard. In the hydrobiological laboratory in Leningrad University they have succeeded in the artificial fertilization of millions of fish eggs in ordinary vessels with fish sperm, both being obtained from male and female fish by means of hormone injections. In the laboratory of Academician Engelhardt in the Bach Institute of Biochemistry in Moscow, further research is proceeding in the successful rearing of these fertilized eggs. This is a method which promises to give enormous yields of fish, if suitable conditions are worked out.

The exchange of professors and students between

India and Soviet Union has been discussed. It seems probable that in future such an exchange relationship may be established. This will be of great mutual benefit to our two countries.

As regards the general aspect of life in the Soviet Union, one cannot say much, as our visit lasted only about a month. But, generally speaking, people are happy and are working hard to build up a new life. Seriousness in work was found in all walks of life. Even children queue up for entrance into the children's section of the Lenin Library and that in the evening after school hours. Highly technical books are sold out in a few days after publication.

Construction is going on apace. In Stalingrad where only ten buildings were said to have been standing after the great battle, so many thousands of houses have been built, and also new theatres, avenues, parks, etc., that it is difficult to find traces of the battle. Both buildings and roads are constructed by mechanized methods and the progress is extremely rapid. One of the members of our delegation said that she had gone over a very rough road in a car in the morning and returned in the evening on the same road which had meanwhile been concreted! To widen roads, huge buildings are put on rails under the foundation and moved. I have no doubt that in technical efficiency the Soviet Union is pre-eminent and we should learn the method of fast construction from them as soon as possible.

Religion, as is well known, is not encouraged by the State. On the other hand, citizens are free to practise the religion they like. Churches and monasteries are left as properties of the believers, who pay for their maintenance, elect the synods that manage them, and appoint the priests. Churches are fairly full and monasteries have considerable numbers of young men who are being trained as monks. In the Central Asian Republics there are mosques but religion is not a force among the people.

The dominating feature of life in the Soviet Union is people's love for peace. The word 'peace' is on every body's lips. Children in schools sing hymns of peace. The big Kirov stadium in Leningrad carries the slogan *Mir miroo*, Peace to the world, in huge letters. Talk of war is punishable under the law. The accusation that such a country has aggressive designs does not tally with these facts. If peace is maintained in the world, the Soviet Union will attain unprecedented peaks of production in record time. It is clear that the paramount necessity before the Soviet Union and the entire world is the maintenance of peace, for which unremitting efforts have to be made.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Age-Old Ties

Lev Uspensky, Soviet writer, writes in the *News and Views from the Soviet Union*, June 7, 1955 :

Russians have long known India. True, many people don't know how ancient and firm are the ties that link our two peoples. That is something well worth dwelling on.

A thousand years ago swarthy, enterprising Indian merchants unrolled before the admiring eyes of Northern beauties luxuriant, colourful Eastern fabrics in the market-places of Greater Novgorod, freedom-loving Slav republic. Through the Khazar town of Itil, on the broad Volga, caravans of Russian goods—honey, wax, saffles, and clear amber from the Baltic sea-board—flowed down to the Caspian and from there along peaceful trade routes across the Himalayas into India.

Since that time there live in Russian folk songs, tales and legends delightful images connected with that distant land of sunshine, a land of wonderful treasures and dark-faced people, "India the rich."

The hordes of Genghis Khan divided the world of the time into two, cutting off the peaceful ties of the North with the South. But the Russians did not forget India: they remained filled with determination to renew their friendship with her.

In the 15th century, some thirty years before the rancorous hosts of Portuguese caravans first plunged into the golden sands of the Malabar coast, a Russian appeared in India. He had made his way there by land and by sea, and his name was Afanasy Nikitin, merchant and traveller, a man of intelligence and kindness. He spent several years wandering about the Indian markets and temples, living in towns and villages, studying the unfamiliar world with eyes that were keen and sympathetic. Reverently, without a trace of arrogance or superiority, he noted and recorded everything that he saw, like a true friend. For centuries afterwards his words were read and re-read in his snow-covered native land, arousing an undying interest in the sultry land of the south. The years flew by, the decades marched past, the centuries elapsed. Not only the people but the Moscow government itself began to show a far-sighted interest in the life of their distant southern neighbour. Hardly had the great turning-point in Russian history that is bound up with Peter I begun when the Embassy of Semyon Malenky departed for India. Shah Aurangzeb received the "Muscovites." For five years Russians lived and traded peacefully beneath the blue skies of India. When they departed for home they bore with them a strange gift from the friendly land, an elephant, an animal never seen before in the north.

Again Indian merchants appeared in Russia. Entire settlements of Indians had sprung in Astrakhan, beside the Caspian, by the beginning of the 17th century. Indians made their way up to Moscow along the Volga, and proceeded even farther north, to Yaroslavl.

All these, of course, were no more than separate, rare meetings between two great and powerful peoples.

In the 18th century these meetings grew more frequent. Now, as in times past, resourceful, brave Northerners found their way to the alluring lands of the East. Filipp Efremov, the Atanasov brothers, and Rafael Dolibegov laid new paths in that direction. A lively interest in Indian languages and the culture, art and literature of the country crystallized and grew steadily among our scholars.

At the turn of the century Karamzin, a well-known Russian historian of the time, enriched our literature with a treasure of Indian letters when he translated scenes from the *Shakuntala*. Karamzin spoke with admiration of the pearls of poetry, not inferior to Homer's that were scattered through Kalidasa's immortal work. At about the same time he found among a bunch of old manuscripts a work by Afanasi Nikitin written three centuries before his *Travels Beyond Three Seas*. "The Indians heard of Russia before they knew about Portugal, Holland or England". Karamzin wrote with justifiable pride.

Finally, modern times. During the 19th century Russians learned more about the life, the joys and sufferings of the industrious, freedom-loving Indian people, weighed down by the unbearable yoke of foreign occupation. A hundred years have already passed since our children first read in Zhukovskiy's brilliant translation the touching, wise story of the love of Nala and Damayanti. The *Mahabharata* has become as familiar to us as the *Odyssey* and the *Iliad*, as one of the finest productions of antiquity.

In these one hundred years no little water has flowed down the Volga and the Ganges, but our eyes still drink in with eager curiosity the wonderful monuments of Indian art, from the cave temples of the Ajanta to that miracle of miracles, the *Tai Mahal*, and we think to ourselves: there is something elusively similar between Indian architecture and the masterpieces of old Russian architecture, in the flight of Indian mortar and the fantastic laciness of St. Basil's Cathedral, the most beautiful of Moscow's old churches.

We listen attentively to the majestic strains of Sanskrit verse, and our Russian ear detects many familiar sounds, while dwellers in Central Asia and the Transcaucasus find familiar roots in it as well. The lace of the carved temple of Madura, and the sonorous verses of the *Ramayana*, and the marvellous lines of the portico of the Kondana chaitya grow more and more dear to us. But dearer than the marble and porphyritic tombs, more alluring than the beauties of Bengal roses and tall palms, is the friendship of those who sculptured and wrote, raised and created all that, those who mined the rubies and sapphires for the altars of the grim gods of old, friendship with the tireless architect, ploughman, songwriter, sage and singer, with our wise and noble brother, the common man of India.

For years our boys and girls have suffered the sorrows of the Indian people. Among all the characters in Jules Verne our children have chosen for their

THE MODERN REVIEW FOR JULY, 1955

favoured Captain Nemo because he fought for India's freedom.

Generations of Russians have studied with wrath and indignation the magnificent painting of our Vereshchagin showing British guns aimed at the backs of the Sepoy heroes of 1857. Women gaze at the painting with anguish in their eyes, men with clenched fists.

In the 19th century we heard about India, but we heard it from alien lips. At the beginning of the 20th century India first spoke to us herself through the great Tagore. Her voice moved and captivated us. But only in recent years have we and you had the opportunity freely to stand shoulder to shoulder in mankind's peaceful endeavours, and, stretching out our hands looking straight into each other's eyes, to say: greeting, brother!

The last few years have brought us Soviet people great joy: India has come to visit us!

In Moscow and Leningrad and Kiev people have stood from morning till night waiting to view the work of India's artists. Huge crowds jammed the cinema houses where the unfortunate owners of "Do Bigha Zamin" collapsed from exhaustion, Rai Karur struggled and triumphed in "Awaaz", the downtrodden characters in the "Andhivan" died. Soviet men and women were delighted by the age-old art of Gopinath, admired the tender litheness of Tara Choudhuri: with bated breath they listened to the voices of your peasants and the chords struck from instruments unknown to us. In all this they persistently sought what is most important: the life of a great people, their joys and hopes.

What joy in the consciousness that although thousands of kilometres, dozens of degrees of latitude separate us, although the histories of our countries are so dissimilar, and our cultures different, your artists draw tears from our eyes, and your songs go straight to our hearts! We are brothers! If we really understand this no evil force on earth can oppose us.

When tender birch leaves are beginning to burst in our groves, wreathing the distance in a faint greenish haze, cool, transparent and acridly fragrant, your eternally burning sun pours down its rays on trees and grasses unfamiliar to us....

Everything in our two countries is different, individual. But both here and there we, the people, are the same, exactly the same on Cape Comorin as on Cape Chelyuskin, with the same desire to live, not die to rejoice, not suffer the same desire freely to inhabit free, human happiness.

That is why the same human thoughts, hopes and desires live in the Madras jungle and the Siberian tundra, in Bombay and in Leningrad, and the same passionate words—peace, joy, friendship of nations, freedom—ring out.

Man is weak when he goes into battle alone. But together with his friends he can overcome all enemies. United, the peoples of the world can do anything; they

are invincible in the struggle for peace; there is no force capable of standing up against them.

Bhoodan Called Typical of Free World Spiritual Forces

Washington, May 26—Bhoodan Yagna, led by Vinoba Bhave, has been cited as an outstanding example of current spiritual movements that differentiate the free totalitarian societies.

Columnist Malvina Lindsay, writing in the *Washington Post and Times-Herald* today says, "This Gandhi disciple" is stepping up by voluntary means the distribution of land to the landless.

Miss Lindsay says further that "Vinoba's band of followers describe their activities as 'looting with love.' The movement is spiritually akin to that of the Abbe Pierre in France, who is crusading for a 'roof for every Frenchman'!"

"The Indian movement, which is demonstrating that 'bourbons' of any nationality can experience a change of heart, also has an analogy in the distribution of land by the Shah of Iran.

"Young Briton, Hallam Tennison, great-grandson of the poet, who travelled for a while with Vinoba's band, believes that *bhoodan* is largely the answer to India's need to hasten economic change by democratic methods."

Miss Lindsay recalls that Tennison recently lectured in Washington on his book *India's Walking Saint*. Tennison, the columnist says, pointed out to Washingtonians that "many if not all of India's 100 millions landless eventually will cultivate 5-acre tracts on a life tenure and have a new purpose in life, as a result of Vinoba's efforts."

Describing the scope and success of *bhoodan*, Miss Lindsay says it is "giving Indian peasants more confidence in the future."

Such confidence, she said, "is synonymous with the 'sense of progress' that Chester Bowles, former Ambassador to India, recently told U.S. Senate Foreign Relations Committee was especially needed by peoples of industrially underdeveloped areas of the world."

Miss Lindsay concludes: "If *bhoodan* can materially increase the tempo of India's land reform, it will have great importance on the entire democratic world. For India's results in bringing about economic improvement by democratic means are being measured by all Asia against those of China, where totalitarian techniques are being employed.

"But the success of the *bhoodan* crusade—and of the other spiritual movements now under way against economic distress—would even have greater significance in demonstrating that the heart is mightier than the ukase."—USIS.



Dr. Jonas E. Salk. Discoverer of Anti-Polio Vaccine

To millions of American parents, the name of Dr. Jonas E. Salk now means freedom from an annual summer-time worry: Is there danger of my child contracting poliomyelitis this season?

The announcement earlier this week that the vaccine developed by the 40-year-old University of Pittsburgh researcher is 80 to 90 percent effective has brought comfort to people throughout the world. Regarded as the first great advancement in the fight against the crippling disease, the Salk vaccine is also being hailed as "one of the greatest events in the history of medicine."

What of the man behind this momentous discovery? Jonas Salk was born in Manhattan, New York City, in 1914, the eldest of three sons of a women's wear manufacturer. He was a precocious youngster with unusually neat and tidy habits and equally precise ways of classifying ideas. At 16 he graduated from Townsend Harris High School and at 19 from the City College of New York.

After a period of internship, which followed his passing from New York University's Medical School, Salk was already so interested in research that he did not even consider going into routine practice. Instead, he won a National Research Council fellowship for work on viruses, and went to the University of Michigan to work under his one-time professor, Dr. Thomas Francis, Jr. It was Dr. Francis who was in charge of evaluating the success of the mass Salk vaccine tests made last summer.

In 1947, Dr. Salk with his wife and two young sons (there is a third now) went to the University of Pittsburgh to start a virus laboratory. For the first few months he stuck to his first love, the influenza virus; but soon he decided to "look into this polio problem to see what it was about."

Under a grant from the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis, Salk started work in 1949 classifying the various known strains of polio virus. The task took three years and cost \$1,370,000. And by this time Salk and other scientists had found that all known strains of polio virus could be classified into three types, which meant that any successful vaccine would have to protect against three different viruses.

Of great value to Dr. Salk's research was the earlier work done by Doctors John F. Enders, Thomas H. Weller and Frederick C. Robbins, who had found a way to grow polio virus in non-nervous tissue kept alive in flasks and test tubes. This discovery brought the three scientists the 1954 Nobel Prize in Medicine and Physiology.

Step by painstaking step, Dr. Salk made experimental vaccines and tested them in monkeys. In June 1952 he was satisfied he had a vaccine safe enough to be given to human beings. Still, for utmost safety, he decided that the first subjects should be those who had already recovered from polio. Thus they should be immune to further disease, but he could measure a rise in their antibody level if the vaccine produced, as he expected, a booster effect. It did.

Salk's vaccine consists of viruses of all three types of paralytic polio, with a solution of formaldesyn to make them harmless. When injected, the vaccine induces the human body into setting up a defence against polio virus invasion by producing antibodies.

In 1953, Dr. Salk described his encouraging results in a nation-wide radio broadcast, and—though fellow

scientists were still sceptical—by the time he had gained the confidence of the officials of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis.

The National Foundation last summer financed the gigantic project, involving altogether approximately 1,830,000 American school children. Of this number 440,000 were actually inoculated with the Salk vaccine, the remainder being given injections of a placebo (which has no effect) or merely serving as controls.

In all, there were 113 cases of polio among the vaccinated children, with 71 of the cases resulting in paralysis. One child who had been inoculated died of polio, but it was found that there were special and unusual circumstances in this case. Among the children under observation, but not vaccinated, there were 730 cases of the disease, of which 445 involved paralysis.

The evaluation report on the mass tests revealed that even when paralytic polio struck, the severity of paralysis was lessened by the vaccine and chances of complete recovery were improved.

Dr. Salk himself said the tests showed him how to make the vaccine even more effective—by giving the third "booster" shot seven months after the first two injections, instead of giving all three in a five-week period as was done in the tests. He believes the booster injection should have the effect of extending polio immunity for an indefinite period, perhaps years.

The success of the anti-polio tests sets in motion a U.S.-wide programme of immunisation against the disease, which will inoculate nearly 60 million American children. Already six U.S. pharmaceutical firms have started distribution of the vaccine, and the U.S. Government announced that validated export licences will be granted for shipping the vaccine overseas. One pharmaceutical firm has announced that it plans to export 10 percent of current production of the vaccine through established commercial channels.

While the National Foundation, which has a Salk vaccine stockpile for 9,000,000 vaccinations, will carry out an extensive immunisation programme in 1955 in U.S. schools, its participation in the production, distribution and administration of the vaccine will cease after this.

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to remember that the entire cost of testing the Salk vaccine was paid by American people through their voluntary contributions to the National Foundation's annual "March of Dimes" fund-raising campaign.

Dr. Salk, his success brings no near-fortune, as vaccine is an unpatented product. His reward is satisfaction of serving mankind. But to the man when asked why he devoted his life to research, "Why did Mozart compose music?" this is reward.

USIS, April 15, 1955.



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Another Anti-polio Vaccine

The Press has already pointed out, in connection with the discovery of an anti-polio vaccine by Doctor Salk, the existence of another anti-polio vaccine discovered in France by Professor Pierre Lepine.

Jean Diwo writes on this subject in the French Weekly *Paris-Match*:

"This vaccine is identical in its principle with that of Dr. Salk and differs from it only in a few technical details: in particular through a composition more appropriate to the fight against poliomyelitis such as it is observed in Europe and through its preparation from chickens' embryos instead of Rhesus monkeys' kidneys.

As for Pierre Lepine the problem is not posed in the same way as for his famous American fellow-scientist. "We must not forget," he recently stated, "that in France at least 85% of the children get spontaneously immune."

Indeed, through a curious paradox, polio is the unexpected counterpart of hygiene. The disease takes various forms in countries where children are not naturally immune from it, because they live in almost perfect conditions of cleanliness: such is the case in the United States and the Scandinavian countries. Hygiene in the country, actively pursued in America, has developed exactly in the same proportions as poliomyelitis.

"If all children would rub their slice of bread and butter against the walls before eating it, there would be much less polio," a specialist of the Pasteur Institute declared recently. It was of course a sally, but there was some truth in it. For one serious form of poliomyelitis there are 99 others which disappear and leave no more trace than a cold in the head would. We catch them without even noticing it, but they are miraculously useful to us: they vaccinate us against the acute form of the disease."

Professor Andre Lemaire writes in his turn in the journal *Le Monde*:

"It is not really a question of discovery. (1) The general principles of vaccination have been known for a long time. Pasteur had clearly defined them and he knew, according to the cases, how to use germs, killed or only attenuated. (2) For a long time formal has been used in the preparation of vaccines. Formal is an energetic germ-killer and is used as such in the preparation of "killed" vaccines. It is also an agent for the denaturation of proteins, thanks to which the doctors Ramon and Zoeller were able to transform cer-

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

toxins into antitoxins, that is to say prepare very efficacious and safe vaccines, which were very used the world over.

Formol has the same denaturing effect on certain which it transforms into anavirus free from patho power but capable to confer to the organism a ific immunity. According to Dr. Ramon the anti- vaccine is an anavirus.

(3) Anti-polio vaccination is not summed up in this vaccine made with formol and killed. They have experiments with live vaccines but attenuated, containing living virus capable of giving immu without giving the disease. Experiments are proing.

These principles having been known for a long , why have they waited so long to perfect an effic vaccination ? It is because the means of obtain the necessary quantities of virus have been known for a few years. There lies the true discovery e by Dr. Enders who received for this the Nobel . The principle is simple : as the virus develops on living cells, the question is to use, as breeding , a culture of tissue or tissue kept alive in a pro nutritive fluid.

Starting from this principle, numerous workers be interested in the making of virus and of vaccine very form, killed or attenuated, injectable or stable. And in this competition French scientists not the last, since from the very beginning of the Doctors Blanc and Martin of the Pasteur tute in Casablanca have vaccinated in that town, attenuated ingestable virus, 5699 children.

Admitting that the vaccine of Dr. Salk gives proofs s capacity, must one make use of it everywhere, in ce, in particular ? Nothing is more unlikely, for myelitis is not exactly the same in all the coun of the world. Thus the distribution of the three ss of virus, source of the disease, is not the same America and in Europe. On the other hand, the se is more spread and more serious in the United s than anywhere else. Finally, one should know is the duration of the immunity given by the vaccine.

For all these reasons, Professor Pierre Lepine, who long been engaged in the research of an efficacious ine, thinks that at least in Europe the latter must different from Dr. Salk's vaccine, and he has pered a particular technique of preparation. But he is that only after a series of most strict checkings, when sufficient proofs have been gathered on the cuousness and efficacy of the vaccine and as to the ee and the duration of immunity given by the vac the latter can then be placed at the disposal of medical profession."

International Short Feature Film Festival Held in Tokyo

The success of the International Short Feature Film Festival held recently in Tokyo attests to the tremendous interest in this type of motion pictures.

Short features from eight nations were shown at the Yamaha Hall in Tokyo on November 18, 1954, and drew an overflow crowd with more than 500 people turned away.

The festival was arranged by the Educational Film Producers' Association of Japan, sole organization of short feature motion picture companies, which boasts a membership of more than 100 production outfits.

The purpose of the festival was two-fold : To improve the quality of short feature motion pictures; and to stimulate an understanding of international problems in this field.

FILMS FROM 8 NATIONS

Among the films screened were the following :

Ski Sport Bariloche (Argentina), *Australia Today* (Australia), *Dozere Monaragon* (France), *Darjeeling* (India), *Primavera Sull'Etna* (Italy), *The White Convent* (England), and *Art of Japan* (the United States).

Darjeeling especially won tremendous acclaim wi its magnificent colour and excellent arrangement winning the admiration of all concerned. The success achieved by the festival demonstrated the strong desire among the ordinary people for knowledge of foreign affairs through this medium. Furthermore, it was strongly urged that this type of film festival should be continued in the future and should be held at least two or three times a year.

JAPANESE SHORT WIN PRIZE

A Japanese short feature, *Life in the Railway*, won second prize in the documentary film section of the 1954 International Film Festival held in Venice. This gave impetus to the production of short feature motion pictures in Japan.

At the same time, the use of motion pictures for educational purposes has gained wide popularity.

In 1951, 233 short features were produced in Japan. The following year, the number jumped to 304. Last year, 350 shorts were made, and indications are that production will exceed 400 this year.—*Information Bulletin*, Japan.



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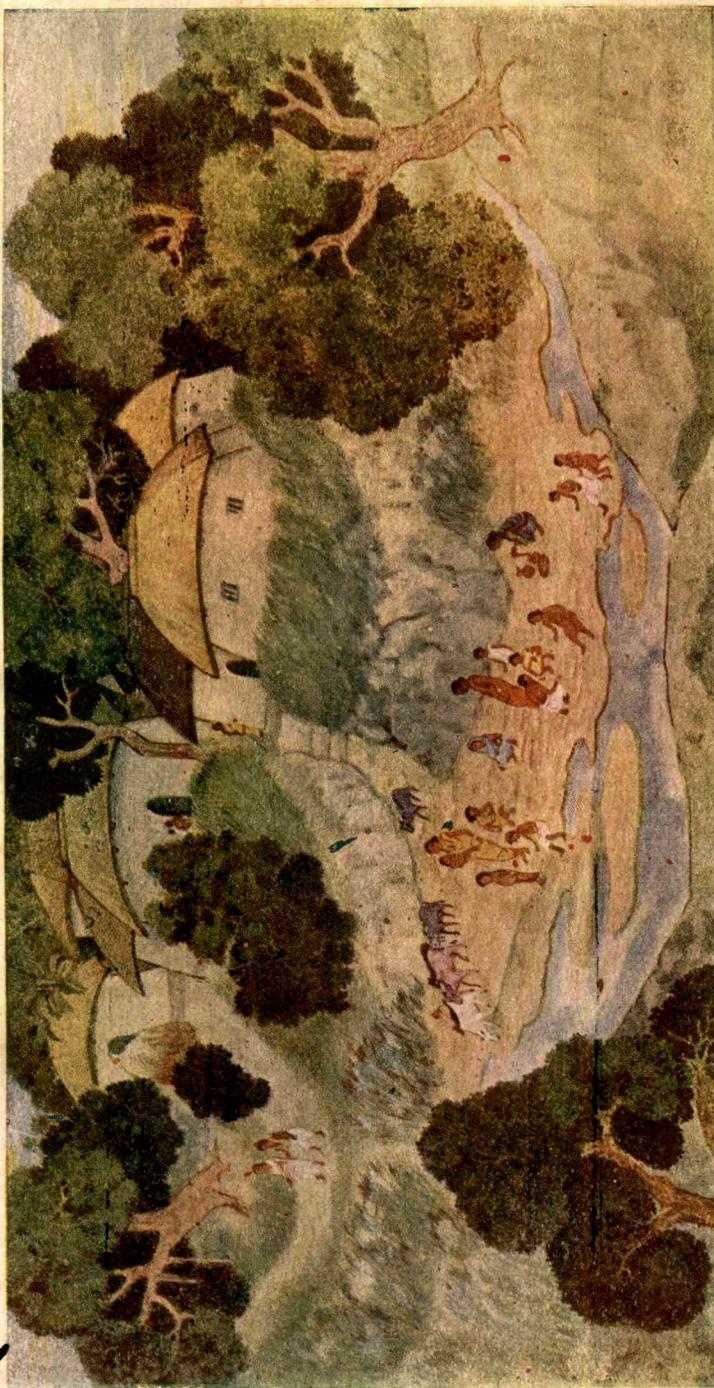
Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in the State Hermitage of Soviet Union

Photo: V. Nossov



Reception of Sri Jawaharlal Nehru at the Tashkent aerodrome

Tashkent Photo



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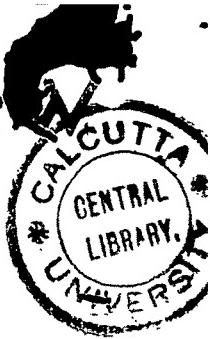
A Village Rivulet
By Bireshchandra Ganguly

THE MODERN REVIEW

AUGUST



1955



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NOTES

Home and the World

The Geneva Conference marks a new phase in the World Relations of all nations. The tension between the two armed camps, that were engaged in the "cold war" for the last six years and more, has been considerably lowered and a reasonable attitude is marked in the higher executive of the two great Powers. The press has stopped sabre-rattling in Russia, and a slightly moderate tone is found in the more sober of the U. S. papers, though as yet the infantile craze for invective persists. But all the same, so far so good, where peace is concerned. Goodwill may come in a decade or so when power-drunkness passes with the realisation of the true significance of Nuclear Warfare. Scientists have made unequivocal statements regarding the logical consequences of letting loose the hellish fury of atomic fission on humanity.

Pandit Nehru's mission of peace in China and the U.S.S.R. has borne fruit, as the world realises, despite ungracious and exceedingly stupid statements of certain personages in the West. The cold records of history will no doubt prove to posterity where credit was due. But Gandhism lays no stock on credits, as the *Gita* definitely says that there should be no desire for credit for a good action, "*Ma faleshu kadachana*." And so we are not concerned about credit, let lesser spirits hanker and argue about that.

So much for the world. We have now to consider affairs that are vital for the well-being of our own people. Pandit Nehru may be well-satisfied about the results of his endeavours regarding the establishment of peace and goodwill amongst the peoples of the world, but can he deny that these world-wide perambulations, and long-distance *pourparlers* have led, as an inevitable consequence, to the gross neglect of urgent and essential work at home? Campaigns for Peace, as in campaigns of War, demand a heavy price, which occurs on the scale attempted by Pandit

Nehru, in terms of stress and hardship on the Common Man, whose well-being, mental, moral and physical, is left in charge of inefficient and incompetent party-hacks, while the really great are pre-occupied with issues that lie outside the home-precincts.

Is it not time that Pandit Nehru remembered that he is not merely in charge of Foreign Relations? Is it not time that all of us came down to earth? What matters if we get all the credit for establishing the spirit of Gandhism abroad, if at home we became a C₃ nation, morally degenerate, mentally decrepit and physically weak?

The First Five-Year Plan is coming to a close. It has achieved a little, in the terms of bare necessities of life, though we are very far off as yet, where sufficiency in protective diet and raiment and adequacy in shelter is concerned. We stand where we were in education and literacy, or rather in ignorance and illiteracy, and our progress has been remarkably and lamentably downhill in moral values and mental rectitude.

Various utopian schemes are in a formative stage in the framing of the Second Five-Year Plan. Academic controversies are being engaged into on the lines of warfare in mediaeval China, where great armies won or lost battles without striking a blow. Mass employment is being planned without taking into consideration the most essential factors that govern the relations between the job and the worker, namely, training, fitness and efficiency. Increment of income is being planned for—or rather hoped for—without taking into consideration the inevitable and steep rise in the cost of living, if mechanical production is primarily frozen and replaced by manual work. And finally decisions are being sought on the basis of shibboleths and abstract hypotheses, while the entire nation is groaning under the stress and strain of inadequacy in all spheres of life, on the basic principles of progress.

THE MODERN REVIEW FOR AUGUST, 1955

Big Four Conference

The "summit" meeting of the "Big Four" Powers was held in Geneva in the neutral territory of Switzerland from July 18 to July 23. The participants were: From the U.S.A., President Dwight D. Eisenhower and Secretary of State, Mr. John Foster Dulles; from the United Kingdom, Prime Minister Sir Anthony Eden and Foreign Secretary Mr. Harold Macmillan; from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Prime Minister Nikolai Alexandrovitch Bulganin, Foreign Minister M. Vyacheslav Molotov, Defence Minister Marshal Zhukov, Communist Party leader Nikita Khrushchev and Deputy Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. French Prime Minister Edgar Faure.

This was the first occasion since the end of the War in 1945 that the executive heads of the Four Powers were meeting together for mutual consultations. The subjects for discussion in the meeting were, in the order of discussions held, reunification of Germany, European Security, Disarmament problem and the development of East-West contact.

The conference concluded with an agreement that the Foreign Ministers of the Four Powers should meet in Geneva in October next to consider the directives of the "Big Four."

Under the directives the Foreign Ministers were instructed to consider various proposals for the purpose of establishing European security and the solution of the German problem. Accordingly, among other proposals, the Foreign Ministers would consider:

"A security pact for Europe or a part of Europe including provision for the assumption by members of an obligation not to resort to force and to deny assistance to an aggressor.

"A limitation, control and inspection in regard to armed forces and armaments.

"Establishment between East and West of a zone in which the deposition of armed forces will be subject to mutual agreement."

The Heads of the Four Governments also agreed that the settlement of the German question and the reunification of Germany by means of free elections shall be carried out in conformity with the national interests of the German people and the interests of European security. The Foreign Ministers will make whatever arrangements they may consider for the participation or for consultation with other interested parties.

The Directives further recorded the agreement of the Big Four "to work together to develop an acceptable system of disarmament through the Sub-Committee of the United Nations Disarmament Commission."

The Big Four proposed that the next meeting of the Sub-committee be held on August 29, 1955, in New York and instructed their representatives on the

Sub-committee to take account of the views of the Heads of the four Governments.

The Four Heads of Governments instructed their Foreign Ministers "to take note of the proceedings in the Disarmament Commission, to take account of the views and proposals advanced by the Heads of Government at this conference, and to consider whether the four Governments can take any further useful initiative in the field of disarmament."

The Foreign Ministers were further instructed to study measures, "by means of experts," to bring about a progressive elimination of barriers interfering with free communications and peaceful trade between peoples and to "bring about such free contacts and exchanges as are to the mutual advantage of the countries and peoples concerned."

In conclusion the directives said: "The Foreign Ministers of the Powers will meet at Geneva during October to initiate their consideration of those questions and to determine the organisation of their work."

The British and American spokesmen said after the conference that agreement had been reached on all points. The Soviet spokesman said that the conference had "come to a victorious end."

President Eisenhower told the final session of the conference that "the prospects of a lasting peace, well-being and broader freedom are brighter and the dangers of the overwhelming tragedy of the modern war are less."

The President added: "If our peoples in the months and years ahead broaden their knowledge and understanding of each other as we during this week have broadened our knowledge of each other, further agreement between our Governments may be facilitated. May this occur in a spirit of justice. May it result in improved well-being, greater freedom and less of fear or suffering or distress for mankind. May it be marked by more of goodwill among men. These days will then indeed be ever remembered."

Marshal Bulganin said in his concluding speech: "There is no doubt that the present meeting in Geneva of the Heads of Governments of the Four Big Powers has a positive meaning for the easing of tension in the relations between the Governments and for the inevitable increase in confidence between them."

"Despite the fact that on some questions, our points of view did not coincide, on the whole the meeting proceeded in an honest atmosphere and was marked by the efforts of its participants to achieve mutual understanding."

They all recognised the importance of the decisions made in Geneva, Marshal Bulganin added: "These decisions will have a positive meaning also for other countries and for the strengthening of world peace."

If the spirit of co-operation prevails in the

Geneva parleys was "shown by all of us," Marshal Bulganin continued, "this will be reliable pledge that the noble goal of the maintenance of peace will be achieved and the peoples will be able to look calmly towards the morrow."

The conference was presided over by the Four Heads of Governments by rotation.

The Western Powers—led by the U.S.A. presented a compact front. They concentrated their emphasis on the solution of the German problem as the key to the overall question of peace in Europe and ultimately of the peace of the world.

Marshal Bulganin on the other hand accorded the German problem only a secondary place, emphasizing that the German question would be automatically solved if a general system of European security was established.

The *Statesman's* special correspondent in Geneva, Shri Prem Bhatia, adds: "Unlike the Western spokesmen who were totally silent on the subject, the Russian Premier reminded the conference of the importance of Asian problems, and in enumerating the causes of relaxation of world tension mentioned Mr. Nehru's visit to Russia."

The omission of all reference to the Far East in the agenda, Reuter says, was a distinct gain for the Western view.

Marshal Bulganin proposed a two-point European security plan beginning with the "freezing of NATO and its Eastern counterpart at their existing strengths." The second phase envisaged the progressive dismantling, and eventual liquidation, of both the 15-nation Western alliance and the 8-nation alliance set up in Warsaw in May last. He also called for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Europe.

The Soviet Union had decided to demobilise the troops withdrawn from Austria, Marshal Bulganin said and called upon the Western Powers to do likewise. He rejected President Eisenhower's assertion that international communism was a subject for the Four-Power meeting. The conference had been convened to discuss the problem of inter-State relations, not "the activities of some or other political parties in various countries or relations between those parties."

Marshal Bulganin said that his Government had decided to contribute to the international pool of atomic materials of the International Atomic Energy Agency an appropriate amount of fissionable materials as soon as agreement on setting up the Agency was reached.

Referring to the levels of armaments of the Powers, Marshal Bulganin said: "It would be a fact of great importance if this conference were to come out in favour of an international agreement embodying our common consent to establish the level of the armed forces of the USA, the USSR and China

at 1 to 1½ million men for each, and of Britain and France at 650,000 men, and to limit the levels of the Armed Forces for all other States to 150,000 to 200,000 men."

He further said that in the opinion of the Soviet Government, the present conference should not wait for the conclusion of a general international convention, which might take a certain amount of time, but should reach agreement on obligations which France Great Britain, the USA and the USSR would assume not to be the first to use the A- and H-Bombs against any country and to appeal to all other States to join that declaration. An exception might be allowed exclusively for purposes of defence against aggression, when the Security Council would take a corresponding decision.

He said that conditions were not yet ripe for the reunification of Germany and rejected a British proposal for a non-aggression pact guaranteed by the Soviet Union, the West and a United Germany.

Marshal Bulganin proposed a 50-year treaty embracing all European States irrespective of their political systems, and the "two Germanies." The USA could also join such a pact.

Reuter says that Marshal Bulganin's proposal for a new security pact for Europe was based on a plan put forward a year ago, but amended to permit existing mutual aid treaties to continue until the expiration of an agreed time limit.

According to the news agency, the modifications were: (1) The preamble of this draft plans said its aim was to facilitate an early settlement of the German problem; (2) the pact now envisaged U.S. participation; (3) it contained references to economical and cultural contacts between East and West; (4) it referred to Chinese observers on any organizations which might be set up within the framework of that pact; and (5) it contained the two-stage concept put forward during the Geneva talks by the USSR.

Launching the historic conference President Eisenhower called for starting "diplomacy in a new spirit." He said that the West was ready to consider "reciprocal safeguards which are reasonable and practicable" to achieve German unity. But "the American people feel strongly that certain peoples of Eastern Europe, many with a long and proud record of national existence," had not been given the freedom promised in the war-time agreement.

He referred to the threat presented by international communism and said: "For 38 years now its activities have disturbed relations between other nations and the Soviet Union. Its activities are not confined to efforts to persuade. It seeks throughout the world to subvert lawful governments and to subject nations to alien domination."

There was the overriding problem of armament

which was "at once a result and a cause of existing tension and distrust. Contrary to a basic purpose of the United Nations Charter, armaments now divert much of man's effort from creative to non-productive uses. We would all like to end that."

M. Eisenhower continued: "Surprise attack has a capacity for destruction far beyond anything which man has as yet known. So each of us deems it vital that there should be means to deter such attack. Perhaps, therefore, we should consider whether the problem of limitation of armament may not best be approached by seeking—as a first step—dependable ways to supervise and inspect military establishments, so that there can be no frightful surprises, whether by sudden attack or by secret violation of agreed restrictions. In this field nothing is more important than that we explore together one challenging and central problem of effective mutual inspection. Such a system is the foundation for real disarmament."

The President said: "Let me repeat I trust that we are not here merely to catalogue our differences. We are not here to repeat the same dreary exercises that have characterised most of our negotiations of the past 10 years. We are here in response to the peaceful aspirations of mankind to start the kind of discussions which will inject a new spirit into our diplomacy, and to launch fresh negotiations under conditions of good augury."

In a subsequent statement before the conference on the question of disarmament, President Eisenhower said on July 21 that no sound and reliable agreement could be made unless it was completely covered by an inspection and reporting system adequate to support every portion of the agreement. "The lessons of history teach us that disarmament agreement without adequate reciprocal inspection increase the dangers of war and do not brighten the prospects of peace."

He said that as no effective method of inspection of the "true budgetary facts of total expenditures for armament," had yet been invented he proposed that the Big Four should immediately conclude an agreement to give to each other a complete blueprint of our military establishments, from beginning to end, from one end of our countries to the other. Lay out the establishments and provide the blueprints to each other.

"Next, to provide within our countries facilities for aerial photography to the other country—"

The British and French Premiers readily accorded their wholehearted approval to the Eisenhower "Exchange of Blueprints" plan.

Soviet spokesman said that while the Soviet Union did not doubt the sincerity of the U.S. President, it was not satisfied with the suggestion for the exchange of blueprints of military establishments and for aerial inspection of each other's territory because the Eisenhower proposal bypassed the basic

disarmament issue—the prohibition of nuclear weapons.

Giving the impression the Eisenhower proposals created in Geneva, Shri Prem Bhatia writes in the *Statesman*: "To another section of opinion in Geneva—and this was far from confined to the Communist—the American offer was unfortunate because it was unrealistic and impracticable. It belonged to the realm of phantasy."

"Inasmuch as the Eisenhower plan was regarded as incapable of implementation, it did no service to the cause for which the Big Four conference assembled, but on the contrary, had encouraged an amusing game of competitive argument."

The French Premier, M. Edgar Faure presented the conference with a "Butter for Guns" plan. His plan for an "International Fund for Equipment and Mutual Aid" envisaged the use of the savings made by arms reductions to help industrially underdeveloped areas.

He suggested that the Big Four should take initiative in facilitating free cultural information and economic relations among nations, as the best means for ending the cold war. Another suggestion he made was that Western Germany should give Russia, as it had given the signatories of the Paris Agreements, an assurance that it would not use force to obtain the reunification of Germany or modification of the present frontiers. He considered the reunification of Germany was the key to the solution of all other problems.

The British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, said in his opening speech that his Government was prepared to participate in a "security pact of which those around the table and a united Germany might be members." He also put forward a suggestion for examining the possibility of a remilitarized area between the East and the West.

"Charted at Geneva"

The international edition of the *New York Times*, in its issue of July 24, gives under the above caption, a summary of the results of the "summit" talks of Geneva. We reproduce the relevant portion below, in order to record the reaction of the informed and more sober part of the U. S. press:

Out of six days of talk last week at the summit of the Big Four there emerged these broad conclusions:

First, after ten rancorous years, direct communication was established among the heads of government of East and West on terms approaching cordiality and goodwill.

Second, the Russians nevertheless showed no sign of yielding on the hard issues that cleave the free and Communist worlds.

Third, President Eisenhower asserted the American will for peace with a force that left a deep impression in much of the watching world. He appeared to have gone far toward undermining the recurrent Soviet propaganda

ganda theme—that the U. S. and the security system it has erected against communism are the chief dangers to world peace.

The nature of the Geneva conference was evident in the pattern of action that unfolded during the six days. At the summit there were plenary sessions in which the leaders for the most part exchanged pledges of good intent and put on the table proposals—some old, some new, some modest, some bold—that at no time came into detailed debate.

Below the summit the diplomatic workmen—the foreign ministers—came to grips with what proved to be the chief question Geneva had to settle. This was: How to negotiate in the future on the hard issues between East and West? The chief stumbling block was the perennial of Germany. As the week wore on the ministers seemed to be wrangling and lawyering in the familiar cold-war fashion.

Yesterday they passed the question up to the summit. Last evening came the agreement: The Foreign Ministers will meet in October in Geneva on all the major issues in dispute. Discussion of disarmament in the United Nations will be given new impetus. The directives from the summit take account of the proposals brought forth in Geneva.

Narrow though this agreement was, it was no less than any of the Powers had led the world to expect. Nevertheless, Geneva made plain that diplomatic trouble is ahead on the issue of Germany. It demonstrated that Big Four agreement on German unification is remote. The pressures on Chancellor Adenauer to deal directly with the Russians on unification in conversations projected for September have multiplied.

The prospect of dealings between Bonn and Moscow holds dangers for the West. Still, the feeling is that Geneva has represented a turning for the better in East-West relations—if only because the conciliatory atmosphere they themselves helped create and the spiking of some of their propaganda guns have limited the Russians' field for maneuver.

When Sir Winston Churchill first proposed the summit meeting on May 11, 1953, it was not with the expectation that the heads of government could quickly reach "hardfaced agreements" on the vast array problems that lay at the bottom of the frozen antagonism of East and West.

Rather he hoped to find out whether the slight thaw in Soviet policy following the death of Stalin was indeed genuine, and also to capitalize on the war-weariness of mankind, the world-wide fears engendered by the appalling spectre of atomic war.

It was with this aim in mind—that somehow the leaders of nations by the very fact of coming to know one another better could inspire a mutual trust that would act as a solvent for problems in later negotiations—that Churchill proposed an intimate meeting, not overhung with a ponderous and rigid agenda.

As it turned out, the Geneva conference did not in

all respects follow the Churchill formula. There was an agenda. There was an array of experts—"Sherpa guides," as one British wit put it, behind "the mountaineers" at the summit.

Nevertheless, the Churchill idea was not lost sight of in the arrangements for the conference. Thus the first day of the conference was given over to statements by the leaders. The plain intent and hope was that their opening statements should set a note of conciliation, optimism and resolve.

Thereafter, the foreign ministers met each morning at eleven, the heads of state at four in the afternoon. In this way the working level—the level that is likely to prove acrimonious—was kept apart from the level of good intent and high purpose. Then late each afternoon, to facilitate those "intimate contacts" on which Churchill had set store, there was a buffet where the principals moved about, making small talk.

U. S. and Nehru's Tour

Sardar J. J. Singh, the President of the India League of America and the writer of the subjoined letter, has sent it to us. In view of the conclusion of the Geneva talks this letter is of interest:

To THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES

The United States press, radio and other media of information have been quite critical of Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union. Your own editorial was quite severe. Americans were not happy either to hear that Nehru had invited Premier Bulganin to visit India. Above all, they were quite annoyed that a joint statement was issued by Nehru and Bulganin.

I venture to suggest that Nehru's visit to the Soviet Union, especially in long-range terms, will be very beneficial and helpful to the cause of the free world.

Those who have had the opportunity of watching Chinese Premier Chou En-lai at Geneva last summer and later at New Delhi and Rangoon and again early this year at the Bandung conference maintain that contacts with the outside world, and meeting people like Eden, Mendes-France, Nehru, U Nu and other Asian and African leaders at Bandung, have left a deep mark on Chou En-lai. It is hoped that Bulganin, too, may learn a lesson or two in the free atmosphere of a democratic republic like India.

In the deluge of criticism of the joint statement issued by Premier Bulganin and Prime Minister Nehru one very important point went unnoticed.

Prime Minister Nehru has unequivocally declared that the activities of the Cominform represent interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Not only has Nehru come out against the Cominform—but the Congress party, the ruling party of India, has officially denounced the activities of the Cominform.

Yet Prime Minister Nehru got Marshal Bulganin to sign a statement in which one of the clauses provides for "non-interference in each other's internal affairs for

any reason, either of economic, political or ideological character." Informed sources in India believe that as a result of the Nehru-Bulganin joint declaration the Cominform is likely to be dissolved. If that happens, it will be most welcome and excellent news. We all know that the danger of overt aggression by the Communists has been greatly lessened, but not the danger of subversion.

It is true that even if the Cominform was dissolved, subversive activities could be continued. But having agreed to non-interference in the affairs of other countries in a joint declaration, if the Communists surreptitiously continue their activities, they will be doubly condemned. Then Asians, too, will lose all faith and trust in the written promises of the Communists.

One more point: The headlines and interpretive writings have created the impression that the joint statement of Prime Minister Nehru and Premier Bulganin took the "extreme" position on Formosa of handing it over to Communist China. This is not correct.

The clause on Formosa in the declaration reads as follows: "It is the earnest hope of both the Prime Ministers that it will be possible by peaceful means to satisfy the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic in regard to Taiwan" (Formosa). The operative word in this sentence is "legitimate." Who is to decide what are the legitimate rights of the Chinese People's Republic in Formosa? The Prime Ministers did not say that in their opinion the "legitimate rights" of the Chinese Communists are that Formosa should be handed over to them.

It is obvious from this statement that the question of the "legitimate rights" must be negotiated, perhaps at a round-table conference, under international auspices. This is not much different from the British or the American position.

And what is even more important is the fact that Prime Minister Bulganin agreed to a settlement of the Formosa question by peaceful means.

Finally, one need have no fears that Prime Minister Nehru was "taken in," during his visit to the Soviet Union, or that he is so naive as not to see the difference between dictatorships and free countries. Nehru is one of the greatest living champions of the democratic way of life and the dignity of man. He has fought for these principles all through his life, and he will be fighting for them. And, what is more, his faith in democracy is so complete and intense that he has no cringing fear of communism.

Vandalism in Vietnam

The world witnessed an unprecedented spectacle when on July 20 Government-supported rioters in South Viet Nam attacked the headquarters of the International Truce Supervisory Commission for Vietnam at Saigon with the police looking on silently. The demonstrators, according to Reuter, "entered the Hotel Majestic, the biggest in the city, and ransacked the

rooms of the Indian, Canadian and Polish delegates to the Truce Control Commission.

"Papers and personal property of the Control Commission's Indian Chairman, Mr. M. J. Desai, were thrown from the window of his hotel room; the public rooms were also ransacked.

Mr. Desai and other Indian, Canadian and Polish members of the Commission lost all their belongings in the attack. A civilian member of the Commission for Laos, who was on leave in Saigon, was injured."

Demonstration against the Commission was organised all over South Viet Nam. However, the mobile teams of the Commission in outlying areas escaped injury.

Mr. M. J. Desai, Chairman of the Commission, lodged a strong protest with Mr. Ngo Dinh Diem, the South Viet Nam Premier.

Reuter adds: "The Chief of Staff to the Commission, Brigadier B. S. Bhagat of India, said that the Commission could not operate unless it received co-operation from the Government. How can it continue with its work if the safety of its members is not assured?" he asked.

A French spokesman said General Jacquot, French Commissioner-General in Indo-China, told Mr. Diem today (July 20) that he was 'astounded' to hear of the excesses after he had the strongest assurances from the Government that the security of the International Truce Commission members would be guarded."

The International Truce Supervisory Commission in a resolution asked for effective security measures for its personnel and headquarters and stated that the Commission could not function without those safeguards. At the request of the Commission the resolution was forwarded by the Government of India to the two co-chairmen of the last year's Geneva Conference, which ended the war in Indo-China, Sir Anthony Eden and M. Molotov.

The Government of India, on receipt of the reports of the happenings in Saigon, informed Sir Anthony and M. Molotov of the situation that had arisen and requested them to issue necessary directions to the parties concerned. The two statesmen are reported to have endorsed the anxiety expressed by the Government of India over the incidents in Saigon.

The Soviet Government condemned the riots and handed a Note to the British Charge d'Affaires in Moscow urging Britain to join the Soviet Union in asking France and South Viet Nam to ensure the security of the International Commission.

That the attack on the members of the International Supervisory Commission was premeditated and had the backing of the South Viet Nam Government could hardly be questioned. A few days before

the violence was organized the South Viet Nam Government in a unanimous resolution had decided upon "elimination of Polish and Indian pro-Communist elements" in the Truce Supervisory Commission. On the day, the disturbances occurred, the South Viet Nam Government was to open talks with the Government of North Viet Nam for holding elections in the country according to the terms of the last year's Geneva Agreement. The South Viet Nam Government did not try to conceal its reluctance to take part in those talks and the day (July 20) was declared as a "day of mourning" for the people of South Viet Nam. *Reuter* reported from Saigon on July 19 that Police Headquarters in the city had called on all dance halls, theatres and cinemas to remain closed on July 20. Reiterating the South Viet Nam's Government's unwillingness to take part in talks with the North Viet Nam Government on elections to reunify the country Mr. Diem said in a broadcast on July 16: "We have not signed the Geneva agreements, we are not bound in any way by these agreements, signed against the will of the Vietnamese people."

What was more striking however was the fact in his broadcast after the disgraceful happenings in Saigon Mr. Diem as head of a Government did not consider it worthwhile to offer an apology for the outrage. He only warned the people against "misplaced gestures." *Reuter* reports: "He (Mr. Diem) made no apology for the riots. He said that during the demonstrations, 'which constitute clear proof of the determination of the people to combat Communism, some regrettable incidents occurred.' He said that of the 100,000 demonstrators, who showed 'farsighted nationalism and the strictest discipline, a small number of about 100 people entered two hotels where officers of the Viet Nam liaison had been seen in recent days'."

Mr. Diem continued: "Contrary to certain erroneous press reports, only some material damage occurred in an atmosphere of general excitement. The Government has decided to repair these damages."

The Foreign Minister of South Viet Nam, Mr. Vu Van Mau, it is reported, told Mr. M. J. Desai that the demonstration had been against Communists and not against the International Commission. But Mr. Desai rejected that explanation and pointed to the fact that the demonstrators had systematically wrecked rooms belonging to Commission members and that police had stood by without interfering.

The London *Times* writes in an editorial article on July 21, the day following the disturbances in Saigon: "The mob's attack seems to have been vicious and well prepared and have already been severely condemned by the British Government among others. But after protests have been made and the Government in Saigon rightly condemned

for failing to prevent—even if it did not actively stimulate—the riots the intractable problem of what is to happen next remains."

Referring to Mr. Diem's assertions that as he was not a signatory to the Geneva Agreement of July 21, 1954, he was under no obligation to hold talks with the North Viet Nam Government for holding elections for the reunification of the country, the *Statesman* writes editorially on July 20:

"Mr. Diem's case can, even on the best interpretation, hardly bear scrutiny. He loudly proclaims he did not sign the cease-fire agreement on July 21, 1954. This seems to be totally irrelevant, since the provisions for elections are not contained in that agreement but in the eight-nation declaration of the previous day, which was signed by the Viet Nam Delegation at a time when he was Premier . . ."

Election Prospects in Indo-China

For some time past signs of anxiety could be visible about the prospects of holding elections in Indo-China for the reunification of the country, according to the terms of the Geneva Agreement, 1954. The attitude of the U.S.-backed Diem Government of South Viet Nam was particularly unhelpful in this connection. While on his recent European tour Pandit Nehru discussed this matter with the Soviet and British Governments whose representatives were the two co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference. So far all persuasions have failed to convince the government of Mr. Diem the reasonableness of holding discussions on elections. The "Big Three" Western Powers—Britain, the U.S.A. and France—have reportedly asked the Diem Government to open immediate talks on elections.

The future is still uncertain. If Mr. Diem yields to the pressure of the "Big Three" it would mean a complete repudiation of his stand so long. Observers have pointed out that Mr. Diem's course of action would be largely determined by the attitude of the U.S.A. "He can defy Britain and France without suffering much but if the U.S.A., which has buttressed his government through a year of often precarious existence, should threaten to withdraw support, his position as Prime Minister will be untenable."

Nehru on Vietnam Riots

Pandit Nehru's statement in Parliament is as follows:

"July, 27.—Prime Minister Nehru told the Lok Sabha on Wednesday morning that the South Vietnam Government had offered to pay compensation to the International Truce Commission for the damages done during the Saigon riot of July 20.

"It was a matter to be dealt with by the Commission. The Government of India did not come into the picture. Sri Nehru who was replying to a short-notice question

put by four members of the House, said and added that it was for the Commission now to decide how to deal with it.

"The Government of India," Sri Nehru said, "undertook the chairmanship of the International Commission on the clear understanding of protection and co-operation of the Governments concerned. It is clear that the International Commission cannot function unless there is full safety and protection for them."

"The International Commission proposes to continue to work in the hope that the efforts of the two co-Chairmen will succeed and their directions will be heeded," he added.

Referring to his message to the two co-Chairmen of the Geneva Conference, Sir Anthony Eden and M. Molotov, the Prime Minister said that both of them had condemned the incidents and assured them that they were taking steps to ensure adequate protection to the International Commission in the discharge of their duties.

"The two co-Chairmen had conferred with each other and also consulted representatives of the United States of America and France and it is understood that all those Four Powers had strongly urged the South Vietnam Government to take all necessary action for the proper functioning of the International Commission as well as for steps to be taken to organise elections in terms of the Geneva agreement.

"It would appear that these demonstrations and attacks against the International Commission," Sri Nehru said, "had been planned previously. As there had been some previous demonstrations, the Commission had, on July 13, drawn the attention of the authorities to the need for maintaining law and order and adequate security. Apparently, this request was not heeded" he added.

"I should like to record our Government's appreciation of the courage and determination shown by all the members of the International Commission in the difficult situation that suddenly confronted them," said Prime Minister Nehru who read a statement to give details about the July 20 riot in Saigon."

Eisenhower-U Nu Statement

As is known widely U Nu, the Premier of Burma, paid a visit to the U.S.A. recently. At the end of his visit and after the talks with the President of the U. S., a joint statement was issued, which is given in the subjoined news item:

"Washington, July 2.—President Eisenhower and the Premier of Burma, U Nu, said in a joint statement today that they had reviewed together the problem of the eleven United States fliers imprisoned in Communist China. The two leaders also had a 'frank discussion' of the major point of difference between Rangoon and Washington, the fact that the United States had been shipping surplus rice to countries in Asia that normally imported it from Burma.

James C. Hagerty, White House press secretary,

declined to elaborate on the language of the joint statement when he was asked whether the heads of government had taken any decisions on either the rice or the prisoner problem."

Following is the text of a joint statement by President Eisenhower and Burmese Premier U Nu:

"The Prime Minister of Burma, His Excellency U Nu, has visited Washington for three days at the invitation of President Eisenhower. The President and the Prime Minister discussed many matters of common concern and exchanged views on current international problems.

The Prime Minister, the President and the Secretary of State reviewed problems of peace and security in Asia. They had a frank discussion of the complex economic problems arising from the existence of substantial surpluses of exportable rice both in Burma—one of the world's leading rice exporting countries—and in the United States.

"Note was taken of the salutary influence of religion as exemplified by the sixth Buddhist Synod presently being held in Rangoon and attended by leading Buddhist scholars from many nations.

"The problem of imprisoned American fliers in Communist China was reviewed.

"These talks have been of special value in increasing mutual understanding between Burma and the United States. There is a wide area of agreement and a traditional friendship between Burma and the United States resting firmly upon certain noble concepts to which both countries subscribe. Our two peoples, those of the United States and the Union of Burma, share two fundamental goals, a peaceful world and a democratic way of life.

"They reaffirmed their dedication to the ideal of peace and friendly co-operation amongst nations founded on international justice and morality. Both countries are deeply concerned with a subject that is predominant in the minds of all responsible world leaders today—the problem of achieving peace with justice, a peace based upon the liberty of human beings and the security of nations.

"Such a peace can best be achieved by loyal steadfast support for the Charter of the United Nations. That is the surest and most practical avenue along which to seek peace with justice in this world. A patient striving to uphold the fundamental, moral and religious beliefs underlying the Charter provides the best hope for the fulfillment of mankind's aspirations.

"The Prime Minister, the President and the Secretary of State deplored the conditions which force the peoples of the world to divert their energies and talents from a singleminded effort to improve and expand those cultural and economic opportunities by which men can raise the levels of their existence. They renewed their own determination to uphold the principles of the United Nations in its unceasing effort to save mankind from the scourge of future war."

Nehru in Belgrade

Pandit Nehru's statement at Belgrade is of interest as it foreshadowed the Big Four talks at Geneva. We adjoin the news summary:

"Belgrade, Yugoslavia, July 2.—War is out of the question in this age, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru said today in an address before the Yugoslav Parliament.

"The Indian leader, who received an ovation, asserted that war was 'a relic of a barbarous past.' The only alternative to it, he added, is peaceful coexistence between nations and an attempt to solve problems peacefully through negotiation.

"Such a policy, he said, is neither neutrality nor an attempt to build up a third bloc but a dynamic participation in world events.

"Discussing East-West relations, Mr. Nehru said an Iron Curtain did exist.

"Five days ago in Vienna the Indian leader hesitated to give his impression of the Soviet Union. In response to questions then, he exclaimed: 'What Iron Curtain? I never noticed any curtain, iron or otherwise.'

"Today, Mr. Nehru said: 'We often hear of the Iron Curtain. I think there is some truth in this.'

"But he added, the 'greatest Iron Curtain of all' is the Iron Curtain of the mind.

"This seems to be an allusion to the West perhaps more than to the Soviet Union. The Iron Curtain of the mind, said Mr. Nehru, bars people from seeing the most obvious facts about the major problems facing world statesmen. He said these problems were the Far East, Germany and disarmament.

"There is the great country of (Communist) China, which is denied admittance in the United Nations,' said the Indian Prime Minister. 'Anything more absurd than this seems to me difficult to imagine.'

"Mr. Nehru's speech was well received not only because he identified his and the Yugoslav policies but because he affirmed the Indian Government's aim in pursuing socialism."

"Mr. Nehru said he had no 'easy remedy' to suggest for the hatred and lack of security that many nations felt, but he offered the following code in which he believes:

"Freedom and independence of his own and other countries.

"Freedom of the individual and the democratic system of working.

"Recognition that suppression of a nation is an 'evil thing and prevents its growth.'

"The necessity of opposing evil and of not willingly tolerating it, but doing so not with greater evil or violence.

"Nearly two thousand years ago, it was said by a very great man that 'those who take to the sword shall perish by the sword,' said the Indian Prime Minister.

"However, Mr. Nehru sharply criticized the use of the word peace as a slogan.

"There is danger that even good words and good ideas might lose their value by the wrong use,' he declared. 'Peace should be peaceful. It should not shout or use the language of threat or condemnation.'

Currency and Finance in 1954-55

The Reserve Bank's Report on Currency and Finance for 1954-55 consists, as usual, of a brief survey of international economic developments in Part I, as a background for a detailed review of the Indian economy in Part II. It also contains a wealth of statistical material, in the form of tables and graphs, setting out the data for the Plan period from 1951-52 to 1954-55.

International economic developments: According to the Report, world economy in 1954, assisted by the lessening of international political tensions, gained in strength and continued to be relatively stable. Production was well maintained, prices were generally stable and the international payments position recorded a further improvement. The relatively mild 'inventory recession' that took place in the USA between the summer of 1953 and the spring of 1954, was followed by a recovery, particularly in the last quarter of the year. Monetary and credit policies continued to be flexible in several countries during 1954 as in the past few years, and tended to be liberal for the greater part of the year. Towards the end, however, and particularly in the first quarter of 1955, they were tightened in some countries with the emergence of inflationary symptoms. In the UK, for instance, while monetary policy for most of the year was directed towards easing and cheapening Bank credit, the Bank rate was raised twice within a month in January and February, 1955, from 3 per cent to 4½ per cent—the highest rate since 1932—to correct the weakness of the pound sterling and the inflationary upsurge in the internal economy. In the USA also, the monetary authorities continued their policy of 'active ease' until towards the close of the year, but with the moderate recovery in business conditions and the unprecedented boom in the stock market, the authorities moderated their policy by a shift from active ease to one of less active ease. Trends in the capital market in the leading countries generally reflected the internal economic stability and the prospect of continuing economic growth in those countries, rather than international developments and speculative activities. Gilt-edged ruled, on the whole, firm; equities were buoyant and the new issue market was more active than in 1953.

Budgetary policies in the advanced countries were generally directed towards increasing the tempo of economic activity, while, in the underdeveloped countries, they continued to reflect the need to raise larger revenues to finance development programmes in the public sector and at the same time to stimulate savings and investment. In the sphere of trade and balance of payments, economic developments in the USA, along with the continuation of its defence and economic aid, led to an increase in the reserves of other countries, particularly of Western Europe and the sterling area.

This strengthening of the foreign exchange position together with an improvement in the volume and balance of world trade enabled a number of countries, especially in Western Europe, to relax generally their restrictions on trade and payments, including some against dollar imports, and made the climate more favourable for further efforts in the direction of currency convertibility.

The US Congress in 1954 did not give its consent to the President's liberal trade programme, drawn in the light of the Randall Commission's recommendations, and voted for only a year's extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. In February 1955, however, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Bill was narrowly passed by the House of Representatives without any amendment. The Bill seeks, among other things, to extend for three years the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act with amendments to empower the President as follows : (1) to reduce present tariff rates on individual commodities by as much as 5 per cent per year in each of three years of the new Act, (2) to reduce tariff rates in greater degree in the case of products now imported in negligible volume, and (3) to reduce to 50 per cent any rate in excess of that level.

Indian Economy : Against the background of these international developments, the Report proceeds to review the major economic and financial developments in India during the year ended March 1955. Economic developments, the Report observes, were marked by a considerable expansion in industrial output, a substantial increase in money supply and a decline in prices along with enlarged budgetary deficits, a small surplus on the external account and a better flow of savings. The growth in budgetary deficits of the Central Government and the States indicated the quickened pace of developmental expenditure, which partly made up for the relatively slow progress in the preceding three years. Nevertheless, there was no evidence of an emergence of inflationary pressures and the economy made considerable progress during the year with a measure of overall stability.

Two disquieting features were the sharp fall in agricultural prices and the continued seriousness of unemployment. Over the year, while the general index of wholesale prices showed a decline of 10 per cent, the group index for food articles fell by as much as 20 per cent. The fall in agricultural prices may not continue indefinitely, for, the supply position in 1954-55 was assisted by a run of three good monsoons, which is unusual, and by dishoarding which followed the virtual elimination of controls over foodgrains early in the year. To some extent, the recent decline in prices appears to be a corrective to the earlier high levels ; and a lower level of foodgrain prices provides a better base for rapid economic development. But a steep decline, such as tended to occur in some commodities, is liable to cause widespread distress, and particularly if it is due to temporary causes, to lead to some avoidable distortions in the production pattern; it called for State

intervention to smoothen extreme fluctuations in the prices of a few agricultural commodities. To meet the problem of unemployment, labour-intensive schemes were added in 1953-54 to the original Five-Year Plan, while during the year, special steps were also taken to stimulate the expansion of small-scale and cottage industries.

Industrial production in 1954, the Report states, was 8 per cent higher than in 1953, which was itself 5 per cent higher than in 1952. Since the inauguration of the Plan, industrial output has increased by about 40 per cent. Among the factors contributing to the uptrend during 1954 were greater availability of raw materials, better export offtake and continued improvement in labour management relations. Agricultural output also showed a record increase in 1953-54, the estimated output of foodgrains surpassing the target fixed for the Five-Year Plan by nearly 4½ million tons. For 1954-55, total agricultural output is expected to be around the peak level reached in 1953-54.

In line with higher output, the need for larger private finance on the relaxation of controls and the increasing tempo of economic development, money supply, figures for which have been revised to take into account the circulation of *Hali Sicca* currency, showed a substantial rise of Rs. 124 crores or 7 per cent during 1954-55; in the previous year, it had risen by Rs. 72 crores. The increase stemmed mainly from two factors, namely, the Union Government's budgetary deficit and the growth in bank credit. Net borrowings by the Government from the Reserve Bank amounted to Rs. 104 crores; this along with the net decline in cash balances makes a total of Rs. 110 crores reflecting the impact of the budget deficit on money supply. Open market operations of the Reserve Bank, however, tended to curtail money supply to some extent. During the greater part of the year, there was a general broadening of the demand for funds, which was met by banks without any undue strain on their resources on account of the appreciable growth in bank deposits as well as the larger volume of seasonal finance made available by the Reserve Bank. The expansion in the resources of the banking system would indicate that the post-Partition trend of deposit contraction has probably given place to a new phase of expansion under the impetus of development expenditure and deficit financing. The decline in prices would indicate that the expansion in money supply in 1954-55 was far from being inflationary.

In the field of rural finance, a significant event during the year was the publication of the General Report of the Committee of Direction of the All-India Rural Credit Survey. As part of their integrated scheme of rural credit, the Committee recommended the establishment of a State Bank of India, which would take over the Imperial Bank of India and certain State associate banks. Government accepted this recommendation and have since enacted the necessary legislation and set up a State Bank, which has, in the first instance, taken over only the Imperial Bank of India. The State

Bank will provide much more liberal and extensive remittance facilities and embark on a scheme of considerable branch expansion.

The capital market in India, the Report observes, reacted well to the general improvement in the country's economy. The gilt-edged ruled firm in spite of considerable borrowing by the Central Government, while the industrial share market was also buoyant for the greater part of the year. The new issue market experienced increased activity, the amount of consent granted by the Controller of Capital Issues during 1954 at Rs. 111 crores being the highest since 1948.

Reviewing Government finances, the Report states that during 1954-55, the budgetary position of the Central and State Governments showed a perceptible change from the previous year towards larger overall deficits, stemming from the rising momentum of expenditure in the public sector. In the revenue account of the Central Government, a deficit of Rs. 5 crores replaced a surplus of Rs. 8.5 crores in 1953-54, while in the combined revenue account of Part A and Part B States, the swing was wider still with a deficit of Rs. 33 crores instead of a surplus of Rs. 5 crores in the previous year. Excluding the net increase in receipts estimated under floating debt and adjusting for the net changes in investment reserves, the overall deficit of the Central Government in 1954-55 (Rs. 200 crores) was more than twice that in 1953-54 (Rs. 87 crores). In the case of Part A and Part B States, there was an adjusted overall deficit of Rs. 36 crores as against a surplus of Rs. 19 crores in 1953-54—a swing of Rs. 55 crores. For 1955-56, revenue deficits of the Centre and the States (after tax changes) are placed at Rs. 17 crores and Rs. 66 crores, and the adjusted overall deficits at Rs. 327 crores and Rs. 65 crores, respectively.

An event of special significance during the year was the submission to Government of the Report of Taxation Enquiry Commission, which contains far-reaching recommendations for widening and deepening the tax structure. A beginning in the direction of implementing the Commission's recommendations was made this year, with a provision for increases in taxation totalling about Rs. 13 crores in the Union Government's budget for 1955-56.

The balance of payments position showed a smaller surplus on current account of nearly Rs. 4 crores during the calendar year 1954 in comparison with Rs. 59 crores in 1953, but at a much higher level of trade. This sizeable reduction in the payments surplus was mainly a consequence of the larger volume of imports following the intensification of the rate of development, and occurred despite an 8 per cent improvement in the terms of trade. Region-wise, while the surpluses with the sterling area (excluding Pakistan), the dollar area and the rest of the non-sterling area other than the OEEC were reduced, the deficit with the OEEC countries widened further. With Pakistan, the last year's small deficit turned into a moderate surplus.

Control of Private Sector

In his address to the Central Advisory Council for Industries on July 22, the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry, outlining the industrial policy of the Government of India, said: "Broadly speaking, the industrial policy statement of 1948 still holds the field. It is the emphasis on different aspects of the policy that has now been clarified." He explained that industries included in the public sector would be the definite obligation of the State and development in these industries in the future by bringing into being new units would undoubtedly be the responsibility of the State. If, he added, the entrepreneur showed no enterprise, clearly the State must take the initiative itself. He further pointed out that it was neither correct nor reasonable to consider that the private sector and the public sector were two water-tight compartments and the State could not trespass into the former or that the State could not invite the co-operation of private enterprise in regard to industries in the public sector.

"We do not view with favour the concentration of wealth in a few hands," he added. There were few countries which had such contrasts between the levels of income of the poor and of the rich as India. While the solution of this problem lay in raising the incomes of the poor and their main attack was on poverty rather than wealth, the State had to ensure not only greater production of wealth but also its equitable distribution. Quite apart from this wider social purpose, the several limitations of their resources and the ambitious nature of their planning made it necessary for them to ensure that there be a careful husbanding of resources and that they were canalised into fields most essential for national development.

The private sector must, therefore, accept regulation by the State. In fact, he added, such a regulation existed even now, and the Government should claim without exaggeration that its regulatory powers had not been used to the detriment of the legitimate interests of the private sector. The Union Minister referred to the statements of the Prime Minister in which he had said that there was no desire to resort to nationalization for the mere sake of nationalization. Pandit Nehru indicated in those statements that there were plenty of fields open in which the Government could usefully invest its resources and strengthen the national economy instead of acquiring existing units owned by the private sector.

But these statements and assurances to the private sector should not be taken in their face value, but should be read in between the lines. Evidently, the Government of India has deviated considerably from its industrial policy as was enunciated in 1948. The Industries Development and Regulation Act, 1951, as amended in 1953, has undoubtedly modified the industrial policy of the Government as was defined in 1948. The Act provides for a degree of regulation and control of industries in the private sector which were quite unforeseen in the initial stage. Under this Act, the

Government of India has been empowered to take over the management of any industrial concern if it fails to carry out the directives of the Government. Further, the Industrial Policy Resolution gave assurance that the existing industries in the private sector would not be nationalised in the coming ten years. But a series of nationalisation has belied this assurance. The nationalisation of the Indian airways communications, the Imperial Bank, a few railways, and the reported decision of the Government of India to nationalize the Kolar Gold mines are just instances of the modification if not violation of the 1948 industrial policy. The nationalization of the Reserve Bank should, however, be viewed as a national imperative.

The affairs of the Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Mills Company raised great misgivings in the minds of the private industrialists. Under an Ordinance of 1950, the Government of India took over the administration and management of the Company, removing the managing directors. The Supreme Court, however, came forward to control the executive power of the Government which amounted in effect legislation for the deprivation of property without payment of compensation. This is the case of *Dwarkadas Shrinivas v. The Sholapur Spinning and Weaving Co., Ltd.* (1954 S.C.R. 674). The Supreme Court observed that in promulgating the Ordinance, the Government had not merely taken over the superintendence of the affairs of the Company but had in effect and substance taken over the undertaking itself. In the situation the contention had no force, the Court added, that the effect of the Ordinance was that the Central Government had taken over the superintendence of the affairs of the Company and that the impugned legislation was merely regulative in character. In the present case practically all incidents of ownership had been taken over by the State and nothing had been left with the Company but the mere husk of title and in the premises the impugned statute had overstepped the limits of legitimate Social Control Legislation and had infringed the fundamental right of the Company guaranteed to it under Article 31(2) of the Constitution and was, therefore, unconstitutional.

The Supreme Court held that Article 31 is a self-contained provision delimiting the field of eminent domain and clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 deal with the same topic of compulsory acquisition of property. Article 31 gives complete protection to private property as against executive action, no matter by what process a person is deprived of possession of it. In the opinion of the Supreme Court, it is a narrow view that "acquisition" necessarily means acquisition of title in whole or part of the property and cannot be accepted. The word "acquisition" has quite a wide concept, meaning the procuring of property or the taking of it permanently or temporarily. It does not necessarily imply acquisition of legal title by the State in the property taken possession of.

In an earlier case, the Supreme Court also held a

similar view. This was the case of *The State of West Bengal v. Subodh Gopal Bose*, (1954 S.C.R. 587). In that case Mr. Justice Das, however, tried to distinguish between, clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31, by holding that the former relates to the police power inherent in a State in taking over the property of private persons, and the latter relates to the power of eminent domain of the State under which compensation must be paid in case of acquisition for national purpose. This contention was overruled by the majority decision of the Supreme Court which held that there is no scope of "police power" of the State in the matter of acquisition of private property. The Supreme Court held in this case that Article 31 protects the right to property by defining the limitations on the power of the State to take away private property without the consent of the owner. Clauses (1) and (2) of Article 31 are not mutually exclusive in scope and content, but should be read together and understood as dealing with the same subject, namely, the protection of the right to property by means of limitations on the State's power referred to above, the deprivation contemplated in clause (1) being no other than the acquisition or taking possession of the property referred to clause (2). The main effect of these two decisions is that the State cannot acquire private property without payment of compensation, no matter whether the property was taken temporarily for management or permanently by acquisition.

However, these two important decisions on the State's right of acquisition of private property have been rendered nugatory by the fourth amendment of the Constitution. The fourth amendment has amended Article 31 and Article 31A of the Constitution to the effect that the State can take over the management of private property without acquiring it and in that case no compensation need be paid. The new Clause (2A) of Article 31 states that where a law does not provide for the transfer of the ownership or right to possession of any property to the State or to a corporation owned or controlled by the State, it shall not be deemed to provide for the compulsory acquisition or requisitioning of property, notwithstanding that it deprives any person of his property. Article 31A (b) provides that the taking over of the management of any property by the State for a limited period either in the public interest or in order to secure the proper management of the property shall not be deemed to be void on the ground that it is inconsistent with, or takes away or abridges any of the rights conferred by Article 14, Article 19, Article 31.

With the fourth amendment in operation, the industrial policy of the Government envisages larger control by the Government over the industrial concerns of the country than was contemplated under the industrial policy resolution of 1948.

Industrial Finance Corporation

When the Bill for amending the Industrial Finance Corporation came up before the House of the People for consideration on July 27, members belonging to all

parties strongly criticized the working of the Corporation. Charges of nepotism and favouritism were levelled against the Corporation in the matter of granting loans. The main allegation was that industrial concerns directly or indirectly connected with the former chairman of the Corporation and also with several other directors were granted loans, while many industrial concerns genuinely being in need of funds were rejected any financial assistance. After the Report of the Industrial Finance Corporation Enquiry Committee was submitted to the Government, the chairman of the Corporation resigned and that was quite expected of him. Undoubtedly his was an evil influence that shrouded the working of the Corporation and stultified its growth. It was common knowledge that a large portion of the loans granted by the Corporation went to the industrial concerns connected or allied with those of the chairman and in sanctioning such loans his dominating influence was evident. But what about the managing director? He too failed in his duty and failed miserably to pilot the affairs of the Corporation to the satisfaction of all concerned in the fate of the Corporation.

The Inquiry Committee also proved to be an incompetent body because it failed to find out the real corruptions that were solely responsible for the defects in the working of the Corporation. Now some of the members of the Inquiry Committee have become vociferous in denouncing the former managing director. The chairman of the Inquiry Committee belonged to the opposition party and it may be asked why she simply "dittoed" to the findings of the majority of the Committee. She was plainly utilised for serving as a rubber stamp to the findings of the Committee that exonerated the Corporation of all major charges that were brought against it, save a few minor irregularities. Now it is no use crying over opportunities lost and missed to prove to the hilt the irregularities of the former chairman and managing director of the Corporation. It was openly alleged that they were guilty of gross misconduct and it was left to the Inquiry Committee to prove that, but it white-washed the situation.

The most glaring fault on the part of the Industrial Finance Corporation was to make an advance of several lakhs of rupees to the Sodepur Glass Works which closed its doors shortly after the money was received. The Resolution taken by the Government of India over the findings of the Inquiry Committee in this connection states: "Government agree with the view of the Enquiry Committee that the capital requirements of the projects were not properly assessed either originally or on the subsequent occasion when a re-appraisal might have been made, and that this was a major contributory cause for the difficulties met with by the Company. In the opinion of Government, though the primary responsibility for this failure must rest with the Company, the Corporation, having become involved in the fortunes of the undertaking by the grant of the loan and in default by the Company, must also bear a

measure of responsibility for such failure. The Corporation should have made a correct appraisal of the Company's needs before sanctioning the loan."

The Akali Morcha

On July 12 the Punjab Government lifted the ban on the shouting of slogans in Amritsar "to mark the great occasion of Premier Nehru's triumphant return" home. The withdrawal of the restrictive orders was followed by the decision of the Shiromani Akali Dal to suspend the 64-day-old Morcha against the government ban on linguistic slogans. Though the ban was lifted, Government did not contemplate the release of Master Tara Singh and other Akali leaders, said Shri Bhim Sen Sachar, Chief Minister of Punjab. He said that law would take its own course and all law-breakers would be tried.

According to the *Statesman* correspondent in Amritsar, about 8000 odd prisoners were jailed in connection with the Morcha. The correspondent writes: "The Congress, Hindu Mahasabha, Jan Sangh and other Maha Punjab supporters are disappointed at the withdrawal of the ban; only today [July 12] they had demanded firmer action. But in the city there is general relief though anxiety still exists about future developments."

Commenting on the action of the Punjab Government in withdrawing the ban on raising slogans in support of 'Punjabi Suba' the *Kashmir Post* writes: "The explanation given by the Punjab Government for withdrawing the ban—to mark the great occasion of Mr. Nehru's triumphant return—does not, to say the least, make a convincing reading. It appears that this is just an excuse to save face for a decision, which, it is feared, would have been liable to be misunderstood."

The newspaper writes that whatever might have been the reason for the withdrawal of the ban, "the fact remains that the Punjab Government were caught on the wrong foot in connection with the Akali Morcha. The completely untenable stand taken by a large number of Hindus on the question of the Punjabi language has created a lot of bad blood among the vast masses of Sikhs."

The Akali, quickly grasped that opportunity, it continues, and capitalised that disgruntled feeling for their own power tactics. With the vast resources of the Gurdwaras at disposal they went all out to measure strength with the Congress-dominated Punjab Government. "Since the Akali were abusing the Gurdwaras as their base against the Government the whole thing assumed the colour of a fight against the Gurdwaras and large numbers of illiterate and innocent Sikh masses were duped into taking the agitation for the preservation of the sanctity of the Gurdwaras."

The newspaper refers to the fact that the Akali Morcha had not been called off but only suspended temporarily so that the fundamental question still remained as it was. But the Government would get an

opportunity to reconsider the steps. To bring back complete normalcy, continues the paper, the Government would need to take two steps. The first was a more rational and reasonable attitude towards the language question in the Punjab. The second was that the Government should not confine its fight against one brand of communalism only. So long it had sought to counter Akali communalism but had done nothing to curb the spread of subtle Hindu communalism. But it was largely due to the communal activities of the Hindus that the Akali had been able to command such large-scale support among the Sikhs, the *Post* concludes,

Teachers Asked to Recruit Students

Strange things are happening in this vast land of ours. Last year we had a governmental edict in Bombay prohibiting use of fountain pens by school students. Now comes another report of comparable ingenuity.

According to the *People*, the English weekly from Lucknow, teachers in degree colleges in U.P. were reportedly asked by the authorities to bring in students if they wanted to keep their jobs. Recently with many degree class students turning to the Universities there was a thinning of admission in the degree colleges there. And the authorities followed up with their directives to the teachers.

Commenting on the episode the *People* writes that the fact which "makes it an intriguing question is how could the admission touch such a low when at least hundreds of students—the overwhelming numbers of third divisioners—have been refused admission by the University."

"However, it sounds odd that due to thinning admission queues at degree colleges, the teachers should be asked to make up for the lag. It needs an enquiring into the matter, whether the problem in these colleges is really so acute."

The keen competition among teachers for recruiting students to their colleges the *People* notes, led the teachers in many cases to denounce other institutions. "This results in mud slinging, calling each other names and what not. In this perspective one can only appeal to the good sense of the Management who are responsible for bringing things to such a pass. We have had enough of making education a football of self-interest. It is time some one put a stop to this sort of game which has reduced education to nothing better than a commodity," the magazine concludes.

Unfair Practices of Tourist Agencies

The unfair practices adopted by certain tourist agencies in Kashmir in duping unwary tourists comes in for much criticism in an editorial article of the *Kashmir Post*.

Referring to certain cases where outside tourists were subjected to harassment and exploitation by un-

scrupulous tourist agencies the paper urged upon the State Government to take adequate steps to stop such evil practice in the State. "Besides being unfair to the individual tourists who are cheated in this manner it also affects the popularity of Kashmir among the tourists thus damaging the trade."

As a preventive to such malpractice the paper suggests that no travel agency which was not on the approved lists should be allowed to function and no agency should be put on the approved list unless it deposited a cash security with the Government to enable it to compensate the aggrieved tourists and unless it maintained the necessary establishment and possessed adequate resources to conduct the business to the satisfaction of the Government. "Easy-money-seekers and adventurers should have no place in this trade. Tourism is too important for this state to be allowed to be ruined by unscrupulous businessmen," the *Kashmir Post* writes.

Slums in Delhi

Shri Brijkrishna Chandiwala, who has made a personal study of the problem, focusses attention on the miserable plight of the Delhi slums in an article in the *AICC Economic Review*.

There were an average of ten slums in each of the fifty electoral constituencies of the Delhi Municipal Committee. The conditions in which people lived there beggared description. A survey recently conducted in the Jamuna Bazar area disclosed that nearly 6000 persons were living in 470 houses or huts and there was no arrangement for sanitation. "This *Basti* looks like a hell in the capital. The condition of all other such localities is similar," writes Shri Chandiwala.

Shri Chandiwala classifies the slums into four categories; (i) those coming under the Improvement Trust, (ii) those under the Municipal Committee, (iii) those owned by the Custodian (Evacuee Property), and (iv) those which were privately owned.

There were various efforts in the past for ameliorating the distress of *Basti* dwellers. But nothing tangible resulted. The Improvement Trust itself was formed with the object of improving slum areas among other things. But little progress was made in that direction. The record of the Municipal Committee also was not much better. "The worst difficulty is encountered while tackling the problem of *Katras* which number nearly 500 and the Municipal Committee is unable to do much there. The custodian also does not seem inclined to spend anything to improve the condition of *Bastis* under his jurisdiction."

The inhabitants of the *Bastis* came mainly from the small craftsmen, such as shoe-makers, carpenters potters, sweepers, blacksmiths, washermen, *bhistis* and other labourers. The only change that occurred in the life of the *Basti* dwellers after independence was the fact their names "have been written on the electoral lists and they

"are approached during the elections" with promises of turning their hells into heavens in just a few days' time. "But nobody turns up after the elections."

According to the writer two measures could be helpful in solving the question of the improvement of the slum areas. Those measures were (1) the setting up of a Corporation and (2) the establishment of a development board for dealing with the problem. Moreover the inhabitants of the slums also had an important role to play. "It is necessary that they should unite and make their demands known."

In conclusion Shri Chandiwala writes : "Next Five-year Plan is being framed. It is high time that the attention of Planning Commission be attracted towards these slums and a demand of clean Delhi be made. Delhi is the capital of India and thousands of foreigners visit these slums of Delhi and take their photographs with them. It is a matter of disgrace for us. . . ."

Gaffar Khan and Pakistan Politics

For about eight years Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan, Red-shirt leader, lived in detention and exile from his home province because of his refusal to obey the orders of the Pakistan rulers. But popular pressure apparently became too much for the present rulers of Pakistan and they were forced to lift all restrictions on his movements though only a little while ago the Pakistan Minister for Interior, General Iskander Mirza had categorically declared that restrictions would not be lifted for international reasons, because Kabul Radio had reportedly been using in anti-Pak propaganda the statements of Gaffar Khan against the "one-unit" plan.

After his release Gaffar Khan was accorded a royal reception on his entry into the Frontier Province. Reports spoke of unprecedented jubilation of the people at the return of their beloved leader.

Khan Abdul Gaffar did not try to conceal his opposition to the "one-unit" plan for West Pakistan. In his view the adoption of the plan would be prejudicial to the national interests of the Pakhtoon people. Before the lifting of the restrictions on his entry into NWFP he said, referring to Government charges that his statements were being used for anti-Pakistan propaganda by Kabul Radio : "The ruling group in Pakistan has been using Kashmir to stifle public opinion on vital matters. But now since it is no more a live issue, it has come out with Afghanistan stunt."

Recently the Pakistan Minister for Interior, General Iskander Mirza and Dr. Khan Saheb, elder brother of Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan and Minister for communication in the present Pakistan Cabinet, who has been nominated to be the first Chief Minister of the proposed one-unit of West Pakistan, went to Peshawar with a view to bringing Gaffar Khan over to the idea of "one-unit" for West Pakistan. Gaffar Khan flatly rejected their suggestion and reiterated his earlier views about the harmful nature of the plan.

Thereafter a campaign of vilification was let loose

upon Gaffar Khan with General Mirza as the leader of the attack. Gaffar Khan was reportedly told by the Central Government that if he continued his 'disruptive activities' he would be "severely dealt with."

Addressing a 40,000 strong rally on July 26 in Mardan in NWFP, Khan Abdul Gaffar Khan refuted all charges made against him by General Iskander Mirza. He said, "It does not behove people who themselves, and whose forefathers, have supported throughout their lives their British masters to brand me as a self-seeker and the Red-shirt organization as a band opposed to independence when it was only this party of ours which fought a non-violent battle for freedom. The only difference between us and the present rulers is that they have adopted ruinous policies for the country while we ask for a programme which will assure the people's prosperity and national construction."

Mohammed Ali and the U.S.S.R.

"Aress" writes in the *Kashmir Post* on July 9 : "There is a touch of comedy in the request of Mr. Mohammed Ali to the Soviet Union for an invitation to visit Moscow. It appears that the Pakistan leaders are in the grip of such a terrible inferiority complex that they can never decide on their own what is good and what is bad for them."

In this connection the writer recalls that in 1949 the U.S.S.R. had extended an invitation to the then Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, to visit Moscow. Mr. Liaquat Ali had accepted the invitation and had even fixed up an approximate date for his journey to the Soviet Union. "In the meantime the Nehru visit to the United States matured and the tremendous impact made by Mr. Nehru on the American people came as a shock to the Pakistanis. They begged the Americans for an invitation which they, of course, got . . . Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan deferred his proposed visit to the Soviet Union and instead took the American journey. There he fell in line with the American way of thinking and agreed to be a loyal supporter of the Americans. After this there was no question of the Russian visit coming off and quite understandably it was ultimately shelved."

The writer is of the view that this time it was the unprecedented success of the Russian tour of Shri Nehru that has induced the Pakistan leaders to have second thoughts about their policy and position.

Bandung

The *Worldover Press* gives the liberal American viewpoint on the Afro-Asian Conference in the excellent commentary given below:

"Bandung.—Months will pass before all the end products of the new contacts established in Bandung among the various delegations will manifest themselves. Important to the sponsors was the complete

failure by 'conscious and unconscious agents of other forces'—to use Nehru's pointed words—to 'turn the Conference into a tea party.'

"Yet there was an almost total absence of vitriolic attacks on the West. In commenting on this, the Negro author Richard Wright remarked here that the delegates were more interested in getting Westerners off their backs than in promoting a revengeful counter-racialism. A Negro college instructor from the States, writing for a New York weekly, added that the widely published predictions of a 'hate-America' motif were largely a reflection of the West's guilty conscience.

"This is not to say that the U.S.A. and its allies emerged unscathed from the Conference deliberations. Nehru's slashing criticisms of NATO as 'an aggressive pact' and 'a protector of colonialism,' his 'What about Guatemala?' challenge to Turkey and Iraq when they wanted to condemn the Communist brand of subversion, his avowed determination not to become a 'camp-follower' of any other nation—all these were statements both of India's policies and to a great extent of other unaligned delegations. But by and large there was almost a studied indifference to the big Western powers—and, in the two public speeches by Chou En-lai, a couple of brief, contemptuous references in passing. *The Conference theme was a positive Asianism and a budding Africanism, rather than a negative unearthing of historical grievances, against which India, citing Gandhism, and Indonesia, as host, both warned.*

"Even with this accent on the positive it would be accurate to state that the policies cherished by Washington and regarded here as inflexible, lost out at the Conference—though in ways not generally anticipated. Chou En-lai emerged as the biggest man in Asia while carefully sidestepping the popularity contest with Nehru which American editorial writers had neatly planned for him.

"The magnetism of the Conference pulled the American-oriented Philippines into a closer relationship with the Asian community—to such an extent that Carlos Romulo, chief Filipino delegate, has now urged President Magsaysay to cancel a trip to the U.S.A. and to tour Asia instead. Most observers expect Romulo himself eventually to accept Chou's invitation to visit China. By skilfully wooing the Moslem delegations, Chou probably assured China of *de facto* recognition by at least some of the Arab governments.

"The contact established at Bandung between the delegations of North Viet Nam and Laos led to a 'non-interference' agreement which is bound to bestir anxieties in official Washington. Indonesia and China will soon send trade missions to Cairo as a result of extra-Conference talks, and the signing at Bandung of the Indonesia-Chinese treaty to settle the problem

of dual nationality for overseas Chinese living in Indonesia was cited by Chou as a precedent for similar treaties with other South Asian governments.

"By openly admitting that his country is 'backward,' and by stressing the internal development problems that it faces, Chou En-lai, despite ideological differences, aligned China with his similarly overburdened neighbors who have no time for war.

"Enjoying a greater diplomatic freedom *vis-a-vis* Israel than do his opposite numbers in the Kremlin and the State Department, Chou was in a position to support without qualification the vigorous Arab demands in Palestine. China also lined up solidly behind the nationalist movements in Morocco, Tunisia and Algeria—thus spotlighting anew the fence-sitting policies of Washington towards explosive North Africa.

"The importance of Palestine in Conference deliberations focused attention on the re-emergence of El Hussein, the pro-Nazi Grand Mufti of Jerusalem, who arrived unexpectedly at the Conference and was immediately accredited by the delegation from Yemen.

"The inarticulateness of the African delegations—Ethiopia, the Gold Coast, Libya, Liberia—occasioned considerable comment and prompted Richard Wright (who has recently written a book on the Gold Coast) to express 'disappointment.' It was not until the last minute, Kojo Botsio of the Gold Coast told this correspondent, that his delegation was even sure of coming to Bandung, and then they came only as observers.

"The tight British control of the Gold Coast's external affairs meant that Botsio and his fellow-countrymen had to absent themselves from the final plenary session when 13 pages of resolutions—termed a communiqué—were adopted.

"It is generally agreed here that Nehru's insistence on welcoming China into the community of nations was justified at Bandung by the week-long course of events. *For the non-Communist Asian and African statesmen left here with the firm conviction that the Conference had exerted a moral restraint on Chou En-lai*—culminating in his public avowal of friendship for the American people and his offer to negotiate with Washington.

"The initial cold reaction from the State Department, insisting on the unacceptable condition that Chiang Kai-shek sit in on any negotiations, met with a profoundly hostile reception among nearly all the delegations. In dismay and perhaps also in despair at reducing tensions through normal diplomatic channels in Washington, Burma's Premier, U Nu, publicly suggested that President Eisenhower come to Asia and be briefed on the facts of life by Asian leaders who have a one-track will for peace. The speedy reversal of this blunder, when Washington saw the

damage it had done, was useful; but as so often in such cases, the original wounds were slow to heal.

"At the conclusion of the Conference, during which Mohammed Ali praised the 'moderation' of Chou, another Pakistani delegate said privately that his government was facing intense internal pressures against close ties with America and SEATO.

"Four months ago, the most far-reaching result of the Conference was confidently predicated by India's unchallenged spokesman when he observed that 'such conferences set in motion ideas which affect peoples' minds.' No one can measure with exactitude such long-term intangibles. But no one with memories of the huge barefoot throngs of cheering, illiterate Indonesians standing outside the Conference halls in heat and tropical rains can doubt this intuitive knowledge on Nehru's part, of what quickens the pulse of resurgent Asia."

China's 1955 Budget

Mr. Li Hsien-nien, Vice-Premier and Finance Minister of China, presented the budget for 1955 to the National People's Congress on July 6. He said that the keynote of the budget was to increase production and practise economy in order to accumulate capital for economic construction, especially the construction of heavy industry.

The total revenue in the budget was estimated at 31,192.5 million yuan, 6.91 per cent larger than in the preceding year. The total estimated expenditure was 29,736.7 million yuan, 20.72 per cent over that of 1954. The budget thus showed a surplus of 1,455.8 million yuan.

Of the allocations in the 1955 budget about 60.67 per cent would go to economic construction, and social, cultural and educational services. Defence expenditure accounted for 24.19 per cent of the expenses.

The revenue would be derived from the following sources in the proportions indicated: 69.47 per cent from the State sector of the economy, 11.76 per cent from the peasants and the balance from others.

Giving an account of the receipts and expenditure in the 1954 State budget, the Chinese Finance Minister said that the total estimated receipt in 1954 was 30,745.83 million yuan. The actuals totalled 26,236.83 million yuan. Taken with the surpluses brought forward from the balances of previous years, the total actual receipt amounted to 4,509 million yuan—113.15 per cent of the estimates. The income from State enterprises including taxes made up 65.24 per cent of the total budgetary income.

Of the total State expenditure of 24,632.44 million in 1954, 50.17 per cent went to economic construction. Total investment in all fields of capital construction in 1954 registered an increase of 15 per cent over 1953.

Production of the State enterprises increased 27 per cent in 1954 compared with the preceding year. The proportion of State industry, co-operative industry and joint State-private industry in the total value of industrial production amounted to 75.1 per cent and that of the privately owned industry fell from 36.8 to 24.9 per cent.

U.K.-South Africa Naval Agreement

The British Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden, announced in a statement before the House of Commons the conclusion of the naval agreement between the Governments of the United Kingdom and the Union of South Africa. The agreement followed talks between the representatives of the two Governments over a number of years.

Under the agreement close contact would continue to be maintained between the services of the two countries. A new naval command was being set up to strengthen the defence of the sea routes round the Cape. "This is to be based on a maritime strategic zone approximating to the present South Atlantic Station, and will contain an area under the command of a South African flag officer. In a war in which both countries are involved, the whole zone will be under the Supreme Command of a Royal Commander-in-chief.

"A joint maritime war planning Committee is to be set up to ensure satisfactory planning in peace. . . ."

South Africa would expand her navies and had agreed to place orders for ships to the value of £18 million in the United Kingdom. The existing base of the Royal Navy at Simonstown would be handed over to South Africa which had so long no properly constituted naval base. The Royal Navy would however continue to enjoy all the facilities available to it before the present agreement in peace time as well as during any war in which the United Kingdom was involved. The facilities would be available in such a war both to the British navy and to the navies of allies of Britain even though South Africa might remain neutral.

The agreement would continue in force unless otherwise decided by the two Governments by mutual agreement.

Sir Anthony said: "Discussions about regional defence are set out in the first exchange of letters in a White Paper. The two Governments recognize that while the internal security of the countries of Southern Africa must remain a matter for each of individual country concerned, Southern Africa and the sea routes round South Africa must be secured against aggression from without.

"They are further agreed that the defence of Southern Africa against external aggression lies not

only in Africa but also in the gateway to Africa—namely, in the Middle East.

"Finally, both Governments have agreed jointly to sponsor a conference to develop the planning already begun at the Nairobi Conference in August, 1951 on the improvement and security of the lines of communication around Southern Africa and between South Africa and the Middle East."

Mr. Clement Attlee, Leader of the Opposition in the Parliament said: "Generally speaking, this would seem to be a satisfactory settlement of a very difficult question which we have been discussing for many years."

In reply to questions the Prime Minister, Sir Anthony Eden added that the base at Simonstown would be available to Britain and her allies in wartime even if South Africa remained neutral in that war. The agreement would result in the serving of about £500,000 a year in naval expenditure. All Commonwealth Governments had been fully informed about the agreement.

The British newspaper generally expressed satisfaction at the news of the conclusion of the agreement between South Africa and Great Britain. They pointed out that South Africa's hatred of communism was a guarantee of her continued co-operation with the West even though the Union might choose to leave the Commonwealth and become a republic. The importance of the agreement lay in the fact that "South Africa under the South Atlantic Command Agreement, goes some way towards integrating herself in the NATO concept of defence organization," the *Glasgow Herald* points out. It was particularly significant in this context that the South African Minister of Defence, Mr. F. C. Erasmus, "should already have held discussions in Paris with the Supreme Allied Commander in Europe and the French Minister for Defence," it adds.

This Naval agreement affects us indirectly as the Indian Ocean will be controlled from one end by the combined fleet.

Kenya Commission Report

Mr. Fenner Brockway, Member of British Parliament, writes in an article in the *Vigil* that the recommendation made by the Royal Commission for East Africa for sending the reservation of the Kenya Highlands exclusively for European settlers and for opening it up for non-European settlement would evoke fierce opposition from a large section of the European settlers in Kenya. The Commission had met the argument that Kenya farmers would ruin the Highlands by incompetence by remarking that there were good African farmers and given opportunity, there could be more.

While Mr. Brockway welcomes this recommen-

dation and says that its implementation must not be allowed to be shelved he criticizes the general theme of the Report of the Royal Commission which had advised Africans to accept Western concept of the private ownership of property.

Mr. Brockway writes: "On this two comments can be made: First, that it is impertinence of the Commission composed of eight Europeans, only one African and not one Asian to lay down the pattern of the future life of territories in which there are 17 million Africans, less than 200,000 Asians and only about 50,000 Europeans. The social and economic order in East Africa cannot be determined until the people have the right to determine it themselves."

Secondly, the disruption of the deeply embedded African tradition of community ownership of land would arouse resistance and confusion, "And why should individual ownership be regarded as the last word in Western wisdom? In Britain we are moving towards the same principle of public ownership which the Africans have so long practised?"

Needless to say Kenya is a stronghold of British Colonialism of the worst type. The African was dispossessed of his birthright without any humane considerations being taken account of by the rapacious British colonist. The African launched a forlorn hope campaign, after generations of virtual slavery. The result was inhuman slaughter and a campaign of one-sided slander of the voiceless dispossessed. The Royal Commission is the consequence.

The New Burma

In view of U Nu's recent visit to the U.S., the following account in the *Worldover Press*, by Dr. Frank Trager, former Point Four Director in Burma, is of great interest:

"New York.—You start a conversation about Burma, and some of your friends interpolate, 'Oh, yes, Nehru is certainly kicking up a fuss.' Then patiently, you explain that you are talking about Burma, not India, and you begin all over again.

"For Burma, among the newly independent nations of Asia, is a *terra incognita*, an unknown land to many Americans. But she deserves to be known today for herself and her people, even better perhaps, than in the 19th century when Christian, mainly Baptist, missions regarded Burma as a shining example of American conversionary zeal.

"Despite the amazing work of Adoniram Judson and those who followed him to missions in Burma, that country is today an overwhelmingly Buddhist land. It is the *locus* for the present Sixth World Buddhist Council meeting in Rangoon, the capital city of Burma, from 1954 to 1956, commemorating the 2,500th year of the beginning of Buddha's cycle,

That this Council meeting is taking place in Rangoon; that to it have come outstanding representatives of Ceylon, Thailand, Laos, Cambodia and other leading centers of Theravada Buddhism, is one indication of the esteem for Burma felt by her Asian neighbors. To understand Burma, you must understand this Buddhism; to understand the Burmese leadership role in the epochal Buddhist revival, one must come to know Burma.

"Burma, in American terms, is about as big as Texas, and almost as self-content! Her 19 million people are mainly descendants of a Sinitic migration out of Tibet and West Central China, which began in the pre-Christian days and continued to the late 19th century. The language, like Chinese, is tonal and syllabary; the script is Indian and perhaps remotely Persian. Since Buddhism, an 'Indian religion,' dominates Burma, it can be accurately stated that Burma represents a culture combining features of ancient India and ancient China.

"The Burmans, the majority stock, come upon the threshold of recorded history in the 9th century. From the 11th to 13th centuries the first dynastic, unified Burman kingdom occupies the land; builds a magnificent architectural civilization, the ruins of which rival Indo-China's Angkor Tom or Egypt's Karnak. Marco Polo makes a record of it. But Kublai Khan—and his China Mongols—overthrow this first Burmese Kingdom. Since then a see-saw history of conflict with China marks the pages of the Burmese chronicles. There is no love for China in Burma, and there is some fear, highlighted by the 1,000-mile, unprotectable, and inadequately defined border between the two countries. *Chinese maps produced both by Chiang Kai-shek and Mao Tse-Tung show incursions into Burma.*

"Twice after the 13th century Burma achieved a grand and feudal unity. She succumbed to the march of imperialism in the 19th century. Beginning in 1824 England swallowed Burma in three bites, three wars which by 1885 incorporated Burma into Britain's Indian Empire. From 1886 to 1937 Burma lost even her 'identity' as a conquered 'nation.' She was a province of the British colonial administration of India, an ignominy which the Burmese deeply resented and resolutely 'paid back' by their decision to withdraw in 1947 from the Commonwealth when they at last achieved independence.

"The Burmese had never willingly accepted 'the English connexion'—as it is called by the English authors on Burma. What we call modern nationalism never disappeared in Burma. After the third, and final, Anglo-Burmese War of 1885 the Burmese were 'pacified' by the British—that is, forcibly put down by arms and by that devil's invention called the 'plural society.' This means the use of minority groups by the conquering power to put and keep

down the majority population. It is a devil's invention because it utilizes the typical drives of ethnocentrism and xenophobia, found in (almost) all peoples, to foment or to perpetuate racial, ethnic and national discord.

"The 'pacification' took about six to eight years. Shortly after that the Burmese, using imitations of the West's institutional arrangements, began to organize for national liberation. They formed the Young Men's Buddhist Association in 1906—the seedbed of subsequent nationalist moves.

"Thus Buddhism, and later Socialism—or at least the anti-imperialist sloganering of Marxism—became the sources of Burmese inspiration. By the end of the 1930's the Burmese radicals sent their young men to Japan for training because Japan seemingly offered a *non-white* nation's hospitality to the Burmese anti-white and anti-colonial aspirations. When World War II began, the Burmese welcomed the Japanese as the liberators against the 'white man's burden.' Japan lost Burma and lost Southeast Asia in part because her slogan of 'Asia for Asians' was not sincere. It was Asia for the Japanese. So the Burmese turned against the Japanese, realigning themselves with the British *only* because they wanted freedom and independence.

"And they got it.. On January 4, 1948, after discordant relations between Britain and Burma from 1945 to 1947, the Burmese re-won their freedom. Be it said to the everlasting credit of the then Labor Party government in Britain that it accepted this decision gracefully—and thereby, as in India, retained some Burmese regard for Britain. If only the British had thus acted sooner! France never learned this lesson in Indo-China, hence, in part, the defeat by Ho Chi Minh; the Dutch learned it in Indonesia only after they suffered defeat by force of Indonesian arms and world opinion.

"Burma regained her freedom in January, 1948; an armed Communist rebellion tried to take it away the same year. Other dissident groups joined in the revolt against the central government—including a remnant of the Kuomintang forced out of Yunnan into Burma. For a while the newly independent government was not sure of survival. It survived.

"It survived because its leadership, under the inspiration of a wonderful man—teacher, devout Buddhist, people's leader—was at the helm, supported by a majority of Socialist and peasant leaders who had fought as student rebels in the 1930's, fought with Japan in the early 1940's when they thought the Japanese would help Burma gain independence, then against them, and finally won independence by negotiation with the British. Prime Minister U (meaning honored Mr.) Nu led this coalition to victory in the Constituent Assembly voting of 1947 and in the

national, free elections of late 1951. His government is, along with the Indian and the Philippine, one of the only three democratically elected governments in South and Southeast Asia today."

South Indian Christians

The *Worldover Press* published the following account sometime back:

Trivandrum, South India.—Indian Christians no longer have to carry their churches on their backs. For many years, denominational barriers prevented members of one church from enjoying spiritual privileges with those of another.

People moving from one part of the country to another in which their own denomination did not operate were either compelled to remain aloof, or to enter into local communities "with many mental reservations." These reservations were caused by doctrinal divergence, organizational peculiarities, or orthodoxy lacking imagination.

Today, the same people may look forward to being received in "alien churches" without doctrinal differences damaging their spiritual peace. Over a large part of South India and for a million and a half non-Roman Catholic Christians, a new day is dawning. Mutual appreciation, recognition of each other's theological position, and above all, one's own shortcomings, have become a matter of common experience.

The emergence in 1947 of the Church of South India, comprising British, Continental and American episcopal and non-episcopal denominations, gave an impetus to union movements. Currently, two important church bodies are holding "conversations" with the authorities of the Church of South India, their most recent findings registering a larger appreciation and agreement on fundamental beliefs and practices. The two bodies are the 300,000-member Mar Thoma Syrian Church of Malabar and the 75,000-member Federation of Evangelical Lutheran Churches in India. The membership of the Church of South India itself is over 1,000,000.

The Mar Thoma Syrian Church of Malabar is one of the most ancient churches in India, indeed, in the world. It owes its founding (by tradition) to St. Thomas, the brother of the Lord. Its ecclesiastical head, Metropolitan Juhanon Mar Thoma Malabar, is one of the presidents of the World Council of Churches. Once a limb of the Jacobite Syrian Church of Malabar, under the inspiration of the Anglican missionaries it effected certain liturgical and organizational reforms, resulting in its having to sever from the parent body and forming an independent church. Since it has maintained full communion with the Anglicans in India, and since the latter body merged with the Church of South India, it may be said that, in principle, the Mar Thoma Syrian Church is "in communion" with its neighboring churches.

At the end of a meeting between the Lutheran

Federation and the Church of South India last March, held in Bangalore, the representatives came out with a declaration of their accomplishments, together with further plans. It was agreed: (1) that each church body will welcome members from the other churches, temporarily or permanently, offering them all the privileges and status they enjoyed in their home church; (2) each church will recognize the ordination to ministry in the other church, while free to judge each issue with regard to competence, experience, and the like.

Aborigines in Australia

The *Worldover Press* writes:

"Australian aborigines, along with many of their white defenders, have been increasingly stirred by a number of arrests and unnecessarily severe fines for minor 'offenses.' Three men from the Aborigines Reserve at La Perouse were recently sent to jail when they couldn't pay fines of seven pounds, accepting a 14-day sentence. They were charged with cutting mangrove trees, though the men said they cut only branches—in order to get 'elbows' for boomerangs ordered from America.

"Michael Sawtelle, government appointee to the New South Wales Aborigines Welfare Board, excoriated the action against the men. Asserting they were members of honest, hard-working families he added: "Surely if we have one human sentiment left among us it should be to leave the aborigines alone. Over the years we have done our best to grind them down. We have subjugated these people to the point where they must rely almost entirely on handicrafts for a living. Now we are trying to take that away from them!"

East Germany Medical Students

The *Worldover Press* reports:

"East Germany, no less than West Germany, continues to reveal youth hostility to militarization. The *Kasernierte Volkspolizei* (People's Police in Barracks), which is the armed force being prepared in the Soviet Zone, is short of doctors. This in spite of the fact that some medical students have gone into the Russian Zone from the West in the hope of escaping conscription and to avoid the surplus of doctors in the West.

"To overcome the shortage, the Secretary for Universities and the chief physician of the *Kasernierte* went recently to the 700-years-old University of Greifswald and told the Dean that from September 1, 1955, only such young men would be admitted as students of medicine as agreed to become military doctors. The move brought an immediate and hostile reaction. Heated discussions took place in a series of student meetings and were followed by a student strike with classroom desertions."

HAROLD LASKI AND PROPERTY

By RANI MUKHOPADHYAYA,

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THERE has been a good deal of speculation among thinkers about the question of right to property. "Though the earth and all inferior creatures be common to all men," says Locke in connexion with the question of defence of private property, "yet every man has a 'property' in his own 'person.' This nobody has any right to but himself. The 'labour' of his body and the 'work' of his hands, we may say, are properly his. Whatsoever, then, he removes out of the state that Nature hath provided and left it in, he hath mixed his labour with it, and joined to it something that is his own, and thereby makes it his property." "For this 'labour' being the unquestionable property of the labourer," he further observes, "no man but he can have a right to what that is once joined to, at least where there is enough, and as good left in common for others."¹ (Even "the supreme power cannot take from any man any part of his property without his own consent.") And when President Roosevelt declared on January 6, 1941, that "we seek 'everywhere in the world' the four old freedoms: freedom of speech and expression, freedom of religion, freedom from fear, freedom from want," Herbert Hoover,² an ex-President of the United States, "called attention to the fact that there is a Fifth Freedom—economic freedom, without which none of the other four freedoms will be realized."

"To be free," the latter further observed, "men must choose their jobs and callings, bargain for their own wages and salaries, save and provide by private property for their families and old age."

Of course, he never used the term "Fifth Freedom . . . in the sense of *laissez faire* or economic exploitation."

"Exploitation," according to him, "is the negation of freedom. The Fifth Freedom does not mean going back to abuses."

Moreover, "the Fifth Freedom in no way inhibits social reforms and social advancement."

"Property is an institution," says the conservative thinker Lord Hugh Cecil,⁴ "required for the sake of the common good. . . . The owners of it, like other human beings, are entitled to be guarded against undeserved injury."

1. See Locke, *Two Treatises of Civil Government* (Everyman's Library, edited by Ernest Rhys), Ch. V, p. 130.

2. See *ibid.*, Ch. XI, p. 187.

3. See William Ebenstein, *Man and the State* (*The Fifth Freedom*—Herbert Hoover), pp. 359-361.

4. See *Cecil*, p. 158.

(And Hobhouse, an advocate of liberalism, means by the right of property

"a system under which a man is free to acquire by any method of production or exchange within the limits of the law whatever he can of land, consumable goods, or capital; to dispose of it at his own will and pleasure for his own purposes, to destroy it if he likes, to give it away or sell it as it suits him, and at death to bequeath it to whomsoever he will."⁵

To the idealistic thinker T. H. Green, "property is realised will." According to him, property is "a permanent apparatus for carrying out a plan of life, for expressing ideas of what is beautiful, or giving effect to benevolent wishes."⁶

It is obvious from the views of these thinkers that the institution of private property has a moral basis and should not be wantonly interfered with even by the Government of a State without the consent of the owners.

Let us now turn our attention to the views of Professor Harold Laski on the question of private property. He admits the fact that the possession of property gives a man an initial advantage in life.

"The man of property," he says,⁷ "has a stake in the country. He is protected from the fear of starvation. He need not accept the work he does not desire . . . He can avoid the grim routine, and become an explorer in that intellectual hinterland where the creative faculties most readily discover their channels of self-expression. He can protect his children against the dread of want. He can develop in them the tastes which give them also joy in the life creative. He has direct and immediate access—should he desire it—to the social heritage of Western civilization."

But he never accepts the view that private property is an unmixed blessing to human society. On the contrary, a man with property often does not possess these things nor is a man without property "necessarily deprived of them."

"Those who have security," he says,⁸ "often luxuriate in a life devoid of meaning; and those who are poor can sometimes know the rarest things that life can offer. But the latter are exceptional men; poverty for most—and most are condemned to poverty—means a life passed amid mean things;

5. See Hobhouse, *Liberalism*, p. 94.

6. See T. H. Green, *Principles of Political Obligation*, p. 219.

7. See Laski, *A Grammar of Politics*, p. 172.

8. *Ibid.*, pp. 173-174.

wish but a fleeting moment, like the first hour of love, when the creative impulse receives a full response. Those who have security may, in fact, live a life as solid and as pointless as the ugly mahogany with which they are surrounded."

He points out, however, the danger inherent in the present system of private property.

"Man," he remarks, "has developed an acquisitive faculty which now forms the basis of all western institutions. The world over, States are divisible into those who, out of that impulse to acquire, possess property which is a safeguard against the wants of the morrow, and those who, lacking that property, are uncertain whether the morrow will give them the means of life."¹³

And "it remains historically obvious," he warns, "that a community divided into rich and poor is, when the latter are numerous, built upon foundations of sand."¹⁴

An analysis of the present social order shows, he next observes, that "the number of those in any community who own property enough to be significant is always small"; that "such ownership is not necessarily related to the performance of duties or the possession of virtues"; that "the ownership of property involves the control of capital"; that "in a regime of free enterprise the control of capital involves the power to direct the lives of those who depend upon the application of capital to production"; that "a regime of private property makes the State very largely an institution dominated by the owners of private property"; and that "it protects the will and purpose of those owners." In the absence of other considerations, he adds, "a political system in which rights are built upon property is one in which the propertyless man will have no rights."¹⁵ It is true that there are today some mitigating circumstances like the power of combination of the workers, the humanitarian sentiment of the owners of property, etc., which have prevented the owners from realising their rights to the full.

"But, fundamentally, the regime of private property," he declares, "in the background of industrialism, perpetuates the division into rich and poor, and separates the poor from the conditions which make possible their effective citizenship."¹⁶

The result, therefore, according to Laski, of the present economic system is that the "production is carried on wastefully and without adequate plan."

"The commodities and services necessary to the life of the community," he further says, "are never so distributed as to relate to need or to produce a result which maximises their social utility.

We build picture palaces when we need houses. We spend on battleships what is wanted for schools We have a large class maintained in parasitic idleness, whose tastes demand the application of capital and labour to the satisfaction of wants unrelated to human need. Nor is that class set apart from the rest of the community. Because it has the power to make demand effective it stimulates the slavish imitation of those who seek to join its ranks. To be rich becomes the measure of merit."

Moreover,

"Men may begin to acquire property to safeguard their lives from want, but they continue to acquire it because of the distinction which comes from its possession. It satisfies their vanity and their lust for power: it enables them to attune the will of society to their own."¹⁷

Laski next draws a grim picture of the modern society which results from such a situation.

Men "produce goods and services," he remarks,¹⁸ "not for use, but to acquire property from their production They will ruin natural resources. They will adulterate commodities. They will float dishonest enterprises. They will corrupt legislatures. They will pervert the sources of knowledge. . . . They may destroy the quality of political life. They may possess themselves, as in America, of the educational instruments of the community. They may even pervert religious institutions to the protection of their ideas. They do not, nevertheless, secure a well-ordered State."

A State so divided into rich and poor, according to him, "is compelled to use its instruments to protect the property of the rich from invasion by the poor." The question of true equality—the very foundation of democracy—can never arise in such a State..

"Political equality," he declares,¹⁹ "is never real unless it is accompanied by virtual economic equality; political power, otherwise, is bound to be the handmaid of economic power."

"Either the State must dominate property," he warns, "or property will dominate the State." The unequal distribution of property is the most common source of faction in a State. And men, "after a period, refuse to suffer quietly." "The concentration of property," he states in another connection,²⁰ "other than labour-power in a few hands is fatal to the purpose of the State." Revolution "supervenes to alter the balance in the State."²¹

Although, Laski admits in the text of his *Grammar of Politics* that the present system of property is not altogether devoid of justification, yet, he does

13. *Ibid.*, p. 173.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 176.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 174.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 175.

18. *Ibid.*, pp. 175-176.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

20. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 177.

economic and political system has been based essentially on a highly centralised and totalitarian organisation. There is no room in that country for different political parties professing divergent views and ideologies. There now appears to be some healthy change in this regard and we hope the Soviet Union would appreciate the system of economic planning in India. We are convinced that democratic planning is a much better method than totalitarian planning. But there is no question of interfering with or criticising each other's methods. We must try to learn the good points of one another and not waste our energies in indulging in bitter and unhelpful criticism. The Joint Declaration has succeeded eminently in creating a healthy atmosphere of mutual co-operation and goodwill and we sincerely expect that this friendly atmosphere would continue to grow with the passage of time.

In the course of his farewell speech at Moscow, Shri Nehru congratulated the Government of the Soviet Union on the several steps it had taken in recent months for lessening world tension. But he also declared in clear terms the economic and political goal of India. Shri Nehru observed :

"We believe in democracy and in equality, in the removal of special privileges, and we have set ourselves the goal of developing a Socialistic Pattern of Society in our country *through peaceful methods*."

Shri Nehru paid a tribute to the leadership of "Great Lenin" in the Russian Revolution. But he pointed out that India pursued "a different path under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi."

"In spite of this difference in our methods," continued the Indian Prime Minister, "there was at no time unfriendly feeling among our people towards the people of the Soviet Union."

The visit of Shri Nehru to the U.S.S.R. has been extremely helpful in renewing these ties of friendship between the two countries and we do hope that these bonds of mutual friendship and co-operation would ever remain unbroken. In fact, India has always been eager to seek the friendship of all nations of the world, without any fear or favour. She has stoutly refused to align herself with any one of the power blocs. This policy is bound to continue in future. We are prepared to co-operate with any country on the basis of mutual help, mutual respect and peaceful co-existence.

There has been some criticism, and even apprehension, in some quarters that India's Second Five-Year Plan is being influenced by some experts from the Soviet Union or the allied countries. Fears are being expressed that Prof. Mahalanobis and his associates are trying to lend a "totalitarian touch" to our economic planning during the next five years. While it is true that planning does involve a certain amount of centralisation of policy and control, it would be wrong to think that the Indian leaders would give up so easily the basic principles of democracy and decentralisation which form the very basis of our Constitution. The Indian Constitution lays great stress on the need for organising village Panchayats in the country as basic units of administration and planning. It also emphasises the role of village and cottage industries for ensuring full employment and adequate means of livelihood to the people. The Indian National Congress has, time and again, made it abundantly clear that economic planning in India should be based on the fullest co-operation of the people through local bodies and Panchayats. Great stress is being laid on the organisation of a net-work of Industrial Co-operatives throughout the rural and urban areas in India under the Second Five-Year Plan. At the Avadi Session of the Congress, we coined a new term "Socialistic Pattern of Society" in order to avoid the obvious meaning and association of the term 'Socialism'. Both Shri Nehru and the Congress President, Shri Dhebar, have made it crystal clear in their recent speeches that the Socialistic Pattern is not the same as a highly centralised system of Socialism or Communism. In fact, India's Socialistic Society would necessarily tend towards Sarvodaya which expresses the quintessence of Gandhian thought.

Let it be clearly understood that India will not tolerate any type of planning which would run counter to the Gandhian ideals and push the country towards a totalitarian order. I hope Prof. Mahalanobis and his co-workers will also have no shadow of doubt in this respect. We are prepared to welcome helpful ideas in regard to economic planning from any quarter. It would be tragic to keep our minds closed to new suggestions. But our feet must be firm on our own soil, without giving up the basic principles which constitute the very Soul of our Nation. As Mahatma Gandhi himself observed, India should keep her windows always open for fresh breeze to enter. But she should not allow outside forces to sweep off the very foundations.



THE LAW OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

By ARUN COOMAR GHOSH

In the Preamble to the Constitution of India the sole guiding principle adopted has been stated as to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic, and to secure to all its citizens justice, liberty and equality, religious, social, economic and political.

The chapters on the Fundamental Rights and the Directive Principles of State Policy are a direct vindication of the above principle. They constitute the treasure of our constitution, for the value of the constitution lies in them.

POWERS OF THE INDIAN PRESIDENT

In the Indian Constitution the position of the President has been made unique, and the powers given to him by the Constitution are almost unlimited, and are only comparable to those enjoyed by the President of U.S.A. He stands at the apex of the whole structure of constitutional framework like an all-embracing personality.

He is the executive head of the Union and the supreme command of the Defence forces is vested in him. He appoints the Prime Minister and other Ministers to aid and advise him in the exercise of his functions, and they hold office during his pleasure.

All high officials and dignitaries of the Union and the States are appointed by him. He appoints the Governor, the Supreme Court and High Court Judges, the Ambassadors and the Comptroller and Auditor General of India. This power of appointment is not subject to the approval of the Upper House as in U.S.A. where all appointments made by the President require approval of the Senate. He may require either House of Parliament to consider any matter by sending messages to it, and has the power to prorogue the Houses and dissolve the House of the People.

He also enjoys wide legislative powers. Every bill after it has been passed by both the Houses of Parliament require the assent of the President, and the President may give his assent to the bill, or withhold his assent therefrom. In this respect he enjoys veto powers analogous to those enjoyed by the American President. But there are limitations to his powers in this respect. Under Article III of the Constitution he cannot return a bill if it is a Money Bill. Secondly, when a bill other than a money bill is so returned and received back by the President for assent after being reconsidered and passed by the Houses with or without amendment, the President has no power to withhold his assent.

The President has also other legislative powers. Under Article 123 he has the power to promulgate ordinances when the Houses are not in session, and such

ordinances shall have the same force and effect as an act of Parliament.

The President has also been given power under Article 359 during a period of emergency like war or external aggression, or internal disturbances to suspend the enforcement of the Fundamental Rights conferred by Part III by issue of a Proclamation of Emergency.

Thus to say that the President of India is an executive officer, and has nothing to do with legislation is to "talk philosophy, not facts."

Theoretically speaking, these are very wide powers, and a vain man raised to such an eminence may act like a despot. But if we look below the surface, it will be evident that there are sufficient constitutional safeguards to provide against such a contingency.

Firstly, the President may be impeached for violation of the Constitution as is the case with the American President. Secondly, he is to hold office for a limited term of five years although he is eligible for re-election. The limited tenure of his office together with the provision for impeachment acts as a sufficient check on any misuse of his powers. But these are merely theoretical possibilities. Practically, such a contingency can never arise; for the Head of the Indian Union will be an elected Head although the method of election will be indirect unlike in U.S.A. where the President is elected by direct votes of the people. Under Article 54 of the Constitution the President of India will be elected by the members of an electoral college consisting of the elected members of both Houses of Parliament, and the elected members of the Legislative Assemblies of the States.

THE PRIME MINISTER AND PARLIAMENT

Although under the Law of the Constitution the President is the Executive Head of the Union, and all measures executive and legislative will be taken in his name, the real initiative in all matters executive and legislative rests with the Prime Minister and his Cabinet. So long as his party will command a majority in Parliament he can pilot the ship of the State safely according to the declared policy and programme of his party. In this respect the Indian Constitution verges more on the side of the British Parliamentary system of government than of the Presidential type of America. Thus, the Indian Constitution partakes of the character of both Parliamentary and Presidential type of Government, and is in a sense both rigid and flexible. It is rigid inasmuch as the Constitution is a written one, and the powers of the three organs of Government, the executive, the legislative and the judiciary are

clearly defined, and the rights of the citizens protected under it. It is also flexible because the Constitution can be amended by Parliament. Under Article 368 an amendment of the Constitution can be made when it is passed in each House by a majority of total membership of that House, and by a majority of not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting. Besides development of the Constitution by amendment there is also scope for its enlargement by judicial interpretation.

In this connection we may note the following characteristics of the Indian Constitution :

(1) The Constitution is a grant of powers. The powers of the Union and the States are clearly defined in part XL of the Constitution.

(2) The principle of checks and balances—the separation of three departments of Government, executive, legislative and judiciary.

(3) The doctrine of judicial supremacy, the Supreme Court acting as the interpreter of the Constitution. This is one of the fundamental features of the Indian system.

(4) The theory of constitutional limitation. Neither the Union Government nor the State Government is absolutely sovereign. It is sovereign only within the limits of the Constitution.

In the case of the British Constitution it is said that the British Parliament had always been and still remains the sovereign assembly, and it can make and unmake any law excepting making a man a woman and a woman a man. The same remark equally holds good in the case of the Indian Parliament which holds the key power of amending the Constitution to meet the changing needs of the country.

Some thinkers, however, look upon the supremacy of Parliament in a democratic country where there is a written Constitution and an independent judiciary as "archaic political philosophy." It introduces a sense of competition between the judiciary and the legislature, and this spirit of rivalry does the worst harm to the cause of constitutional progress. As Justice P. B. Mukherjee of the Calcutta High Court observes while speaking on "Aspiration of the Indian Constitution" at the Calcutta Rotary Club :

"In a nation governed by a written political Constitution it is vain to look for supremacy in Parliament. The supremacy was of the ConstitutionThe Constitution was the supreme verdict of the people, and all other organs must subserve that Constitution.....If you want Parliamentary supremacy, you will have to scrap the Constitution. Those who think of Parliamentary supremacy in a written political Constitution are therefore thinking in terms of an outmoded political philosophy.....It is the lesson of history that the most valued

liberties presuppose an independent judiciary. Indian Constitution had assigned specific functions to the legislature, executive and judiciary. It was the aspiration of the Constitution that each would respect the functions of the other. To the legislature no less to the Courts was committed the guardianship of deeply cherished values."

He emphasised that amendment of the Constitution should be the last resort, and not the first impulse to get rid of every obstruction.

THE SUPREME COURT

It has been rightly said that the Supreme Court has been established by the Constitution of India as the guardian of the liberty and rights of the people, to preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution. The Court is the paladium of justice, the bulwark of popular rights. The position of the Judges has been made secure under the Constitution, and no Justice is removable except by a process of impeachment. Also, the Constitution does not permit any discussion in Parliament or legislature regarding the conduct of any Judge of the Supreme Court or High Court. The Supreme Court has already begun to assert its authority as the guardian of the Constitution to invalidate laws passed by Parliament which contravene the provision of the Constitution. By so doing that Court has assumed a power which was not expressly given to it by the Constitution, a power which many think has created bottlenecks in the way of implementation of its social and economic policy by Government. The legislation providing for abolition of the Zamindary system in the States by giving compensation is a case in point. Under Article 31 of the Constitution this law was declared *ultra vires* by the Supreme Court, but although Government had to abide by the above decision, this ruling of the Court runs counter to the social and economic policy pursued by Government in accordance with the Directive Principles of State policy. Parliament had therefore to amend Article 31 of the Constitution, so that the law passed by Parliament providing for land reform may not be invalidated by the Court.

Thus we see that by the power of amending the Constitution the Parliament can bypass any decision of the Supreme Court in cases where it conflicts with its social and economic policy, although the occasions necessitating such action should be few and far between. Barring the above, the right of the Supreme Court to declare laws unconstitutional is now beyond dispute. The action of the Court in thus asserting the right of judicial supremacy has proved beneficial as it acts as a great moral check on the Government. In so acting the Court has also ably played its part as the guarantor of the rights given by the Constitution.



A GLIMPSE INTO THE PROBLEM OF EMPLOYMENT AND INVESTMENT IN RURAL AREAS

BY PROF. GOBINDA CHANDRA MANDAL, M.A.

THE present paper is based upon statistical data collected in course of an economic survey covering 843 rural households selected at random and spread over 20 villages in the Contai Subdivision, Midnapore, West Bengal. The survey was conducted by the writer under the auspices of the Economic Society, P. K. College, Contai, Midnapore, in May 1954. Out of 843 households, 639 constituting 75.6 per cent of the total were found to have holdings between 0 to 5 acres, 119 constituting 14.1 per cent of the total had holdings between 5 to 10 acres, 27 constituting 3.2 per cent of the total had holdings between 10 to 16 acres, 34 with holdings between 16 to 25 acres were 4.0 per cent of the total and households having holdings over 25 acres were only 24 constituting 3.1 per cent of the total.

When we apply our mind to the problem of unemployment we generally take in view the urban and middle-class unemployment. But the problem of employment in rural and urban sectors of the economy cannot be considered apart from each other. In the national economy like ours where its urban sector sustains itself mainly on the primary production of its rural sector, the well-being of the former cannot but be vitally related to that of the latter.

RURAL UNEMPLOYMENT

There are organizations like Employment Exchanges which are helpful in giving an estimate or indication of industrial or urban unemployment. But it is extremely difficult to measure rural unemployment which mostly exists in disguise. If an unemployed person is defined as one searching for a job without success, he will be rarely found in the rural areas. The Indian rural economy is rooted in self-employment and household-enterprise on the subsistence level. Even an agricultural labourer has got some land of his own to till however small it may be. Table I shows the extent of unemployment in the conventional sense of the term.

TABLE I

Distribution of "Unemployed" by Holding class			
Holding class (Acres)	Number of unemployed	Number of unemployed per. household	
0-5	123	0.2	
5-10	5	0.04	
10-16	17	0.6	
16-25	9	0.2	
above 25	9	0.3	
Total	163	0.2	

The above table indicates that the number of unemployed persons per household is 0.2. The total number of persons above the age of 14 years in all the households taken together is 3117. The unemployed persons constitute nearly 5 per cent of this population. Thus the incidence of unemployment is smaller than what is assumed, the largest being in the case of middle holders.

In such a set-up "unemployment" can be interpreted to imply lower demand and lower prices for the products of the rural households leading to lower incomes and lower production.

If there were any large-scale unemployment in rural areas in the conventional sense of the term, it would have been followed by a large-scale emigration. Emigration from rural areas is perceptible only in a small measure as shown in Table 2.

TABLE II
Distribution of Emigrants

Holding class (Acres)	Number of emigrants	Number of emigrants per household
0-5	116	0.2
5-10	48	0.4
10-16	18	0.6
16-25	40	1.1
above 25	30	1.1
Total	252	0.3

Table 2 shows that the number of emigrants is larger and larger in the case of large holders. Small holders cannot afford to engage labour from outside and dispense with any services of their own household members. Members belonging to the families with small holdings stay in their own villages and supplement their own farm-earnings by working in the fields of others with larger holdings. Big holders, however, can afford to hire labour from outside and disengage services of some of the household members for larger income-creation. Insufficient work or underemployment is, therefore, the crux of the problem of rural economy.

Employment in rural areas can be expanded only through new investments in rural areas. The investible surplus in the rural economy is meagre. This is indicated by Table 3 relating to the extent of new investment in some selected items.

TABLE III
Investment per Household (1944-54)

Items	0-5 acres	5-10 acres	10-16 acres	16-25 acres	above 25
	class	class	class	class	acres (class)
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Reclamation of waste land	17	36	119	234	1,618
Excavation of ponds, tanks, etc.	53	215	208	320	1,168
Installation of machine	2	15	68	10	416
Construction of houses	156	312	282	745	2,387
Business	28	165	522	160	616
Ten years	256	754	1,204	1,468	6,205
Total					
Annual	25.6	75.4	120.4	146.8	620.5

Thus investment per household in the case of households with holdings from 16 to 25 acres is nearly twice as much as in the case of 5-10 acres class. But it may be noted that the increase in investment is less than

proportionate to the increase in holding at least within the range from 5 to 25 acres. This is an indication of a high degree of consumption propensity in the lower holding group.

It is quite natural that poverty which is mainly due to smallness of holdings results in an investible surplus which is extremely small in comparison with the requirements of economic progress. The insufficient growth of investible surplus is responsible for insufficient growth of skill, business knowledge and enterprise and productive equipments or materials.

PATTERN OF RURAL INVESTMENT

Tables 4-9 are given below to indicate the pattern of investment in the selected items and its variation from one holding-group to another.

TABLE IV
Distribution of Investment (1944-54)
as between Different Items
(All Classes)

Items	Amount	Percentage
	Rs.	to total
Reclamation of waste land	65,103	13.0
Excavation of ponds, tanks, etc.	1,04,192	21.0
Installation of machine	15,310	3.0
Construction of houses	2,28,623	46.0
Business	86,495	17.0
Total	4,99,723	100.0

TABLE V
Distribution of Investment (1944-54)
in the case of Holding class 0.5 acres

Items	Amount	Percentage
	Rs.	to total
Reclamation of waste land	10,777	6.0
Excavation of ponds, tanks, etc.	33,954	20.0
Installation of macaine	1,090	1.0
Construction of houses	1,00,087	62.0
Business	18,114	11.0
Total	1,64,022	100.0

TABLE VI
Distribution of Investment (1944-54) in
the case of Holding class 5-10 acres

Items	Amount	Percentage
	Rs.	to total
Reclamation of waste land	4,285	4.0
Excavation of ponds, tanks, etc.	25,677	29.0
Installation of machine	1,900	2.0
Construction of houses	38,261	42.0
Business	19,631	23.0
Total	89,754	100.0

TABLE VII
Distribution of Investment (1944-54) in
the case of Holding class 10-16 acres

Items	Amount	Percentage
	Rs.	to total
Reclamation of waste land	3,229	9.0
Excavation of ponds, tanks, etc.	5,620	20.0
Installation of machine	1,950	6.0
Construction of houses	7,630	23.0
Business	14,100	42.0
Total	32,529	100.0

TABLE VIII
Distribution of Investment (1944-54) in
the case of Holding class 16-25 acres

Items	Amount	Percentage
	Rs.	to total
Reclamation of waste land	7,962	19.0
Excavation of ponds, tanks, etc.	10,891	20.0
Installation of machine	370	1.0
Construction of houses	25,345	50.0
Business	5,450	10.0
Total	50,018	100.0

TABLE IX
Distribution of Investment (1944-54) in the
case of Holding class above 25 acres

Items	Amount	Percentage
	Rs.	to total
Reclamation waste land	38,850	26.0
Excavation of ponds, tanks, etc.	28,050	19.0
Installation of machine	10,000	7.0
Construction of houses	57,300	38.0
Business	14,800	10.0
Total	1,49,000	100.0

Table 4 shows that the most important item of investment is construction of houses, the next item in importance being excavation of ponds, tanks, etc. Investment in business organization and reclamation of waste land come next. Investment in machine is very small showing that its impact upon the rural economic life is still insignificant. As houses in rural areas are constructed mainly for residential purposes, they come under the category of durable consumption goods excluding which productive capital formation in rural areas is reduced almost to insignificance.

Tables 5-9 indicate that investment in excavation of ponds, tanks, etc., is comparatively larger in the case of holding class 5-10 acres. In the case of other classes the proportion of investment devoted to this item is almost stable varying from 19 to 21 per cent.

This fact points to the future possibilities of further development of tank-fishing, irrigation and gardening for which there is a natural urge.

Investment in the reclamation of waste land has been naturally less important in the case of smaller holdings. It has been larger and larger in the case of larger holdings. This is obviously because large holders have got larger amount of waste lands at their disposal. Any increase in agricultural income due to rising price level may have served as an impetus to reclamation of waste lands in the case of larger holders. Both business enterprise and investment in machine are found to be remarkable in the case of households with holdings from 10 to 16 acres. Investment in machine is also appreciable in the case of households with holdings above 25 acres.

Data relating to sources of finance for investment are presented in Tables 10-14.

TABLE X
Sources of Finance :
Holding class 0-5 acres

Sources	Amount Rs.	Percentage to total
Self	1,58,480	72.4
Mahajan	52,997	24.0
Co-operative Society	4,707	1.6
Commercial Bank	—	—
Government	7,134	2.0
Total	2,23,318	100.0

TABLE XI
Sources of Finance :
Holding class 5-10 acres

Sources	Amount Rs.	Percentage to total
Self	84,190	80.0
Mahajan	11,140	11.0
Co-operative Society	2,055	2.0
Commercial Bank	500	0.5
Government	3,150	6.5
Total	1,01,035	100.0

TABLE XII
Sources of Finance :
Holding class 10-16 acres

Sources	Amount Rs.	Percentage to total
Self	23,610	92.0
Mahajan	1,608	6.0
Co-operative Society	—	—
Commercial Bank	400	0.5
Government	775	1.5
Total	26,393	100.0

TABLE XIII
Sources of Finance :
Holding class 16-25 acres

Sources	Amount Rs.	Percentage to total
Self	37,040	76.0
Mahajan	10,360	21.0
Co-operative Society	330	0.6
Commercial Bank	—	—
Government	1,200	2.4
Total	48,930	100.0

TABLE XIV
Sources of Finance :
Holding class above 25 acres

Sources	Amount Rs.	Percentage to total
Self	106,915	84.4
Mahajan	17,200	13.0
Co-operative Society	3,600	2.0
Commercial Bank	1,000	0.8
Government	180	0.2
Total	1,28,895	100.0

The above Tables indicate that self-financing plays the most important part in rural investments. The second largest source of finance is the village Mahajans. The part played by co-operative or Government or commercial financing is still insignificant. Possibly the

importance of self-financing has been largely due to the inflationary increase in agricultural income. This is to some extent corroborated by data relating to purchase and sale of assets presented in Table 15.

Holding class (Acres)	Asset purchased (1944-54)	Asset sold (1944-54)
0-5	93,458	1,05,073
5-10	27,830	9,419
10-16	39,600	9,800
16-25	40,850	24,200
Above 25	34,900	23,750

In almost all the cases except in the case of 0-5 acres class value of asset purchased has exceeded value of asset sold. The period in which this has occurred is a period of rising agricultural prices. In fact it was the agriculturists who were most adversely affected by the Great Depression, while the inflation of 1943-50 appears on the whole to have been helpful in expanding agricultural production and improving the economic condition of the agriculturists. The role of price-factor in agricultural planning is too important to be ignored in any case. A guarantee of fair agricultural prices alone would go a long way towards the achievement of agricultural progress in this country.

PROFESSOR MAHALANOBI'S PLAN

There is a great deal of sense in Professor P. C. Mahalanobis's Plan where he emphasizes the need for expansion of handicraft and household industries for liquidating unemployment and provides a sum of Rs. 200 crores for the purpose. The plan naturally requires a freezing of the production of big industries at the present level. Another valuable point in the Plan is its stress on the expansion of heavy industries and investment output synchronized with the expansion of consumption-output. Investment-output is extremely helpful in generating purchasing power to demand and support the production of additional consumer goods—both resulting in a higher level of employment and social income.

The Committee of Direction for the All-India Rural Credit Survey (1954) has attached great importance to the need of combining rural-minded credit with rural-minded development of agriculture and rural-minded organization of marketing, processing, etc. In addition to this it is also necessary to integrate the programme of rural credit and that for capital construction in rural areas.

A very liberal public expenditure on the construction of inter-village roads, tank-improvement, small irrigation and construction of houses will go a long way towards the creation of finance for rural consumption and private productive investment, provided suitable organizations are built for the purpose. This will solve the problem of under-employment in rural areas. The rural prosperity in its turn will create fresh demand for urban products and lead to expansion of employment in the urban areas.

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES FOR THE MIDDLE CLASS IN THE SECOND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

With Special Reference to West Bengal

By R. N. BOSE, I.A.S.

THOUGH full employment is our national policy and though Government stands committed to attempt to solve the nation's unemployment problem by the end of the third five-year Plan by an investment expenditure at the rate of Rs. 1,000 crores per annum with effect from 1956, it is increasingly becoming clear that during the Second Five-Year Plan only a high and steady level of employment will be aimed at. It is important, therefore, that sufficient stress be laid on an aspect of this problem which has been so long and so insidiously with us that being used to it we are often apt to overlook its potentialities for danger.

Particularly after the first world war, this middle-class unemployment became rather acute and then many States set up Committees to look into the nature and extent of this problem. The reports of all these Committees showed that this was not a localised malaise but a chronic disease of an all-India character. It was further noted that

"As it affected the nation's intelligent manhood, it produced a general demoralisation which was cumulative in its effect and finally it struck at the very root of ordered progress inasmuch as the victims of this evil could not help nursing a strong sense of personal injury against a state of affairs for which they were themselves not responsible."

Until the second world war, there were long periods of trade depression with acute middle-class unemployment and only during the peak war years, under the stress of vast public expenditure, the educated youths had better employment opportunities. When the end of the war came, slowly the conditions worsened and the survey of unemployment in West Bengal, 1953 reveals that in the middle class, the Bengalee males constituted 91.5 per cent of the total unemployed while in the Bengalee working classes they constituted 48.3% of the Bengalee working classes. It has also been revealed in the same report that in the Bengalee middle classes the percentage of unemployed matriculates to the total unemployed is 44%. In the city of Calcutta alone, out of a total population of 25,69,700, 17,77,200, are in the employable group. Of them, 8,58,800 are fully employed and of them only 4,34,600 are Bengalees. Of the total unemployed numbering 2,57,300, 1,85,300 are Bengalees and of these 1,28,200 come from the middle class. In the countryside the unemployment problem for Bengalee middle class is more acute and it would not perhaps be wrong to say that 75% of employable youths of middle-class families is unemployed.

Once it was held that this problem of middle-class unemployment was mainly one of education which was inefficient and cheap. Universities had been turning graduates of all descriptions on mass production lines and so middle-class youths who by tradition and temperament preferred salaried employment and occupations in distributive trades and services to more productive work suffered from this heavy incidence of unemployment.

Attempts have been made in reorganising educational system and to curb the tendency to mass production and there has been a stiffening of standards and of competitive tests. There has also been an improvement to a certain extent in the general outlook of our youths who instead of looking down upon manual work are now eager to acquire training for livelihood but unfortunately the problem of middle-class unemployment remains unsolved and in fact middle-class unemployment of all grades and shades has become more acute of late. It is now becoming clear that even our engineers and technicians are unable to find suitable jobs. On September 11, 1953, in his interview with the special correspondent of the *Eastern Economist*, Mr. T. T. Krishnamachari, Minister in charge of Commerce and Industries, Government of India, forcefully posed this problem when he said :

"We are starting new engineering institutions for training young men. After the war, Government sent up hundreds of people abroad for specialised training in the hope that they would be absorbed by increased industrialisation but the pace of industrialisation in the country has perhaps absorbed a third of the products of these institutions, leaving very nearly 2/3rd unemployed. One finds at least one technically trained man unemployed in every alternate or third urban middle-class family."

Thus, unemployment is the reflex of our economic backwardness and according to many, further industrial development can perhaps offer a partial solution, firstly, by starting of new industries stimulating a demand for educated men possessing technical and professional qualifications; secondly, by promoting small-scale and cottage industries which can be linked with large-scale factories where middle-class youths can be self-employed, and finally, by opening up opportunities of employment as traders and middlemen in the distributive trades.

The paradox of increasing production and growing unemployment among the middle class in recent years has led many to question whether in our present-day conditions which differ fundamentally from those that

obtain in the industrially advanced West, it will be possible at all to have the full employment policies developed by the Keynesians directly aiming at the full employment of capital and only incidentally leading to fuller employment of labour. Such policies, according to competent critics, are wholly inapplicable to a country whose root problem is lack of capital and where population is increasing in such a way that in India there will be demand for 10 million extra jobs in five years when population will increase by about 25 millions. It has been roughly computed that in West Bengal alone, after the second five-year plan another quarter million middle-class educated and trained youths will be employable and an investment of 250 crores or more would be required for finding jobs for this group only. So some economists point out diffidently that increase in total employment expected in the Second Plan will be exhausted by the extra needs and shortage of capital, widespread poverty leading to restricted demand in the home market and a large labour surplus will cripple all effort, for employment in an under-developed and over-populated country.

The mitigating suggestion is for multilateral expansion of industries into rural community for mutual exchange. It is pointed out that

"There should be a complete change in our orientation to small-scale undertakings if we realise these facts." . . . "We shall use our large-scale industry as a feeder to small-scale enterprises instead of the other way about" . . . "Trade and tariff measures, transport and communications, currency and credit movements would be all designed with the central purpose of nourishing small-scale industry."

Some competent authorities have also suggested that

"Handicrafts and household industries where self-employed householder's work should be encouraged by freezing if necessary of production of certain industries competing with these handicraft and household industries. Their advice is to concentrate our limited resources of foreign exchange and essential materials on the setting up and expansion of heavy industries and economic overheads; while providing more employment opportunities for those who are already engaged in the small-scale and cottage industries and trying to find employment for the new additions that are being made to the labour force every year."

The fact remains, however, that these handicrafts and hand industries are technically inferior and cannot obviously face, unaided, the competition of factory industries. At the same time, the needs of development with its accent on increased productivity cannot be reconciled with the continuance of the present inferior technical level of the existing hand trades.

It is, therefore, necessary to have in the next Five-Year Plan a common production programme that will provide a secure market for the products of these industries and at the same time provide for gradual improvement of techniques and skills among the workers.

This may also help in bringing equilibrium in

relation between small-scale and large-scale industries in the field of consumption goods. There are conflicting views on this subject and while every attempt should be made to bring about the fullest possible utilisation of existing capacity in the factory-consumption goods-industry, it may not be wise for the second plan period at any rate to have any significant increase in their installed capacity.

It is exactly here that the chance for survival comes in for the middle-class youths with training and education. It is not perhaps too much to hope that small and medium enterprises employing less than 20 workers will function as links in the chain of national economy as in Japan. It may even be necessary for Government to sponsor some small and medium sized industries where self-employed middle-class youths acquire business training and where they are ultimately given ownership or partnership. This is becoming more necessary as the employment exchanges which could find employment for about 500 in a month in the past year in the city of Calcutta on an average is now able to find employment for only about 200 at the most as practically all the commercial and mercantile firms have either stopped recruitment or avoided recruitment through these exchanges. It is doubtful if the unemployed youths of the middle class can afford to wait patiently till the tempo of development rises and an effective population policy ensures a sizeable population. The reorientation of the educational system will also take time. Accelerated economic progress is necessary. This may be only possible if technically trained youths be organised and the industrial potential of the units so organised be taken in hand by the State till they are able to pay their own way. When these enterprises are managed properly by these trainees, gradually Government's responsibility may be withdrawn. Some employment for the middle class can also be secured by utilising the capacity of all big factory industries to the full. This will not be possible, however, unless the temptation to make the technical and supervisory staff work long hours be resisted. Some form of collective guidance of industry is essential in this connection as it is found that in many cases the managements are apt to by-pass the limitations of work set in the Factory Act under cover of Section 64 and the rules which provide for some exemptions. It should be noted by enlightened businessmen that overtime work does not always mean increase in production. Often overtime means increase in hours of work rather than productivity. In all advanced countries, matters affecting overtime have become increasingly improved and the demand is that the working of overtime should be voluntary. There is a persistent overtime resulting from shortage of supervisory staff in most of the important Indian industries and this should be rectified by employment of more staff. In any case, the extent of overtime now being worked by technicians in many factories is not at all a healthy feature of our industrial life. Moreover, it tends to shut

out many fully trained men who might have otherwise had employment opportunities.

A unified development scheme is necessary, however, in addition to creation of an adequate volume of aggregate demand for technical, clerical and supervisory personnel. Large expansion of public works with adequate total outlay in the promotion of health, education, housing and social services will be necessary. On a rough estimate, it is calculated that provision of social services by public authorities as well as private investments would involve a total outlay of about 1500 crores over the plan period, that is to say about 300 crores annually. It is not optimistic to hope that 10% of this outlay will filter down to the middle-class employees who act in a supervisory capacity.

Economics of our unused resources should also be tapped. Stimulation of foreign demand for export goods will be also necessary and this will in its turn require standardisation and quality control. These are essentially spheres for educated and trained men. The immediate employment target for the whole country in the Second Five-Year Plan must be the absorption of about 10 million workers of whom one million at least will be from the middle class. Considering that in addition some at least of the existing under-employed will have to be given fuller employment, employment target of the plan has to be higher. Agricultural and cottage industries together account for about 75 per cent of the working forces and carry a large amount of excess man-power. There is, therefore, little hope of any substantial absorption of the new increase in labour force in these lines.

Moreover, it should be our aim to withdraw from agriculture progressively increasing numbers into other occupations so as to relieve congestion in agriculture and improve the average productivity. Another important point to note is that employment in factory establishments which was 29.7 lakhs in 1950-51 is expected to increase by about 13 lakhs thus making a total industrial employment of 42 lakhs by 1960-61. Correspondingly, this will not create jobs for more than 3 lakhs in the factories for those who are in supervisory, clerical and other similar posts providing employment opportunities for the middle class.

New opportunities of the order of 10 or 12 million jobs will have to be created on the base of the labour force employed in the secondary and tertiary sectors. The plan has to provide for substantial investment in heavy industry where relatively greater emphasis will be necessary. In fact, nearly 65 per cent of the total investment in industries is scheduled to be in heavy industries which will augment capital bias of our country and provide fairly adequate opportunities of employment for technicians and trained personnel. Similarly during the course of the next five years heavy investment will

be necessary in the field of machinery manufacturing and this will open up employment also to our educated middle class as also will be the ancillary industries in metallurgical, mechanical and electrical engineering. In addition to providing direct employment these additional employments will be of the order of a little over 10 million in five years and a fair percentage may go to the middle class if effective steps are taken for training and recruitment in time. It has been said that for every additional person employed in manufacturing industries there are at least seven others employed in smaller enterprises, railways, communications, banking, insurance, other commerce and transport, profession and liberal arts and these are pre-eminently the avenues of middle-class employment. Thus it has been even contended that rationalization in other countries has been found to develop employment opportunities and each technical advancement designed to reduce man-power has been followed by an expansion of industry which results in increased production and employment. As an eminent industrialist has pointed out :

"Jobs in horse and carriage business replaced by automobile industry in making, selling and servicing cars ultimately create more employment opportunities and the trend is for employment at a higher level following mass car production by Ford and others providing machines, power, fuel, oil, metals, rubber and road building."

This theme has been further developed by the Employers' Association of Calcutta in a pamphlet, *How Large-scale Industries Help Indian Economy*. This has not, however, shown specifically the percentage of trained personnel absorbed.

The tree is lost in the wood and so the unemployed among the middle class may be lost in the crowd of Indians unemployed but there is just this danger that in the struggle for survival the middle class which is lacking the privileges of haves and the class-conscious collective approach of the have-nots may go under. Though middle-class employment may not be a forgotten factor in our social planning yet it is open to question whether sufficient attention has been given to its many aspects. It may be doubted whether our planning should isolate any class and whether it would be in public interest to set up the claims of any section of the society but as employment opportunities are vital to the survival of the middle class especially in West Bengal where they are not participants in the distributive trade and business, it is necessary to focus attention on this problem. Surely, our social planning should safeguard the least class-conscious and therefore in some ways the most socially progressive section of our society which may not be vocal like big business interest and trade union federations but which face nonetheless the challenge of changing times.

THE HINDU MARRIAGE ACT—1955

BY MRS. SUSHAMA SEN, M.P.

AFTER ~~the~~ independence of India, amongst the many objectives and directives for the progress of the country the Indian Constitution promulgated equal rights for man and woman. The Hindu Law did not allow equal rights to both sexes, and it was obviously necessary to alter the one-sided provision as regards marriage and its indissoluble character for women. No country can go forward without the same rights and privileges for man and woman.

As a mark of the awokened conscience of Free India, and as the first step of Social Reform, it will be remembered that the Special Marriage Act, 1954, was passed by the Parliament in September last. It is a permissive measure, yet some dissentient voices were raised during its discussions to the effect that Hindu society was being jeopardised by this measure. So one wonders what an amount of opposition there must have been in the eighties of the last century. When the Special Marriage Act of 1872 was initiated by the social and religious reformer Shri Keshub Chunder Sen when the orthodox sentiments were stronger than now. It was passed in the teeth of opposition in the legislature. It laid down monogamy, restraint on child marriage, and permitted inter-caste, inter-religious marriage. Registration of marriages was introduced, so it has been called the Civil Marriage. That it was only a secular form of marriage, is a wrong notion, for together with the registration, there was laid down an elaborate religious ceremony, with the sanctity of vows taken by the parties to the marriage. Keshub himself was a believer in the sacredness and indissolubility of marriage tie. But the British Government then in power, had to insert the Divorce clause, as a corollary to the rights of marriage, according to the Indian Divorce Act. Thus the divorce system has existed for these 82 years for those married under the Special Marriage Act III of 1872, but the society as a whole adheres to the old Hindu ideals of sacrament of marriage, and save in exceptional cases of hardship and unhappiness, the cases of divorce in this society—the Brahmo Samaj, have been few and far between. Time has shown that the 'Civil Marriage' as it was called had benefited many, even those outside the Brahmo Samaj, and it had no demoralising effect on those families which married under it, because of the provision of divorce.

(1) The Special Marriage Act, 1954, has been made wider than the Parent Act. It will now apply to all Indian citizens, and a new clause of divorce by

mutual consent is added to the new act. The Special Marriage Act III has now been repealed and Special Marriage Act, 1954, has come into force from January 1st, 1955.

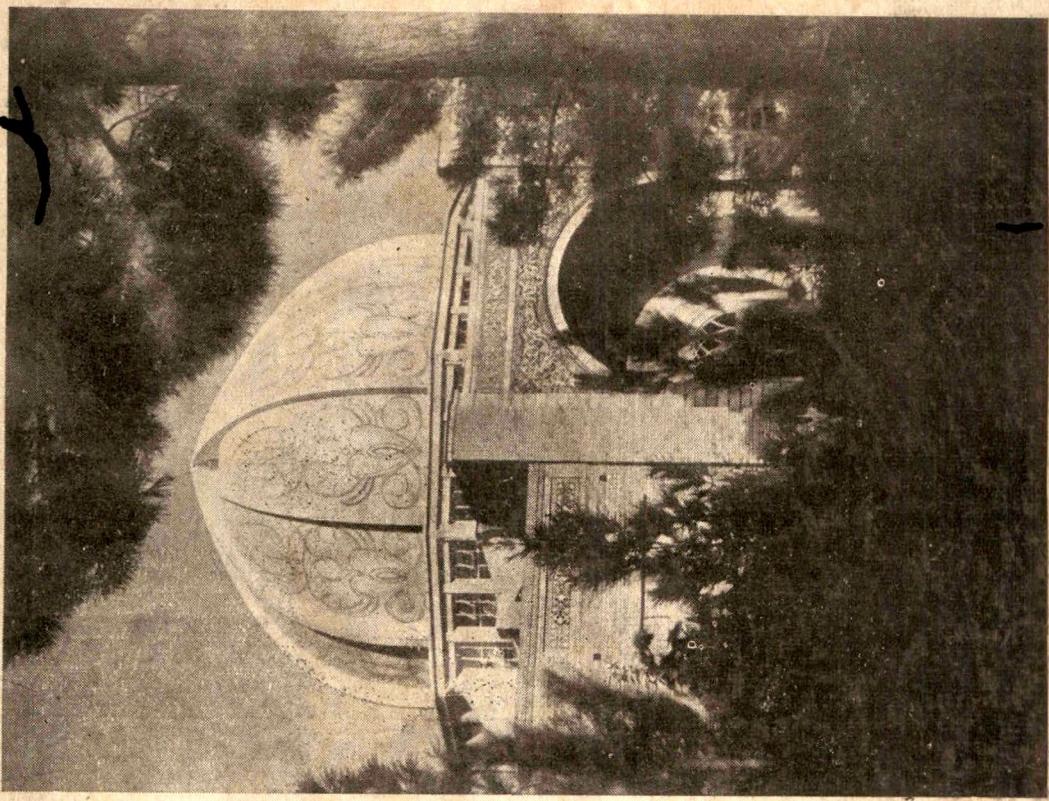
(2) Some other marriage laws containing provision of divorce were enacted during the British regime in India for different communities such as, the domiciled Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Indian Christians and Parsees. The Malabar Act of 1896 provided a clause of divorce by mutual consent. The Muslims are governed by the personal law, which permits divorce. There are vast tracts of Indian territory, who are governed by their customary laws and divorce is recognised by them. Altogether there is about 80 per cent of the Indian population who have divorce in their marriage laws, and compared to the vast millions of India's population cases have been negligible. So the argument that a provision for divorce either induces the couples to divorce each other or that it demoralises society is devoid of all force against the facts of history.

The next step of Social Uniformity in Free India, and a most important one, as it effects the whole of the Hindu community, was the Hindu Marriage Bill recently passed during the last session of Parliament. It has now had the assent of the President of India Union, and is an Act. The main questions involved in it are:

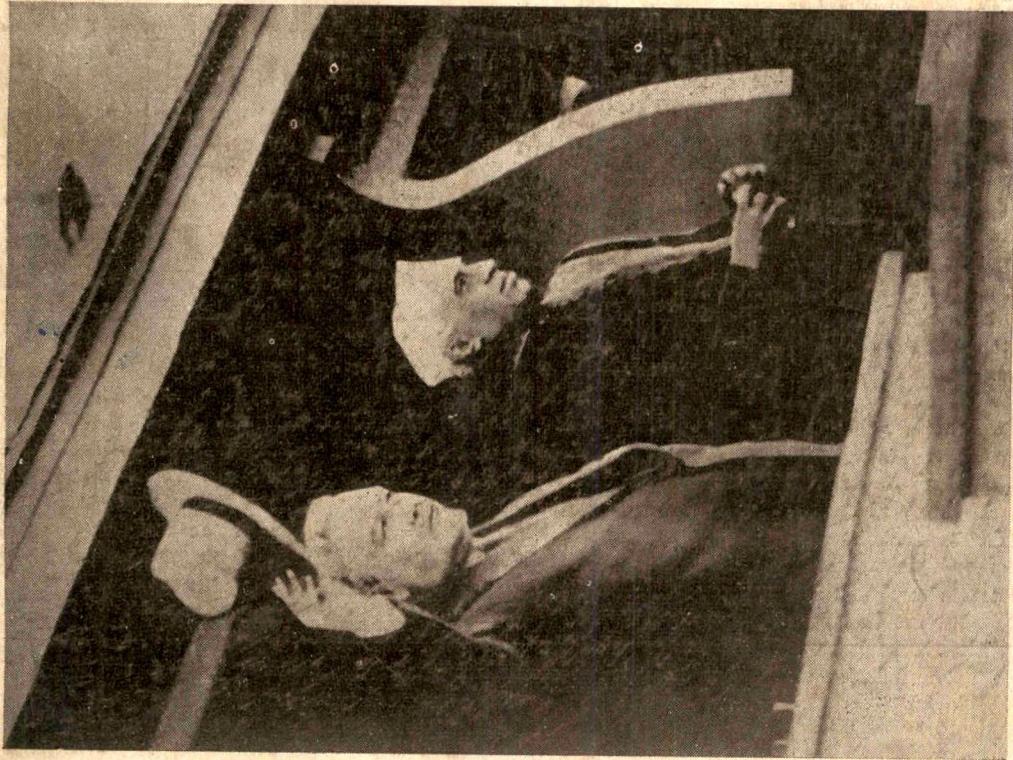
- (1) The abolition of caste as a necessary requirement of a valid marriage;
- (2) Enforcement of monogamy;
- (3) Divorce or dissolution of marriage on certain grounds;
- (4) Restraint of child marriage.

There is also to be registration of Hindu marriages.

The Hindu Marriage Bill is not an absolutely new or an abrupt piece of legislation, it has, on the contrary, gone through a long, tardy and laborious process of deliberations. It has been pending since 1939, and it has been mooted with necessary changes now and then in the Central Legislature for about 13 years. There have been Hindu Law Committees, and eminent lawyers and jurists have deliberated on this question. The Rau Committee was appointed to go thoroughly into the subject. The eminent jurist Shri B. N. Rau was its Chairman. The Rau Committee toured through the length and breadth of India, and recorded evidence from distinguished personalities of the country belonging to all shades



Bahai Centre, Teheran, Iran
(Recently occupied and demolished by Iranian troops)



Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru addressed a largely attended meeting of the Soviet citizens at the Dynamo Stadium in Moscow.
Marshal Bulganin is seen with Sri Nehru
Tass Radio Photo



Fig. 1. Aerial journey of the sun-god Surya

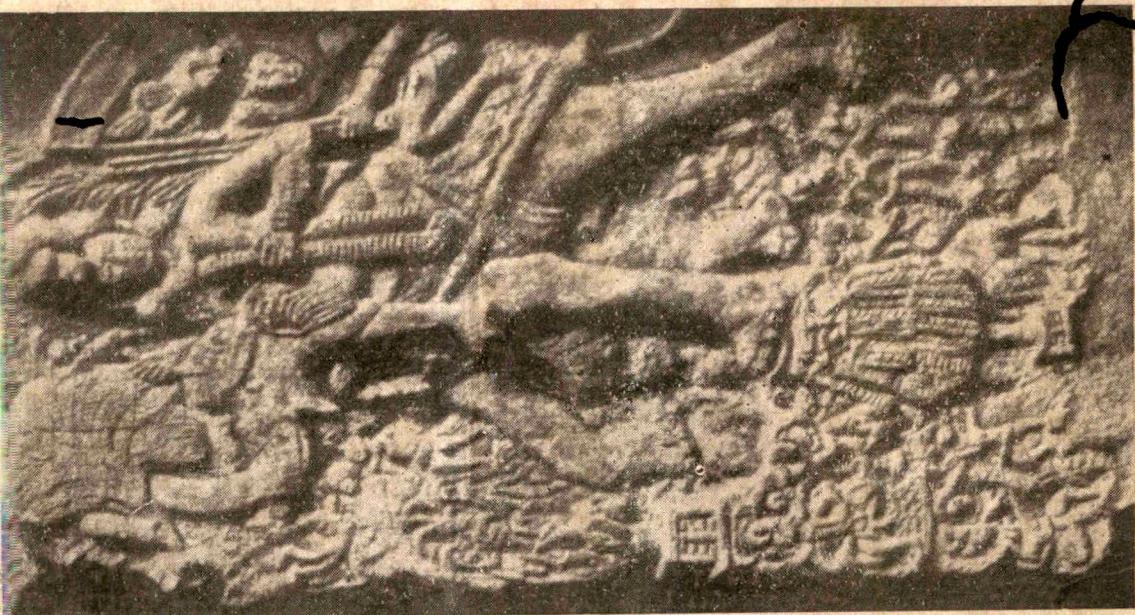


Fig. 2. Indra riding on his elephant Airavata

of opinion. There were conflicting views on the matter of codification of Hindu law. On the one side some leading men like the late Srinivas Shastri said that the codification and uniformity of Hindu Law throughout was possible and desirable. He said:

"I was astounded at some sensible people's objection to monogamy. I thought the pride of Hinduism was that although polygamy was permitted in theory, it was monogamy which was actually practised. It is, therefore, surprising that when monogamy was sought to be enacted as a rule of law, hands should be raised in horror."

On the other hand, Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, the staunch nationalist leader, said that codification was not desirable nor possible. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru gave his opinion in favour of Hindu Code. Sir N. N. Sircar whileavouring the Code, added that it was subject to the majority of Hindus supporting it. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, President of the All-India Hindu Maha Sabha, was definitely against codification.

On the vexed and thorny problem of divorce which was incorporated in the Hindu Marriage Bill, the Rau Committee observes as follows:

"It is clear that texts of Narada, Parasara, and Debala permit divorce in certain circumstances. We are unable to accept the view that these texts refer only to cases of betrothal (*vagdana*) and not to cases of completed legal marriage or *kanyadana*. Nor can we endorse the view that the texts apply to unapproved marriages or to *niyoga* connections. Orthodox opinion considers that the texts are Moiddha Acharya in the present age (*Kaliyuga*), but this seems to us only another way of saying that divorce is not now prevalent among the higher castes. There are, however, Hindu communities, particularly in the lower strata in which divorce does prevail even now as a custom except amongst the higher castes. A witness from Orissa said that in his province divorce prevails by custom except amongst the higher castes. Another witness from Bihar said that of a total Hindu population of 32.2 millions in that province, only 4 millions belonged to the higher castes and that the marriage sat rather loose on the 28.2 millions and that there was a valid custom of divorce amongst the lower strata. Although therefore, a Hindu marriage is in theory a sacrament, in practice it is even now regarded amongst large sections of communities as dissoluble. The statement that divorce is an idea which is absolutely foreign to the Hindu Law cannot be accepted as correct."

We find from the exhaustive report of the Rau Committee on Hindu Law, 1947, that one of the objections of the opponents of codification was that any change in the fundamentals of Hindu Law cannot be determined by the Central Legislature, which is not of a representative character, as there had been no election for a number of years (on account of the

Great World War II) and that the then Central Legislature was not competent to make law for the whole of India. This objection cannot hold good now as the present Legislature—the Lok Sabha, is a truly and properly elected representative body. The Bill had been sent for circulation for eliciting public opinion from the best brains of the country, and the opinions received, showed that a large measure of public opinion received was in favour of the main provisions of the Bill. After a full discussion in both the Houses, it was sent to a Joint Select Committee, and the Bill underwent some changes. It was then passed by the Rajya Sabha, and after a critical deliberation, finally passed by the Lok Sabha, practically unanimously, with only one lone voice of "No."

During the passage of the Bill, the opposition to the proposed measure came from the Hindu Mah Sabha members, and one member of the Ram Raj Parishad. Their objections were that Hindu Shastras and Smritis were being infringed, although they admit that "there have been some minor changes in some places due to traditions, customs and usages." In the present Hindu Marriage Bill, they did not object to monogamy and said that no one was ostracised for inter-caste marriage, and that no one takes such marriages as immoral. Few quoted Shastras to justify polygamy. There is general agreement amongst all sections of the people, that although polygamy is on its last legs, yet it is time now when there should be express prohibition against polygamy. Regarding divorce, Shri N. C. Chatterjee, President of the All-India Hindu Maha Sabha, and some others, put in strong objections on the ground that it will destroy the sacramental character of Hindu marriage. The Prime Minister, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, significantly posed the question:

"Is it sacrament to tie up people to bite and hate each other?" He, however, conceded that "not only marriage, but all forms of human relationship should have an element of sacrament, more so, in the case of the intimate relationship of husband and wife."

He said:

"Manu and Yagnavalkya were great men in the history of India. They had shaped the destiny of the country in their time. But was it right to bring in Manu and Yagnavalkya to bear witness as to what should be done in the present day?"

Hindu Law is dynamic. It is broad and progressive enough to take into its fold every caste and all communities. It is not static; it has changed, and changes have taken place from time to time to suit conditions of the society and country. For instance, Hindu Law must have changed a great deal during the time of Manu, and the laws must have been altered. It is a well-known fact that in Ancient India women occupied a high place. She had co-ordinate

authority with man in religious, domestic and social spheres of life. She had the right to choose her husband—*swyambaram*. But as time went on numerous circumstances, internal as well as external, conspired to deprive woman of the high position she enjoyed, and she gradually came to be regarded as a mere chattel. Thus the mal-practice of child marriage, *purdah*, female infanticide, *suttee*, plurality of marriages, etc., came into vogue.

The following quotation from Manu will prove the idea of superiority of man over woman. Would anyone agree with those sentiments in these days? Manu says:

"For a woman, the only vow, the only *dharma*, the only worship of God is to serve her husband obediently, whether he is impotent, poverty-stricken, diseased, old or badly placed, the wife must never leave her husband. His happiness is her happiness, his sorrow is her sorrow. A chaste woman always feels this way, whether in prosperity or affliction. A woman desirous of holy bath in pilgrimage, should drink the water in which her husband's feet are washed, because for her, her husband is a god, her Guru, and preceptor, her *dharma*, her pilgrimage, her avowed austerity, so she must worship her husband leaving behind everything."

In an article written recently by Acharya J. B. Kripalani on the Hindu Marriage Bill appearing in the *Hindusthan Standard*, regarding the Shastras, he says:

"It is true that Shastric injunctions are conflicting and anything can be proved or disproved on their basis by learned Pandits. A large section of Hindu Law therefore is based upon immemorial custom. It is through this that Hindu society as any other functioning society, has achieved some kind of equilibrium."

He sums up by saying:

"If, therefore, there is to be the right of divorce, let it be for the time being confined to women only. I am sure the Hindu menfolk will not object to this advantage to be given to their womenfolk as long as women are economically and educationally backward, and the State provides no security."

I wonder how many men or women would agree with his views! Women, as far as I know, would prefer no concessions, as they showed their spirit of courage and conviction during the last General Elections. They did not want reserved seats, and fought without any concessions with the men. The results for the first time, was quite satisfactory. During the Freedom movement also the Indian women showed their worth by going to prison along with the men, and they did not want any preferential treatment. But now all what they want is equal status with men, and the Indian Constitution has given her this right. Man occupied an advantageous position

during the past centuries, and it is time now that the Hindu law was changed. Under it polygamy was permitted and while the husband had the right to divorce the wife, the law permitted no suitable relief to the discarded wife.

The Law Minister, Shri Pataskar who ably piloted the Hindu Marriage Bill in Parliament strongly defended the rights of women. He said:

"First of all, I want to make it clear that this is a measure of social importance, we recognise it, conceived in a spirit of doing good to the country and to every section of it, in this case, the section of women, because men have been all along enjoying in such matters disproportionate rights as compared to women. We cannot in the name of preserving the sanctity of any ancient culture try to treat them in a different way in the present times and conditions of our country. To try to do so will be an anti-social act. And I would appeal to those who are trying to keep up to their privileges in the name of the so-called religion, to think of the consequences which would follow, if women who form half the population of our country, in whom this sovereignty rests according to our Constitution, were denied these privileges and kept out of them."

Shri Pataskar also confirmed by saying:

"Divorce was the target of some of those who opposed the Bill. But it is to be remembered that 80 per cent of the Hindus in the country had the customary right of divorce at present in some form or other. It is only of the so-called 20 per cent upper class of the vast population of millions of Indian people who have not the right of divorce."

The Prime Minister paid a high tribute to the womanhood of today. He said:

"I am proud of their sense of grace, charm, shyness, modesty and intelligence and their spirit of sacrifice. I think that if India can truly be represented, it can be represented by the women of India and not the men, while he could not say that every man who had represented India abroad had brought credit to the country, he could say that every woman who had been sent abroad had brought credit to the country. It was true that fewer women had been sent than men, but still everyone had the greatest admiration for India's womanhood, not merely the ancient ideals but the women of today. I have faith in them and in the solid foundation of their character. I am therefore not afraid to allow them to go forward. I am convinced that no legal restraint can prevent society in a certain direction today. If you put too much legal restraint, it does not bend but it breaks."

Shri Nehru referred to the oft-repeated references which were made in Parliament to the high ideals of Indian womanhood—Sita and Savitri. He said:

"Everyone admired these ideals of Indian womanhood and looked on them with reverence and affection. But were these ideals only for women? Why not for men also? I do not seem to

remember any reference to the ideal of Ram and Satyaban."

The Indian woman has from time immemorial earned for herself the reputation of ideal daughter, wife and mother through her inherent self-sacrificing spirit. She holds fast to the sanctity of matrimony. The idea of divorce would be more repulsive to her than to the man. Women as a matter of fact, in every part of the world, are too fond of their homes and their children—even in the Western countries, where I have had opportunities of mixing and knowing some of them; and I have formed great admiration for them. But no woman would ever think of breaking up her home unless forced by circumstances, when there is no hope of happiness due to estrangement between husband and wife, and in some cases where it is unsafe to be under the same roof. There are proofs of so many cases, where separation would prove a blessing for both parties for the fault of either the husband, or in some cases the wife also. There are of course exceptions, and good and bad man and woman can be found in every society. The right of divorce therefore is provided only in exceptional cases where the aggrieved party is without any other remedy. No woman, I can say safely, would ever face a divorce suit in the court, except as a last resort, because apart from sentiment of the sanctity of the home, it is repugnant for anyone to legally proving the grounds of divorce, and of the expense involved in litigation.

Clause 13 of the Bill laid down the grounds of divorce, and on commencement of the Act, marriage may, on petition presented to the District Court by either the husband or the wife, be dissolved by a decree of divorce, and certain grounds are:

- (i) He or she is leading an adulterous life,
- (ii) Has ceased to be a Hindu by conversion to another religion.
- (iii) (iv) and (v) deal with incurability of unsound mind, or leprosy, tuberculosis and venereal disease in a communicable form, etc.

When we are introducing the system of divorce in the Hindu society, to my mind immediate relief is necessary on grounds of (i) cruelty both mental and physical, and desertion of over one year. We know of so many hard cases on the above grounds. On the other hand, I am against divorce sub-clauses (iii) and (iv) dealing with divorce on grounds of disease and illness, except for venereal disease in a communicable form. With the advance of medical science almost all diseases including mental maladies, leprosy, tuberculosis are now curable. If the husband or the wife is afflicted with any such illness, is it not the bounden duty of either spouse to look after and arrange for treatment, instead of going in for a suit of divorce? It is one of the sacred duties to be by the side of the afflicted partner. Vows are taken at the time of marriage to

this effect. This idea of divorce certainly goes against the sentiments of an Indian wife, for she is prepared for every sacrifice and devotion to the husband, a loving husband too would not discard his wife if she unfortunately falls prey to any illness. I have known of mental abberation of a wife, who, after a period of 12 years got absolutely well and bore normal healthy children, only because she had a good husband who looked after and arranged for proper treatment.

In the controversy and heat engendered by the provision for 'divorce' in the Bill, some salutary and very important provisions of the new Hindu Marriage Act failed to secure the attention of the public. Under this category comes the provision for relief for pre-Act deserted wives, and legitimacy of children. The latter subject is of first rate political importance for the nation. The future of the nation always lies in its children. A nation is doomed if its children are neglected and uncared for. The new Act has taken children under its sheltering wings, and made provision for their status, maintenance and inheritance. This care of children did not exist under the old social order. The new Act lays down in Clause 16 (Legitimacy of children of void and voidable marriages):

Where a decree of nullity is granted in respect of any marriage under Sections 11 and 12, any child begotten or conceived before the decree is made who would have been the legitimate child of the parties to the marriage if it had been dissolved instead of having been declared null and void or annulled by a decree of nullity shall be deemed to be their legitimate children notwithstanding the decree of nullity.

Re Pre-Act marriages, the new law lays down that a marriage shall be null and void, if on a petition presented by either party thereto be so declared by a decree of nullity if (a) a former husband or wife of either party was living at the time of such marriage or (b) the parties at the time of such marriage were within the degrees of prohibited relationship.

The ages of the bride and bridegroom have been fixed at fifteen for the bride and eighteen for the bridegroom. This is in conformity with the Child Marriage Restraint Act of 1929. Therefore the consent of the parent and guardian remains, in giving their consent to marriage as far as the bride is concerned.

No new enactment can be perfect, it is only time and experience that can make it perfect. Clause 9 of the Bill—Restitution of Conjugal Right, came in for strong criticisms from all parts of the House. It was described as "monstrous and barbarous." This seems a serious shortcomings of the Bill. The idea that one of the parties to the marriage being unwilling to live with the other should be forced to do so by the decision of the court is preposterous. It is indeed inhuman and immoral to compel two people

to live as husband and wife when one or both find it impossible to do so. The reason given for including this Clause in the Marriage Act, is that it is in the Civil Procedure Code. But this seems hardly a justification for putting it in this Act. During the discussions of the Special Marriage Act also this clause was greatly resented to specially by almost all the women members. The old Special Marriage Act II of 1872 did not have such a provision, and there was no inconvenience on account of it. In the fitness of the progressive idea of the Hindu Marriage Act this clause should be deleted, as we feel it would do no good.

The other clause which came in for protest from a great many members in the Lok Sabha was Clause 24 of the Bill—Maintenance Pendente lite, and expenses of proceedings. It says:

"Where in any proceeding under this Act, it appears to the Court that either the wife or the husband, as the case may be, has no independent income sufficient for his or her support and the necessary expenses of the proceeding, it may, on the application of the wife or the husband, order the respondent to pay to the petitioner the expenses of the proceeding, which may seem to the court to be reasonable."

It is a fact that women still suffer from economic dependence. Before giving her the full right of inheritance in equality with men it seems quite premature to enact a provision as above. It is a novel innovation in the field of legislation. Legislation is a part of social science, and this provision in actual working will lead to no end of hardship and even wickedness. It is inconsistent with this piece of legislation, and it is a retrogressive provision. When several of us objected to this clause, an assurance was given by the Law Minister that it would be amended.

It is rightly anxiously enquired on all hands, as to what would be the effect of these new innovations, such as the 'divorce' on Hindu society. India is a vast country, and comprises in its big sweep a large mass of humanity in all stages of human progress, advancement, culture and civilization. It is difficult to apply one yard stick to such a large mass of humanity. One has to prophesy, or go by results gained from experience. As has been pointed out divorce already exists in the country for 80 per cent of the population, & in reality it was only the 20 per cent of the so-called upper classes for whom the opponents of divorce spoke. The women of this class are now mostly all educated, and they are well able to take care of their own affairs, in fact, some of them are surprisingly intelligent, and they would certainly not misuse the right of divorce. We do not anticipate

that our men, with the social background of our country of which all are proud of, will take any advantage of the divorce provision, as men have had the advantage of divorce all this time, and it is nothing new for them. So it is to be earnestly hoped the new Law is all for the best.

The chief aim is to set our women free from bondage imposed on them by the old system. The new marriage laws should serve as a very effective remedy by abolishing the compulsory and arbitrary marriage system, prohibiting the extraction of money—"dowry," and providing that marriage must be based on the continued complete willingness of the two parties. It further establishes that mutual love and respect are the only ties which should continue to hold a man and woman towards marital relationship. The right of divorce for women on equal terms with men, will come to the realisation of their rights, and women would be in a position to build up happier and healthier homes.

One thing is certain however, that no piece of legislation can make a nation moral or immoral. If the nation is moral in its essence then this measure will afford relief in hard cases. If, on the other hand, the nation is wicked, then it would exploit it for immorality not because of the provision of 'divorce' but because of its inherent inclination to social injustice, as we find sometimes when the nation is power-drunk. We cannot, however, afford to be apathetic or passive in the matter. The carrying out of the new marriage law depends on the consciousness of the masses, and one must proceed to cultivate the consciousness of the masses, and it is necessary to cultivate the conscience of the nation for marital rectitude, marital faithfulness, gentleness and other virtues and bring about the proper social atmosphere for social justice both for man and woman. The new marriage law is like a bottle of medicine, which a healthy person is under no compulsion to take, so a morally healthy couple will not go in for divorce simply because the new marriage law has provided for divorce. It should be borne in mind that the new marriage law is not exclusively concerned with securing divorce to woman. On the contrary, it has cleaned the Augean stables by providing monogamous marriages, by removing barriers of caste, putting a further restraint on child marriage, etc. It may need further amendments to make the Hindu Marriage Act a perfect one, and the Parliament is ever vigilant to do so.

It is a historic social measure carrying within it the germ of great social reformation, and creating a healthy atmosphere for the future generation of our great country.

MO?

THE VELLORE MUTINY

A Reappraisal

By HARIPADO CHAUDHURI

THE discontent that had been brewing against British domination in India found its first mass expression in the Vellore Mutiny of 1806. It was the harbinger of the Great Rebellion of 1857; in fact, it was 1857 in miniature.

1806 AND 1857

Like the Great Rebellion, the Vellore Mutiny had its deep root among the masses of outraged people, but history was evidently on the British side. Due to lack of far-sighted leadership, proper cohesion and organisation, the genuine wrath of the people was misdirected and ended in a fiasco. Here the restoration of Tipu's family was the rallying cry which, in 1857, became the restoration of the Empire with Bahadur Shah, the last Mogul Emperor, as head. In 1857 religious prejudices over the question of cartridge became the bursting point; in Vellore Mutiny the starting point was the 'Turban' issue which, it was alleged, hurt the religious feelings of the Indian soldiers. In both the cases the peasants with the feudal nobles and priests as their leaders fought against the English Company.

But the difference between the two should also be noted. Firstly, the Vellore Mutiny did not spread over the length and breadth of the country as did the Great Rebellion. It looked like an isolated affair and did not overstep the limits of the barracks and enter among the masses of the people to give it a general character. Imperialist historians and administrators too were at great pains to paint it as an isolated event, artificially created by headstrong religious mendicants and other interested persons.

Secondly, and this is the most important point; the Great Rebellion occurred at a time when England had already been transformed into an industrial country; and export of manufactured goods became the dominant feature of English commerce. At the time of Vellore Mutiny this feature was not dominant, nay practically absent, as the industrial revolution, which had just happened, was not yet able to create the requisite transformation in the British economic structure.

Thirdly, the railway and telegraph, the great forces that bound the remotest corners of India closer by linking up the towns and villages, broke down the feudal isolation and subsequently paved the way for the birth of national resurgence, had been completely absent at the time of the Vellore Mutiny.

Keeping in mind these differences and similarities between the two we should proceed to study the Vellore Mutiny of 1806.

By 1806 the English of the East India Company had practically become the paramount power over nearly the whole of India. In the South there was practically none to stand against their aggressive designs. Tipu Sultan

was killed in 1799, his kingdom partitioned and a puppet ruler placed on the throne of new Mysore. His sons and relatives were safely kept imprisoned in the Fort of Vellore. The Nizam of Hyderabad had already become their pliant tool. In the Maratha country "the Peshwa was in abject, and the Bhonsla and Sindhhia, in reluctant, submission." The Carnatic was annexed in 1801, forcing the son of the late Nawab to abdicate.

GROWING DISCONTENT

But side by side with this growing power of the British, the bitterness and hatred, that were nursed against them, were also gradually rearing their heads. The corruption and brutality of the Company's servants, the ravages of armies moving through the country to extend the British power, the frequent raids of armed bandits, the new system of justice and revenue and the general lack of security of life and property added to the distress of the people.

In this connection what Mill wrote about the regime of Tipu Sultan may be mentioned:

"His (*i.e.*, Tipu's) country was, at least during the first and better part of his reign, the best cultivated and his population the most flourishing in India; while under the English and their dependants the population of the Carnatic and Oudh hastening to the state of deserts, was the most wretched upon the face of the earth; and even Bengal itself, under the operation of laws, ill-adapted to the circumstances of the case, was suffering almost all the evils which the worst of governments could inflict."—*History of India*, Vol. VI, p. 150.

In fact, to the people in general the East India Company appeared to be like the devil that "blasted and destroyed everything that came within its pernicious influence." Discontent was widespread.

To this was added the menace of Christian missionaries who in their zeal "to civilise" the "uncivilised natives" were preaching the gospel of their "true religion" and with official support and patronage were riding roughshod over the religious sentiments of the people. The situation became desperate; only a spark was necessary to cause the explosion.

Fakirs and dervishes were active in scattering the seeds of revolt; astrology was called in to predict the downfall of the Christian and the ascendancy of Muslim power.

"These emissaries of revolt," wrote Lord Bentinck, "were not the commissioned agent of any one man or any party. They were self-created by the original cause which led all men to unite under the same banners, and made agents of the most enthusiastic in their several religious prejudices."

NEW MILITARY REGULATIONS

It was at this time that some innovations were introduced in the military regulations with regard to the Indian soldiers. It was ordered that the Indian soldiers were "to appear on parade with their chins

clean-shaved, and the hair on the upper lip cut after the same pattern; they were never to wear on their faces the distinguishing marks of caste or ear-rings, when in uniform." Changes in dress, tending to assimilate the uniform of the Indian army to that of the English, such as wearing of stocks and waist-coats, had already been introduced.

In April 1806 the order regarding the new Turban was notified to the Sepoys. According to this order,

"The Sepoys are to use a new form of turban; it was to be made, as formerly, of broad cloth covering an iron frame, with the exception of cotton tuft, made to resemble a feather and a leather cockade."

Sir John Cradock was then the Commander-in-Chief and Lord William Bentinck, the Governor of Madras. They approved this change and ordered its immediate introduction.

The men were already disturbed over the "shaving order" which they interpreted to mean that their whiskers were to be cut off. Now the new order regarding Turban set the ball rolling; the Sepoys, both Hindus and Muslims, took the new orders as a challenge to their religious custom and tradition. The new Turban became an object of hatred to them as a Christian hat.

EARLY SYMPTOMS OF REVOLT

Early symptoms of disaffection manifested themselves at Vellore and Wallajahbad. On the 6th and 7th May, 1806, the 2nd Battalion 4th Regiment refused to bow down to the new order re: Turban. Their conduct became so disorderly that it verged on being mutinous. Lt.-Col. Darby, Officer-in-Charge, had to take severe measures to force them to submission. Nineteen men were put under arrest, condemned to severe corporal punishment by a court-martial and dismissed from service. Later on, seventeen persons were reprieved and two persons, supposed to be leaders, received nine hundred lashes each.

At Wallajahbad a Subedar was summarily dismissed for "apparent connivance at the disorderly proceedings which had taken place," and three companies of British troops were sent there from Poonamallee.

In both the places apparently the calm was restored; but it was deceitful.

On the 10th July, 1806, when the official despatch containing the assurance of re-establishment of order and discipline at Vellore and other places reached the Government of Madras, the smouldering embers of discontent and disaffection burst out into a flame of mutiny at Vellore.

The Vellore Fort, 87 miles west of Madras, was at this time the prison-house of Tipu Sultan's sons and their families. The whole neighbourhood swarmed with persons sympathetic towards the imprisoned families. No fewer than 3000 Mysoreans, it is said, settled at Vellore and its vicinity and as a result the supporters of Tipu Sultan's Princes in the town and garrison of Vellore were numerically much greater than those of the Government.

THE RISING OF THE 10TH JULY

When the forces of the two opposing sides were thus drawn up, an event took place at Fort Vellore. The wedding festivities of Noorul Nissum Begum (Noorunnissa Begum), a daughter of Tipu Sultan and sister of Prince Muhiuddeen, took place on the night of July 9, 1806. On this day many Mysoreans assembled at the Fort. This event gave a fillip to the insurrectionists and the rising of the Sepoys took place in the early hours of the 10th July.

A sombre atmosphere marked the first hours of the night of Thursday, the 10th July. The wedding festivities had ended, the Princes and their guards had retired to their beds, the British troops and officers were enjoying their dreams of victory, when all on a sudden the booming of guns broke the stillness of the night. The first military insurrection against the British rule started.

Two English Companies were stationed at Vellore. The attack of the insurrectionists was so sudden and simultaneous that the English were taken aback. They were well-armed and advantageously posted, but the intense and fanatic firing of the Indian soldiers forced them to retreat. Col. Fauncourt, Officer-in-Charge of the garrison, hearing the gunshots, came out of his bungalow to ascertain the facts, but he fell almost at the commencement of the affray. The rebels broke into all the British Officers' quarters and murdered every one they found.

The flag of Tipu Sultan bearing "a sun in the centre with green tiger-stripes on a redfield" was hoisted on the garrison flagstaff amidst victorious shouts of "Deen"! "Deen"! The flag, it was alleged, was the property of Prince Moizuddeen, fourth son of Tipu Sultan, who supplied the same to the Sepoys.

The followers of the Princes, it is said, assisted the insurgent Sepoys in getting out the guns, in laying them, in encouraging the Sepoys to kill the English. Princes Moizuddeen and Muhiuddeen presented themselves before the Sepoys and ordered refreshments to be given to them. Prince Moizuddeen, further, was reported to have presented a sword to the son (then in British Service) of Tipu Sultan's Commandant Syed Gaffur and ordered him to take possession of the hill fort of Vellore.

When fighting was going on inside the fort, Prince Moizuddeen and his supporters expected that at least four to five hundred men from the Petah (township at the foot of Vellore Fort) would join, but with the passing of hours it was found that the Sepoys were more and more attracted towards looting than to the lofty ideal which goaded them to this action. The Mixed Enquiry Commission's report on this mutiny runs thus:

"The eagerness with which the Sepoys and men of the Palace (*i.e.*, where the Princes were kept imprisoned) betook themselves to plunder the effects of the Officers, and to escape out of the Fort with their booty, tended in our opinion to weaken the general effect of the insurrection and to prevent,

happily, much of the consequences to have been apprehended."

As a result the Fort did not fall entirely into the possession of the Sepoys ; and when one of the mutineers collecting a band of about three hundred persons, presented himself before Prince Moizuddeen and requested him to lead them, he refused to accompany so small a party ; he was already overcome with utter despair and despondency.

Four hours after the commencement of the mutiny, news reached Col. Gillespie at the Cantonment of Arcot, 16 miles from Vellore. His troops consisted mainly of Britons who were immediately sent to the succour of the besieged. He himself led the 19th Squadron of Dragoons and a party of the 7th Indian Cavalry, and the rest were ordered to follow under Lt.-Col. Kennedy with the guns.

Col. Forbes, commanding the 1st Battalion 1st Regiment, who took refuge in the hill fort of Vellore with a number of loyal Indian troops and about 30 British refugees, was still holding out and the main gateway was still in the possession of the British guards of the 69th Regiment under Sergeant Brodie. "The presence of the guards on the gateway and the cavalry flanking it to the north allowed Col. Gillespie and his party to reach the first gate almost unmolested while the second was opened by some of the 69th who let themselves down with ropes."

The fourth or inner gateway was under the control of the mutineers. Col. Gillespie made an attempt to break it but lost several men. He then decided to wait for the arrival of the guns and when these reached at 10 A.M., the real counter-attack began. Orders were then given to blow open the gate.

After heavy firing the gate yielded and the forces of Col. Gillespie in conjunction with the new arrivals from Arcot launched their offensive. A hand to hand fight ensued which ended in almost complete annihilation of the insurrectionists.

About 350 mutineers fell in the battle and 600 were made prisoners at Vellore and in various other places to which they had fled. Number of deaths of British soldiers amounted to 113 including 14 officers.

MERCILESS REPRESSION

Merciless repression began. The self-styled Civilisers, mad with terror and rage, ravaged the country with fire and sword, hanging, impaling, or blowing from guns the innocent and guilty alike. Officially, it was said, 17 persons were hanged in connection with the Vellore Mutiny, but the number of unofficial killings, if ever discovered, is sure to mount to four figures.

The 1st and 23rd Regiments who had taken the lead in this insurrection, were wiped out either by cannon or by rope; their names expunged from the army list. The arrested persons were thrown to the prison and kept there without any trial till the arrival in 1807 of the next Governor-General, Lord Minto.

Col. Gillespie, the "rescuer" of Vellore, was in a mood to blow all the members of Tipu Sultan's family

from the cannons, but extraneous circumstances deterred him from taking this step. Though saved from immediate annihilation, the twelve sons of Tipu Sultan could not escape brutal punishment. Along with their families and other relatives they were removed from the orbit of their influence and banished to jungly and malarial Tollygunge near Calcutta, where the whole family remained interned for nearly 60 years. The fate of Prince Moizuddeen was worse ; he was kept in strict confinement in the Harinbaree Jail in Calcutta.

Special orders were issued regarding the future recruitment in the army. Persons having any connection with Tipu Sultan were for ever debarred from service under the British Government. Instructions were also given to stop all recruitments, if possible, from the exterritories of Tipu Sultan. In short, anything connected with the name of Tipu Sultan became an anathema to the foreign aggressors.

The apologists of British Imperialism always try to justify this savagery by stories of frightful atrocities committed by the mutineers. But it should be remembered that the Britons could hardly expect any tenderness from the Indian people whom they had brutally crushed and exploited and yet except for isolated instances, they had been treated well and softly. An instance in support of this statement may be cited here : Mrs. Fauncourt (her husband was already killed) wrote, "He (a Sepoy) told us to go into Fowl House. . . . We were quite exposed to view till the same brought us an old mat, which we made use of by placing it before the door to hide ourselves, and afterwards the same Sepoy brought my little boy a loaf of bread to satisfy his hunger." Mrs. Fauncourt along with her son was afterwards rescued by Col. Gillespie's party.

Lord William Bentinck, the then Governor of Madras, too, noted in his minute, dated the 13th September, 1806 :

"There were some instances of very great kindness on the part of the Sepoys to save the lives of Europeans"

VELLORE MUTINY BELITTLED

It should be mentioned in this connection that had it not been for the statesman-like policy of Lord Bentinck, the savagery of repression would have transcended all limits, the British Empire in India would have been doomed and Indian history would have been written in a different manner. The new regulations regarding Turban, etc., were revoked ; proclamations were issued on behalf of the Government declaring in explicit terms the respect for the religious feelings of the Indians. Further, "all precipitation in punishment which might either have the appearance of revenge, or of rendering the cause of the Sepoys the cause of religion was studiously avoided."

Lord Bentinck fully realised the import of this mutiny and did his best to isolate this great event from the discontent of the people in general ; instead of exaggerat-

ing its importance he tried to belittle it and to divert the people's attention from this form of outburst of mass discontent.

We too have fallen a victim to this diversionary tactics of the Imperialist henchmen and have forgotten to take notice of this first militant outburst of popular discontent in its true perspective, for the latter events proved that the discontent was not limited to Vellore alone. Nundydroog, Bangalore, Chittoor, Wallajahbad, Bellary, Hyderabad and several other places were also shaken by this storm.

According to Sir John Cradock, the then Commander-in-Chief :

"The whole was planned with unequalled secrecy and concealment. The object was to destroy every European, and place a son of Tipu at the head of a Moorish Government. With this view letters were ready, or even were despatched to the Marhattas and to the disaffected chieftains at Cuddappa, in the ceded districts and Vancatigherry, in the Carnatic, to excite a general hostility."—Report of the Commander-in-Chief to the Authorities in England, dated Oct. 25, 1806.

GENERAL PLAN OF ACTION

A discussion about the general plan of action behind this mutiny is necessary, but it is very difficult to find out what it really was. The evidence of different persons before the Mixed Enquiry Commission and the confessions of some condemned persons throw some light on the matter, but taking into consideration the circumstances in which these were given, full reliance can hardly be placed on them. But as there is no other way to ascertain the true facts we are bound to depend on them. The following is a short summary culled out from different depositions :

Secret meetings and discussions were going on amongst the Sepoys for a long time and these got a new impetus and push with the issuing of the order regarding Turban, etc. The one held at the tomb called Ameenpir was the most important, where along with ordinary soldiers many commissioned and non-commissioned officers too participated. At this meeting one Jamadar Shaik Dewan took the lead and heartened everybody saying that others might lose their ideal, but they would not. Persons, supposed to be connected with the imprisoned Princes, were also active in inciting the Sepoys.

With the arrival of the new turbans at Vellore, secret meetings in groups became more frequent, the activity of Alla-o-Deen, a foster-brother of Prince Moizuddeen, increased as the medium of intercourse between the soldiers and the Princes, and as a result the contacts between them grew closer and closer.

Prince Moizuddeen wanted, it was said, that the Sepoys should take and keep the Vellore Fort for at least eight days and in the meantime he would collect some ten thousand men in arms with whose help he would be able to rouse up the people and rout the English. Letters from him were sent to different Chiefs and Sirdars in Gurrumeondah, Vencatagherry, Callastry and also to

different Sirdars, then in the service of the puppet King of Mysore. Moizuddeen banked on the calculation that once the Vellore Fort and the Pettah were captured, the people in general, specially the Indian troops, would come under his banner.

The participants in this plan were bound to the oath of secrecy. Groups of four or five met together and took the oath and Alla-o-Deen was always present. Except about half a dozen Indian soldiers and officers at Vellore all took the oath. Observance of secrecy, non-acceptance of the new turban and establishment of Prince Moizuddeen's rule—these were the three tenets of the oaths-taking ceremony.

Many of the pensioned soldiers who understood the management of guns and gun-Lascars were won over to the side of the rebels and they promised all help. The people of the Pettah, many of whom were somehow or other connected with the Princes, knew too about the secret plan and stood in readiness for giving necessary help.

The date of the insurrection was twice changed. Before the admission of the 2nd Battalion 23rd Regiment into the secrets a date was fixed and later on it was changed. In fact, the rising took place sooner than was finally decided. The scheduled date was the 14th July (Monday), 1806, but due to the indiscreet utterances of one Jemadar Shaikh Hussain, it came about earlier. On the night of the 9th July, the said person being drunken, divulged the secrets about the insurrection. At about 9 P.M. a hurried consultation among the leaders was held at the barracks and it was decided to begin the insurrection that very night at 2 A.M. The decision was so late and taken so hastily that neither the people of the Pettah nor the Princes could be informed about it.

ROLE OF THE PRINCES

Regarding the role of the Princes, one fact should always be kept in mind, and it is that they were prisoners and when actually the premature mutiny was crushed, they had to find out means to destroy all kinds of evidence of their complicity in the insurrection. Hence all that is left to us is circumstantial evidence from which we are to reconstruct the actual position. We must, however, say that the Princes were not bold and audacious enough to take the lead; all that they wanted was to ride over the success, achieved by the soldiers and reap the full benefit thereof. They were quite unprepared and lacked the necessary courage and determination which alone might have turned the situation in their favour. Still we should give them, especially Prince Moizuddeen, the credit that is due to him for trying to take a stand against British Imperialism.

The Vellore Mutiny did not produce any Tantia Tope or Luxmihai or Azimullah Khan, but this does not make it in any way less important. Its nameless self-sacrificing heroes are the pioneers in showing the path of militant anti-British struggle whose noble tradition has been carried forward by thousands of others to bring it to fruition. Free India will ever remember them and offer her respectful salutes.

PERSECUTION OF BAHAI'S IN IRAN

BY PROF. HIRA LALL CHOPRA, M.A.

BAHAI'S, the followers of Baha Ullah, are reported to have been persecuted in Iran once again since the month of fasting (Ramazan). They were forced to observe the fast like pious Muslims and on their refusal (as according to their own faith, the Bahai's observe the fast from 2nd to 20th March for 19 days), their houses and shops were looted and the Bahai House for Worship, the *haziratulquds* was desecrated and demolished. Many Bahai's throughout Iran were killed and plundered in the sacred month. The plunderers thought this action of theirs to be a great service rendered to the cause of Islam. It is a pity that this thing is continued even now spasmodically.

The Bahai faith has suffered persecutions since its very inception. It was a revolt against the orthodox Mullahs in Iran in the middle of the last century. According to Shia tradition, the hidden twelfth Imam Mahdi held intercourse with his followers through a succession of mediums, each of whom was called a Bab or door and Syed Ali Muhammad Bab claimed to be a door in that succession.

The Bab : Syed Ali Muhammad Bab was born on 20th October, 1819 in Shiraz and in 1844, at the age of 25, he declared himself to be the Bab or door saying :

"Whosoever wishes to approach the Lord his God and to know the true way that leads to Him, ought to do it through him."

His teaching was marked by a catholicity not yet known in Islam. He said, God is unapproachable : man can only approach Him through some appointed medium. For this purpose a Primal Will has spoken in the Bab, and will speak again in "Him whom God shall manifest."

Bab held discussions with various doctors of religion in Mecca and other religious places. He appointed 18 disciples and himself the 19th for the propagation of his views throughout the world. They were known as the "Letters of the Living" and among them was an Indian also, named Said Hindi, who came to Multan and influenced one Basir Hindi, a rich blind scholar, who propagated the Cause in India and Iran for which he had to suffer martyrdom in the end.

The teachings of Bab naturally aroused widespread opposition in the orthodox circles of Islam in general and in Iran in particular. Husayn Khan, the tyrannical Governor of Fars, undertook the suppression of the new faith. Bab had a long series of imprisonments, deportations, examinations before tribunals, scourgings and indignities which ended only with his martyrdom on 9th July, 1850, when he was shot dead by the Army in the old barrack square of Tabriz.

One of Bab's ardent followers was the great Iranian poetess, Qurratul Ayn—"the solace of the eyes." The most beautiful lady of her own times, music flowing from her lips, she canvassed for the Cause, here,

there and everywhere. She discarded the *purdah* and had discussions with the most learned men of Iran and vanquished them. The Iranian Government took her prisoner ; she was stoned in the streets, anathematized, exiled from town, threatened with death, but she never failed in her determination to work for the emancipation of women. She was strangulated for her progressive views.

BAHAULLAH

When the Bab declared his mission in 1844, Bahaullah, then in his 27th year, boldly espoused the cause of the New Faith, of which he soon became recognised as one of the most powerful and fearless exponents. He had already twice suffered imprisonment for the Cause and on one occasion had undergone the torture of the bastinado.



Abdu'l-Baha

Mirza Hussain Ali, later known as Bahaullah, was born on 12th of November, 1817 in Teheran. His father, Mirza Abbas of Nur, was a minister of State. On the death of his father, the Government of Iran wanted to appoint Bahaullah as a minister, but this position he declined and chose for himself the thorny path of the new dispensation. For his progressive views in religion, Bahaullah was exiled to Baghdad, Constantinople and

Adrianople. In 1863, he declared himself to be the Light of God (Bahaullah), about whose coming the Bab had foretold—the Chosen of God, the promised one of all the prophets. All the Babis recognised in him the prophecy of Bab being fulfilled. Bab, the John the Baptist of this new faith, was a fore-runner of "Him Whom God Shall Manifest" in the form of Bahaullah. Bahaullah suffered incarceration for nearly 50 years and during this imprisonment wrote several epistles to the ruling monarchs of the world, heralding to all, his own advent for the salvation of mankind and for the widening of man's outlook on religion. He formulated twelve

12. Recognition of the unity of God and obedience to His Commands as revealed through His Divine Manifestations.

These catholic principles were not acceptable to the orthodox sections of the Muslims and they continued to persecute the Bahais for this revolt in religion. The new dispensation of Bahaism, as propounded by Bahaullah, had nothing to do with Islam. It was a clarion call to entire humanity and to all religions of the world to shake off superstitions and to pave the way for the uplift of the depressed and the oppressed sections of mankind. It is erroneous to label Bahaism as a sect of Islam like the Qaddyanis. Bahaism, according to the belief of its founder, is the fulfilment of all the religions. Prof. E. G. Browne, the eminent Orientalist of the Cambridge University, met Bahaullah in 1890 and had 4 interviews with him. He was very much impressed with Bahaullah's analytical study of the world's problems and their solutions.

Bahaullah gave to the world a number of books written in prison, which his followers believe to have been revealed.

Bahaullah passed away on 29th May, 1892 and his eldest son Abbas Effend, later known as Abdul Baha, the servant of Baha, carried on the work of his father as his representative and the expounder of his teachings. Abdul Baha was born on 23rd May, 1844. He spent his life in jails along with his father and had his training under his father's direct care. After the death of his father, he took up the Cause and propagated it magnificently. He was in Turkish imprisonment till 1908, when he was finally released. He visited some Western countries also. He went to London in September, 1911 and came back to Egypt in December. He proceeded to the United States of America and reached New York in April, 1912 and travelled through the States for nine months. In Chicago, he laid the foundation-stone of the famous Mashriqulazkar, the Bahai House of Worship, a Taj Mahal of the Western world, costing about one and a half million dollars and which has nine gates representing the nine great religions of the world signifying that anybody coming from whichever gate, shall ultimately reach the same beloved. A symbolic interpretation of the following verse of the Gita :

ये यथा मां प्रपथन्ते तांस्तथैव भजाम्यहम् ।

मम वर्त्मानुवर्तन्ते मनुष्याः पार्थ सर्वशः ॥

Howsoever men approach me, even so do I accept



Major-General Batmanqilich, Chief of the General Staff of the Persian Army, inaugurating the work of demolition of the dome of the Baha'i Temple in Teheran
principles for the social and spiritual uplift of man which have more or less become the tenets of this faith. They are :

1. Unfettered search after Truth and the abandonment of all superstition and prejudice.
2. The oneness of mankind. All are 'leaves of one tree, flowers in one garden.'
3. Religion must be a cause of love and harmony, else it is no religion.
4. All religions are one in their fundamental principles.
5. Religion must go hand in hand with science. Faith and reason must be in full accord.
6. Universal Peace: the establishment of a federated international order.
7. The adoption of an international secondary language which shall be taught in all the schools of the world.
8. Compulsory education and useful training.
9. Equal opportunities for development : Equal rights and privileges for both sexes.
10. Work for all : No idle rich and no idle poor. "Work in the spirit of service is worship."
11. Abolition of extremes of poverty and wealth; care of the needy.

them, for on all sides whatever path they choose in mine, O Partha. (IV, II).

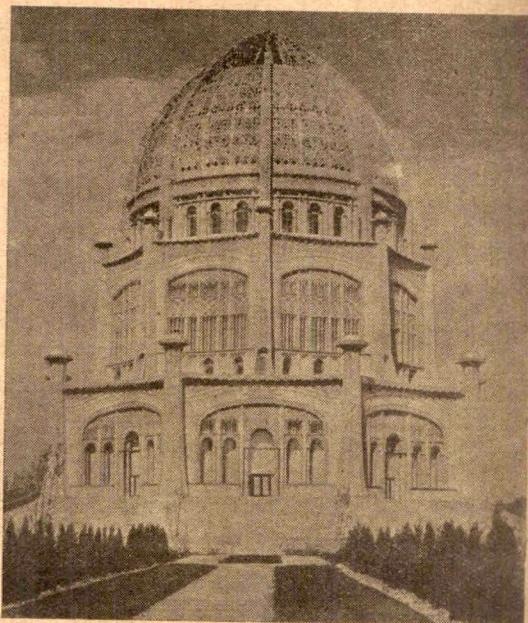
Chicago is the fittest venue for such a Bahai House, as it was here in 1893 in the Parliament of Religions that Swami Vivekananda of blessed memory gave his message of universal love, peace and harmony. It was here in this august congregation that Pratap Chandra Mazoomdar, Mrs. Annie Besant and other delegates of the Indian faiths and cultures gave to the world a true picture of Indian catholicity and India's advance in matters religious, philosophical and cultural. This Bahai House in Chicago presents a symbolic fulfilment of that message.

After the first world war, Abdul Baha was knighted by the British Government. He died in Haifa on 28th November, 1921 and the mantle for the propagation of the Cause fell on the shoulders of his grandson, Shoghi Effendi, the Guardian of the Faith. It goes to the credit of Shoghi Effendi, the scholar of the Balliol College, Oxford, an educated and enlightened Guardian, that he translated into English all books written by Bab, Bahaullah and Abdul Baha and also wrote himself quite a large number of books detailing the history of the Cause and in exposition of the main tenets of the Faith. It is really the present Guardian of the Faith who made available to the Western world all Bahai literature and enlisted sympathy of the entire world. His headquarters are at Haifa, Palestine. The Bahai administration given by Shoghi Effendi is working so efficiently that Bahais in all corners of the world are being properly watched by the Guardian. Today there are 7 lakhs of Bahais in Iran alone and a considerable number in the United States. Bombay and Karachi have also an appreciable number, who run good restaurants in these towns. Sincere, hardworking, conscientious and honest, Bahais are trusted everywhere.

Their present persecution in Iran has brought the Bahais in limelight once again. Iran has never reconciled itself with this faith. Though it is the land of its birth, yet Bahaiism cannot get any literature printed in Iran. Fifty years ago, all literature used to be smuggled from India and in recent years the source has been the United States and other countries. The late Reza Shah Pahlavi was conscious of the piety, honesty and sincerity of the Bahais and in spite of the protests from the orthodox sections, he gave Bahais very important positions in the administration, particularly in the Finance department. It was considered that with the non-interference of the State in their religious affairs, the Bahais would one day get full freedom of expression and they built a *haziratulquds*, a rendezvous for their meetings in Teheran at a considerable cost. The Bahai House is neither a mosque nor a place where political conspiracies are hatched, but simply a Bahai House meant for the congregation of Bahais and it is a sad commentary on Iran's secularism that this House was tried to be demolished by no less an important person than the Chief of the General Staff of the

Persian Army, Major General Batmanqilich in the very presence of General Bakhtiar, the Military Governor of Teheran as will be evident from the photo reproduced here. It was later on occupied by the Persian Army.

Only two years ago, the father of Mr. Hooshman Fateh Azam, the Bahai professor of Persian in Visvabharati, Santiniketan, was murdered in Teheran on account of his being a Bahai.



Bahai Temple, Wilmette, Chicago

It is through persecutions that the Faith got a good popularity in comparatively a short time. The founders as well as the adherents of this faith numbering in thousands had to suffer martyrdom for their convictions and the tales of their ghastly murders attracted a very large number of people into their fold. These desecrations and persecutions in the twentieth century, an age of science and reason, appear to be no less than an anachronism. The Bahais do not call themselves Muslims. Theirs is a separate Faith altogether. They believe in all the Divine religions and Islam is one of them; Muhammad is one of the prophets of the world and Bahaullah also belongs to the same line, and yet they are persecuted for their convictions in no other place than the land of the birth of Bahaiism. Iran should feel proud on that account as Bahaiism is today universally acknowledged as a means to synthesise religion. Thousands of Bahais were done to death in the nineteenth century, but today there is no occasion for that. Islam has also changed considerably and its modern interpretation presents it as an advanced faith, catholic in outlook and tolerant in character, conforming literally to the saying of the Holy Quran :

"There is no compulsion in religion." (2:256)

Men like Tolstoy, Gandhi, Rabindranath Tagore, Radhakrishnan, Mudaliar, Sapru, Jayakar, Sarojini Naidu, Raja Narendranath and Lala Har Dayal have spoken very highly of this faith and in the opinion of all right-thinking men, it ill behoves the people and the government of Iran to subject the Bahais to the persecutions reminiscent of medieval times. Moharram, a month of mourning for the Shias is going to set in soon and Shia'ism is the state religion of Iran. It is apprehended that there may be recrudescence of the trouble in that month and to avoid it, the Shah of Iran, a very enlightened monarch, is earnestly appealed to take every possible precaution and issue instructions to his government for the safety of the Bahais and their property throughout Iran.

"Is there any remover of difficulties save God? All are His servants and all are standing by His Orders."

BAB (The Herald)

"Glory is not his, who loves his native land, but glory is his, who loves his kind."

"Is not the object of every Revelation to effect a transformation in the whole character of mankind, a transformation that shall manifest itself, both outwardly and inwardly, that shall affect both its inner life and

external condition? For if the character of mankind be not changed, the futility of God's universal Manifestation would be apparent."

—BAHA' ULLAH (The Founder)

"His Holiness Baha'u'llah has revoiced re-established the quintessence of the teachings of all the Prophets.... These holy words and teachings are the remedy for the body politic, the divine prescription and the real cure for the disorders which afflict the World."

—'ABDUL-BAHĀ (The Promoter)

"How vast is the Revelation of Baha'u'llah! How great the magnitude of His blessings showered upon humanity in this day! And yet how poor, how inadequate our conception of their significance and glory! This generation stands too close to so colossal a Revelation to appreciate, in their full measure, the infinite possibilities of His Faith, the unprecedented character of His Cause, and the mysterious dispensation of His Providence."

—SHOGHI EFFENDI (The Guardian)

"We spend our lives in trying to unlock the mystery of the universe, but there was a Turkish prisoner Baha'u'llah, in Akka, Palestine, who had the key."

—COUNT LEO TOLSTOY (An Admirer)

—O:—

THE HARLEM NOBODY KNOWS

By ALEX HALEY

HARLEM, that roughly triangular six-square-mile section of New York City where lives the largest concentration of Negroes in the world—375,000—is pointed to by critics as a sinkhole of United States capitalism. Foreign diplomats and businessmen freely report that the greatest obstacle to friendship between the United States and the colored races who comprise two-thirds of the world's population is discrimination against the American Negro, seemingly typified by this overcrowded, dilapidated area.

These critics of our democracy would do well to take a closer look at the Negroes of Harlem today. Probably no community on earth has come so far so fast!

In this area where hardly a Negro owned property at the turn of this century, the collective Negro assessment in 1954 approaches \$300,000,000. One bank with four branches in Harlem reports \$20,700,000 in checking and savings accounts. The postmaster of New York reports \$72,000,000 in postal savings in the entire city, \$12,000,000 of it in Harlem.

Said an old pharmacist who moved to Harlem in 1905, "All we owned were our barbershops and beauty parlors and a few restaurants." Today his drugstore is one of 4,300 businesses which Negroes operate in Harlem. Elsewhere in New York City they own 2,200 more.

Three years ago a radio station conducted a survey for its advertisers. "Income of the average Harlem family has tripled since 1940," it informed them. "This

community, as an annual market, represents 1,000,000,000."

Before 1900, most of the Negroes in New York City were settled in a squalid colony in the middle Fifties. Then a Negro realtor, Philip A. Payton, persuaded several Harlem landlords to fill their vacancies with Negro tenants. A trickle of migration soon became a tide.

From the first, the new community was in economic trouble. At least half its population was unemployed. Having nothing but the labour of their unskilled hands to sell, they suffered from poverty and discrimination. In one city count of 9,561 apprentices in the trades, only 56 were Negroes. Thousands of families managed to escape the public dole only because Harlem's women found jobs as laundresses or household servants.

Manpower shortages created by World War I gave the new community a start. Hiring taboos relaxed, and soon Negroes worked in more than 300 occupations. Both the government and industry sent representatives into the southern states to recruit laborers. Harlem absorbed more than 100,000 southern Negroes; 25,000 others came from the British West Indies.

From churches came the first sign of financial stability. Abyssinian Baptist marketed its property midtown and built in Harlem at a cost of \$350,000. St. Philip's Protestant Episcopal sold holdings near the site of Pennsylvania Station and hired a Negro architect to design its present brick church and parish house.

Soon afterward the church purchased a row of 13 apartment houses that it yet controls.

Hundreds of individual Harlemites capitalized on steady wages and a buyers' market to make down payments on homes. Hundreds more invested in small businesses. Spectacularly, "Pigfoot Mary" Dean, a popular Lenox Avenue vendor of pig's feet, fried chicken, and hot corn, bought for \$42,000 a five-story apartment building. In one year the number of licensed Negro realtors in the city rose from three to 31.

For the most part, however the efforts of Negroes to set down tap roots in the city went unnoticed by the general public. Harlem was gaining its prominence, instead, as a Mecca of Jazz. By the height of the 1920's, its cabarets and dance halls swarmed with revelers nightly.

In this manner Harlem met the depression. Few communities were so hard hit. Night life had supported flourishing businesses, provided an aura of intra-racial camaraderie—and suddenly both were gone. From the war-inflated pay-rolls, Negroes were the first to be fired—by the thousands. The race riots of this era made headlines around the world. But little notice was taken when the same forces—racial pride and the desperate fight for survival—subsequently were channeled in more disciplined ways to shape Harlem's future.

For example, consider the Harlem Businessmen's Club which was organized in 1931. One of its first acts was to circularize the slogan, "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work!" Negro employees above the level of porter were rare in Harlem retail stores. Then the

Amsterdam News, Harlem's largest newspaper, threw its power into the campaign. The slogan produced roughly the effect of a picket line: in a few months Negro clerical and sales help were more common.

The New York Urban League prevailed upon officials of government, unions, and private industry to widen the variety of jobs opened to Negroes. Simultaneously it urged Negroes to develop new talents and skills, and it has never relaxed its campaign.

In 1953 a spokesman for the powerful New York State Commission Against Discrimination said, "There is still not a job for every Negro, but more doors have been opened than there are Negroes qualified to enter." For those who are qualified, and for countless others willing to qualify, these doors lead to gratifying successes.

Amie Associates, Inc., is a family enterprise begun

in 1944 by brothers William, Errol, and Cyril Jones. With \$1,600 and some electronics equipment, they hired a loft and solicited government contracts. By the end of World War II they had hired 75 technicians and grossed \$200,000 for the design and manufacture of electronics devices for the U.S. Navy and Signal Corps and for subcontracts from Bell Telephone and Western Electric. Now Amie Associates, Inc., is making equipment for the U.S. Army and Robinson Aviation, in addition to servicing television sets exclusively throughout



H. E. Jack, a resident of Harlem, was sworn into office as President of New York City's Borough of Manhattan, centre of metropolitan business and industry

the city.

In 1938 Jimmie Adams got a job as shipping clerk in a downtown camera store; in 1951 he became its manager. In 1954 Mr. Adams and two friends raised \$20,000 and opened Uptown Camera Exchange on 125th Street.

Roy Mills moved from a Yonkers dairy to portering for a sports-wear firm. Today he is its national distribution manager and also has a Harlem cleaning business.

Lou Borders arrived in New York City in 1931 with 30 cents. He pressed clothes, studied at night and became the fourth Negro to join the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. In 1937 his local elected him treasurer; in 1942, president. Five years ago he bought a failing Harlem haberdashery business which is now worth \$150,000.

Harlem women, too, are forging ahead as dramati-

cally as the men. Barbara Watson, daughter of a municipal court judge, heads a downtown New York agency of nearly 200 Negro models, serving accounts for nationally advertised products.



Alex Haley, a well-known writer, started his writing career with articles published in the U.S. Armed Services Publications

Photo : U. S. Coast Guard

Louise Varona, a Hunter College graduate, took over her father's restaurant supply house when he went into bankruptcy. She resumed business with a very small amount of capital, paid off creditors and today has seven employees and two trucks, with customers in the Bronx, Brooklyn, and Manhattan. Last year her firm grossed £140,000.

Olivia Standford, an executive of the Young Women's Christian Association, and Rose Morgan, a hair stylist, in 1943 pooled \$7,000 savings. They leased a five-story Harlem brownstone house, and after four months of renovation and publicity put "Rose-Meta, House of Beauty" into a successful business. Today there is a second, larger salon, with branches in Brooklyn and Long Island. A total of 302 "Rose-Meta" personnel earn from \$55 to \$200 weekly.

Two blocks west of "Rose-Meta" is the Carver Federal Savings and Loan Association, an enterprise that many residents of the community view with a proud and proprietary air.

At the end of World War II, a group of Harlem business and professional people set out to establish the first Negro bank in New York State. For several years they visited homes, churches and civic assemblies, explaining the project and what it would mean for Harlem. Then they solicited pledges of deposit. Within three months after the bank opened in 1948, its tellers took in \$200,000.

In December 1953, the Carver bank marked its fifth anniversary, with savings accounts totaling \$3,000,000 and distributed \$200,000 in Yule Club checks, double the amount of 1952.

A special 1953 survey reveals that 8 percent of Harlem families have incomes about \$5,000 a year; 24 percent of American families in general earn this much. In Harlem 15 percent earn \$1,500 or less, about paralleling the national average. More than 60 percent of Harlem families have reached the \$2,000-to-\$5,000 level; nationwide, only 48 percent are in this bracket.

Harlem's appalling housing conditions have been shouted about in sensational exposés. During World War II one of Harlem's blocks was found actually accommodating 3,781 people. At this density the population of the United States could live in one-half the acreage of Greater New York City.

Slowly, however, the situation was improving. Since Harlem River Houses project was completed in 1937, a total of eight federal, state, and city projects have been occupied or are under construction. Altogether they represent 12,859 apartments. Riverton, Metropolitan Life



Manhattanville Neighborhood Centre, Inc., is one of the largest corrective agencies in a multi-racial area of the Harlem section of New York City

Photo : Manhattanville Neighbourhood Centre, Inc.

Insurance Company's private development, raised the number to 14,127.

At this writing, private investors have city authorization and Federal Housing Authority aid to clear 24 slum acres and build two housing projects, "Harlem" and "North Harlem," to contain approximately 1,100 apartments each. These will cost nearly \$30,000,000 and will raise to more than 14,000 the number of Harlem families able to move into new homes in the space of 20 years.

It is safe to forecast that many of the social corruptions which plague Harlem will dwindle with its congestion, which tends to nurture them. Gangs, delinquency, and addiction already are under the steady attack of a wealth of guidance and corrective agencies.

Exemplary among these, and one of the largest, is Manhattanville Neighborhood Center, Inc., which functions in a teeming, multiracial area of West Harlem. (Of the 436,000 people in Harlem, 61,000 are non-Negroes.) In the center headquarters, 51 professional and student social workers conduct adult and youth forums, supervise athletics and recreation, and teach arts, crafts, and dramatics. About 10,000 families are in the area served by this agency, whose chairman of the board of directors is Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick, noted clergyman and author.

Public schools continue the pattern of progress for Harlem, whose ratio of slum backgrounds is only one of many staggering problems. Public School No. 133, for instance, serves an area of so many pupils that classes must be held in shifts. Yet it manages the distinction of being among the top five elementary schools in the

city. (Relief is in sight: the New York City capital budget for 1954 provides for the building of a new school six blocks away at a total estimated cost of \$2,730,000.) Over-all, more Harlem youths are enrolled in high schools throughout the city than at any point in history and 10 times as many as 1940 are in college.

Harlem now contains nearly 400 churches, including missions, whose total replacement value has been estimated at \$21,000,000. Their role remains the same—a bedrock and potently progressive force. Commented a young attorney: "Once our churches prepared you to die; now, they help you to live."

Julius J. Adams is the executive editor of Harlem's oldest newspaper, the *New York Age*. "Man for man, as a community, we are ready to be compared with other communities," he said. "What we need is a crusade of public relations. Harlem's biggest trouble now is that in too many minds the Negro remains a stereotype."

But minds are changing, fast. On New Year's Day 1954, Hulan Edwin Jack, a Harlem Negro, was sworn into office as president of New York City's Borough of Manhattan—the center of metropolitan business and industry, the richest island in the world. In a cornucopia of races, where Negroes are outnumbered five to one, this man, who already had risen from stock boy to vice-president of a manufacturing firm, was elected with the votes of 215,000 of his fellow citizens.

It happened in New York City, in America, in 50 years.—From *The Christian Science Monitor and the Reader's Digest*.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BHAJA RELIEFS

BY PARESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A.,

Asst. Curator, Asutosh Museum, Calcutta University

THE ancient cave-monastery of Bhaja lies to the south of Bombay amidst the hills of the Western Ghats. The *vihara*, which seems to have been a Buddhist monastery, is a very old one, and its chronology may be assigned with due precision to the early epoch of the Sunga period. The stone-reliefs at the entrance of the cave depict with extraordinary grace and charm the scenes of Hindu mythology bearing undisguised impress of the Vedic conception and imagination. Among the scenes and figures two large compositions are highly remarkable. One shows (Fig. 1) the sun-god Surya driving his celestial chariot in the sky as usual with his two consorts on two sides. He is trampling under his chariot-wheels a demon of awful proportions, which possibly represents nothing else than the mass of nocturnal darkness. The scene is remarkably aristocratic and the figures of the sun-god and his associates are drawn with a godly grace. Although, the technique closely follows the lines of the Bharhut railings, still the sculpture is distinct with a definite sublime and classical approach. Another relief-work of Bhaja (Fig. 2)

depicts the aerial journey of Indra, the king of gods riding on his favourite elephant *Airavata* accompanied at the back by a flag-bearer. The celestial elephant is depicted with an unparalleled grace and movement. The comparatively tiny figures below the elephant render unusual emphasis to the celestial and massive nature of the elephant and its riders. At the first look at the two scenes of Surya and Indra one is sure to comprehend that the ulterior motive of the artist was to reveal on cold stone not any royal or princely pageant of this mortal earth but some superbly animated scenes of the high firmament. Unlike the aim of the sculptors of Bharhut which insists on accommodating the interesting and inspiring episodes of the lives of the enlightened Bodhisattvas amidst flowers and foliages on railings of stone, the chief aim of the artist is clearly to represent in some tangible form this heavenly glory and grandeur.

There is a natural difficulty in comprehending the true significance and meaning of these two sculptural depictions of the Bhaja cave. As the cave-monastery was most probably Buddhist, it is apparently strange

to mark the association of Hindu icons with it. Benjamin Rowland advances his opinion in the following lines :

"It might at first seem difficult to explain the presence of these Vedic titans in a Buddhist sanctuary. Actually, they are here, not in *propria persona*, but as symbols of the Buddha who has assimilated their powers. Surya and Indra are allegories of Sakyamuni, as Orpheus in early Christianity is an allegory of Christ. Surya is there to designate the Buddha as the sun and spiritual ruler of the universe, or Buddha as the sun that illuminates the darkness of the world. Indra, the chief of the Vedic gods, is here to designate the temporal power that the Buddha wields to maintain the stability of the universe."

But, here it is difficult to accept the view of the learned scholar on the ground that this type of symbolisation as well as regular deification of Buddha is improbable in the pre-Kushan days. Apart from this, if there was any such intention of the artist he could have easily taken recourse to the depicting of the *Jataka* stories as it had been so well done at Bharhut, Sanchi and Bodh-Gaya in more or less contemporary periods. Coomaraswamy is also eager to explain the presence of Hindu motifs in the Buddhist sanctuary of Bhaja. He observes that

"This is rather a sample of non-Buddhist art which the Buddhists had to adapt to their own edifying ends; and it reminds us that much have been going on outside the limited range of Buddhist art properly so called."²

The scenes of Bhaja may, however, be explained after a study of the Rock Edict IV of Priyadarsi Asoka. In one place of the edict it has been stated as such :

"But now in consequence of the practice of

1. *The Art and Architecture of India*, p. 59.

2. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, p. 27.

morality on the part of king Devanampriya Priyadarsin, the sound of drums has become the sound of morality, showing the people presentations of aerial chariots, representations of elephants, masses of fire, and other divine figures."

(*Ta aja devanapriyasa piyadasino rano dhamacaranena bherighoso aho dhamoghoso vimana-darsang ca agikhamdhani ca anani ca divyani rupani dasayipta janam, etc.*)³

The inscription makes it clear that Asoka in order to elevate the minds of his subjects, exhibited representations of celestial *vimanas*, elephants and figures although we are not sure as to whether they were shown in actual processions or through sculptural decorations only. The term *agikhamdhani* is more likely to mean something like "radiant beings of another world," as it has been suggested by some eminent scholars, than simply "masses of fire." The practice of showing *vimanas*, *hastis*, etc., possibly constituted the curriculum of the pious kings of the Maurya and Sungas. From this perspective the Bhaja reliefs may be easily explained as to have been motivated for the propagation of religious ideas. Surya with his eternal resplendence and Indra with his celestial lightning are both *vaimanika Devas* and their ethereal characters have a natural entralling effect. Again, *Airavata*, the vehicle of Indra, was *Eravana* of the Buddhists, which being the vehicle of Sakra with his thirty-three heads was symbolical of the heaven of the thirty-three gods. In short, the very terms *vimana*, *hasti*, *agikhamda* and *divyarupa* wonderfully harmonise with the stone depictions of Bhaja.

3. *Vide* Hultzsch : *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. I, pp. 5-7.

4. Hultzsch : *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1913, p. 652
Corpus Ins. Ind., Vol. I, p. 7, footnote.

B. M. Barua: *Inscriptions of Asoka*, Pt. II, pp. 250-52.

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Born 1902 Ramendranath Chakravorty Died July 6, 1955

Principal, Government School of Art and Craft, Calcutta

FIRST NATIONAL EXHIBITION OF ART A Review

By KAUNDINYA

THE Hon'ble President Dr. Rajendra Prasad opened on the 21st March last, at the Jaipur House, New Delhi, the First National Exhibition of Art, organised by the Lalita Kala Akademi. The show consists of 249 items, judge this "first" National effort by the highest standard of criticism and appraisal. And judged by such a standard, this national show has failed to hit the target and has failed miserably. India is producing in



Offering to goddess
By V. A. Mali

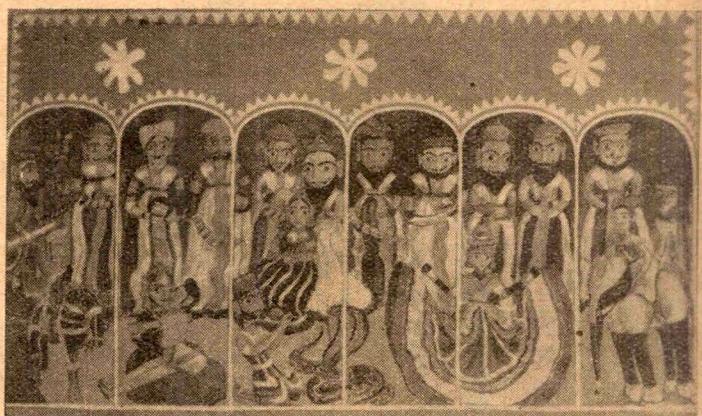


Sleepless night
By M. B. Samant

of which about thirty pieces are specimens of sculpture, and about 40 cover examples of black and white works, etchings, wood-block prints and lithographs. The Selection and Judging Committee consisted of Dr. R. V. Layden, Dr. Mulk Raj Anand, G. Venkatachalam, Prof. Bishnu Dey and Sri Rai Krishnadas—none of them artists or art-practitioners, and they have come in for severe criticism in some of the Press Reviews, one of which put a pertinent query: "How is it possible that with so much of the better stuff of today, the *selectors* could admit a proportion of what only politeness prevents us from calling downright rubbish? There must be about 50 or 60 works in this show of 250 that do not deserve to be hung in any serious show: some of the works are infantile, some amateurish, some sentimental outpourings of second-hand feelings, imitative and based on no inspiration at all." These are hard words, indeed; but unfortunately too true. Arranged under the best auspices, liberally patronized by the Government, and supposed to be supported and nourished by the "best art-experts," one is entitled to

the different art-centres today much better works, which the Lalita Kala Akademi has failed or neglected to collect.

The most outstanding feature of the show is that it is dominated by pictures painted in the most spurious,



Puppet play from Rajasthan
By E. Brunner

servile, imitative modernistic manners, which number about 75% of the total items. This is also obvious in the room devoted to Sculpture, where not one of the exhibits could remind one that India has a sculptural

heritage covering 6000 years. No National Art could progress by totally repudiating its own heritage, its own traditions. And one is reminded of the admonition



Musician in the night
By R. D. Raval



Coconut-seller
By Bhabesh Sanyal

given by a distinguished French sculptor to Chintamoni Kar: "Go back to India, we have nothing to teach you in sculpture". Yet this section of the show is full

of imitations of Henri Lawrens, Albert Moore, Archipenko and all other famous moderns of Europe. Could not one Devi Roychowdhury be included to redeem this orgy of foreignism? Yet there are several distinguished pieces, e.g., Indumati Laghate's *Head of a Negro*, Chintamoni Kar's *Dryad*, S. Chowdhury's *Mother Magnolia*, and a few others in spite of their deliberately un-Indian aims. On the whole, Girish Bhatt's *Toilet* has earned the prize, though Gajjar's *Fisher Woman* was equally good.

The pictorial items are the most provocative and challenge criticism on account of their aggressive "modernism" and their cult of ugliness and frightfulness, which is a negation of all recognized canons of beauty, as understood by ordinary mortals. In Europe, about the close of the 18th century, the spirit of man ceased to express itself in direct and original modes, leading to a series of revivals of style—the neo-Gothic,



Destiny

By Miss S. S. Anandkar
the neo-classic, the debased and barren eclecticism—ending in a general bankruptcy of the academic tradition, revealed at the end of the 19th century. This was followed by the Rebels of Modern Art, who set their back against all that has happened in the past with a search for a genetic concept of Art in the path of empirical methods, leading to eliminations and abstractions, which repudiated all forms of naturalism, similitudes or accuracy or scientific representation. But what was a logical sequence to art-history in Europe is a foolish irrelevance in India, where the current had never dried up nor ended in academic sterility. The modern Cubistic Art has been aptly contrasted with the old Cubistic Art (such as Celtic Art) of Europe. While the masterpieces of Celtic Art were produced spontaneously in response to some spiritual impulse shared by the community, its counterpart today is self-conscious, prompted by intellect, only appreciated by the intellect, with no appeal to the emotions. As Herbert Read has pointed out:

"There is no doubt that the modern artist, feeling himself no longer in any vital contact with

This eminent critic has omitted to point out that the majority of the Moderns of Europe have nothing to communicate to his fellow-beings. This is the tragedy

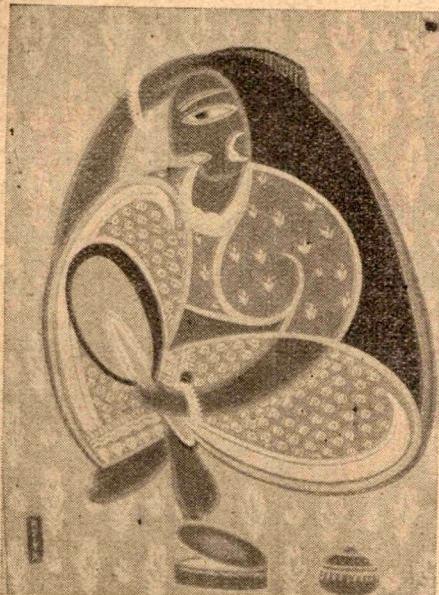


Danuja-Dalani
By D. Bose



Farewell of Nityananda
By Khitin Mazumdar

which a group of Indian artists is attempting to transplant to India for no socialistic, philosophic or aesthetic reasons. But if some of our artists are on the mad race of servile imitations of all forms of "isms," that is no reason why unnecessary and wholly un-called-for emphasis should have been given on these slavishly imita-



Toilet
By Ajit Gupta

society, performing no necessary or positive function in the life of the community, retreats upon himself and gives expression to his own states of subjectivity, limiting himself to this expression, and not caring whether expression is also communication."



Cheetah hunt
By K. Sreenivasulu

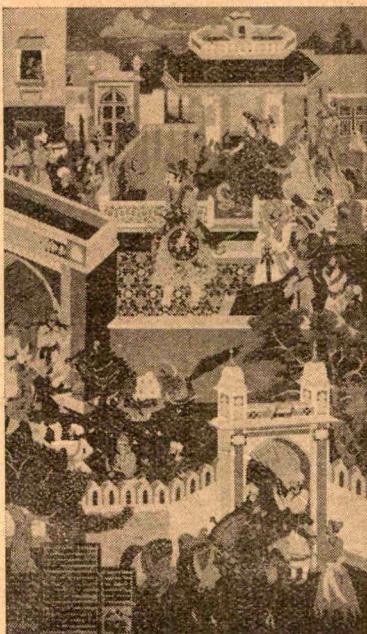
tive works on the walls of our National Gallery of Modern Art. An apology for this exaggerated emphasis on modernistic horrors is sought to be offered by including several examples of other "schools" of modern

Indian works—including several of the imitative, representative, and academic brands. But unfortunately they fail to balance the cargo. Even some of the "traditional" label, such as those by Kshitin Mazumdar, Kripal Singh and Prosanto Roy do not count. A few items in the "primitive" and the "folk" manner are indeed pleasing finds in this arid deserts of Abstractions and Cubistic puzzles. It is doubtful if any sober worshipper of beauty would support the Government's purchase of Hussain's *Zameen*—the winner of the first prize. Yet there are many bright patches in this puzzling show of

items of Graphic Art, somewhat badly hung is the strongest feature of the show with many works of great merit, of which *Sweet Morning* by Kalyani Chakravarty, *Love* by A. Kalam and Haren Das's *End of the Toil* are outstanding highlights. The outstanding question which the Delhi display provokes is what language these perverse moderns of India are attempting to use? Is it a language which the average man or even the educated man can hope to understand? Has India no language of form and colour of her own, after four milleniums of art-history? Have the so-called progressives attempted to learn the A.B.C. of Indian plastic art? The educated



Green Room
By K. Sreenivasulu



Marriage of Tabji Rathore
By Kripal Singh Sekhwat

pessimistic compositions, such as Pannikar's *Mother and Child*, *Girl Reading* by R. Balaraman in spite of its Van Gogh manners. Hebbar's *The Thonn*, in spite of its superficial modernistic technique, pays a tribute to a fundamentally Indian motif. Anand Kar's *Destiny* is a creditable attempt to worship at the shrine of really Indian ideals. K. Sreenivasulu's *Green Room* is another obeisance to Asiatic traditions, reminding as it does, of the rich effects of emphatic lines and the mazes of Japanese colour-print designs. There are several good landscapes of the sober normal standard without any abstractions or distortions, of which Bimal Gupa's *Fishing* and *After Rain* deserve special mention. There are several good portraits, two of outstanding merit—Palsikar's *Miss Padma*, and Elizabeth Brunne's *Dr. Radha-krishna*. An excellent study in genre of *Coconut-seller*, *Mahalalipuram* by Bhabesh Sanyal is a distinguished work recording a type in an enduring vision. The

Indian, steeped in irreligion and atheism, may have repudiated the traditional poetry of Tulasidas, Kabir, and Mira Bai. But have they abjured the language, in which these great sages and seers expressed themselves? When the English language is sought to be banned by declaring the language of Tulasidas as the future medium of communication in the Indian Union, can our artists insist in using a so-called medium of an International Esperanto by ignoring and repudiating the vernacular language of Indian Art? A cynic, a friend of ours of trained vision in Art, with liberal sympathies for all forms of art, drew this reviewer's attention to the 'Indian Civil Service'—which we repeated was not Indian, not civil and not service by any manner or means. He pointed out that on this old analogy, the present Delhi Show is not Indian, nor National, and much of it could not be labelled as Art, even by stretching its connotation to breaking points.

ABANINDRANATH AND HIS ART

BY MANINDRA BHUSHAN GUPTA

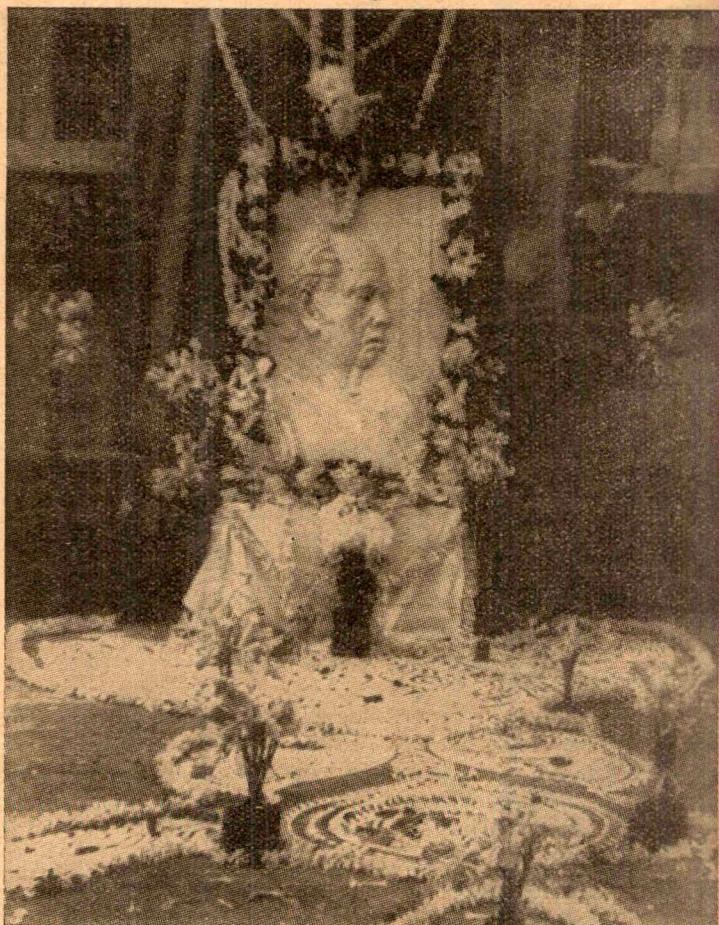
THOUGH Abanindranath is not amongst us* his spirit remains to inspire us with his beautiful art and ideas. He set us thinking anew of the good old tradition of Indian art by opening the vast vista of Indian culture to all the artists of India as well as to all art-lovers. It is known to all that the Bengal School of Painting or the Indian School of Painting founded by him did an immense service towards the cultural regeneration of India. The language of art formulated by him has been accepted all over India, and the art which first originated in Bengal became in no time a sort of *lingua franca* of Indian painting. Different provinces of India have different languages, different dresses and different manners but the language of their art is one. Once an exhibition of the art of the different provinces of India was held in London. An English art-critic was surprised to see the grand unity of art in a country which was divided into many provinces and languages. The first exhibition of modern Indian paintings in Europe was held in Paris as early as 1914 and its account was published in well-known French art journals such as *l'Art decoratif* (February, 1914) and *l'Illustration*. Abanindranath Tagore became famous in Europe in one day. Art-connoisseurs acclaimed him as a great artist.

When Abanindranath first appeared before the public with his incomparable art, India was sunk in imitative art, her creativeness had been lost, but the genius of Abanindranath showed a great possibility in the matter of creativeness and furtherance of art. The advent of his art synchronising with the national awakening in Bengal caught the imagination of the people. A group of young and talented art-students came into close contact with him, and these enthusiastic artists carried on with the new experiment of the master, from whom they had got a new outlook of art.

Now a few words about the life-story of the master. He was born on 7th August, 1871. He was the

great-grandson of Prince Dwarakanath Tagore and the third son of the late Gunendranath Tagore. The Poet Rabindranath Tagore was his uncle.

Something must be said about the eldest brother of the master, the late Gaganendranath Tagore, because in originality and experiments he was also a genius in the field of art. Unlike his youngest brother he was untutored and his art was his own creation. He took up art rather late in life. Though his art had a Japanese inclination he experimented with the modern ideologies of European art, such as Cubism. His art was not an imitation of Pablo Picasso and others. It was entirely



Bust of Abanindranath Tagore in the Government College of Art and Craft, Calcutta

his own. He Indianised the modern "isms" of Europe and created an Indian fairyland.

Abanindranath had his education in the Sanskrit College of Calcutta. Afterwards he studied at home. He had art education under Signor Gilhardi, an Italian

* He died on 5th December, 1951.

artist of no mean repute. He learnt from him Life Drawing, Pastel and Oil Painting. He learnt Water Colour painting from Mr. Palmer, an English artist. The young artist had at that time no idea about the traditional Indian painting. Like the scion of a rich Zaminder family of Bengal as he was, he took to art more as a hobby than as a vocation. He endeavoured to be an artist in the European style. The young artist could not have imagined that soon a time would come when he would revolutionise the art of whole India.

It was a minor incident, or we may call it an accident, that changed the whole course of his artistic career. Young Abanindranath by chance came across an illuminated Indo-Persian manuscript in the library of Dwarakanath Tagore, and he was struck with wonder at its workmanship and fineness. An unforeseen realm of art flashed before his mind's eye. He thought he was taking a wrong course in his art and he resolved to paint in the Indian style. His first experiment in this new style was the Krishna-Leela series. He showed these pictures to his art-teacher, Mr. Palmer. The English artist was immensely pleased to see the work of his pupil, and told him that he had nothing more to teach him and henceforth he should work alone. Thus Abanindranath discovered his own path by mere chance. He was then twenty-three. Undaunted he marched on with his new experiment and techniques. It was a memorable day in the history of modern Indian art. The seed which the artist had sown in his younger days soon grew into a mighty tree known as the "Neo-Bengal School of Painting."

He collected masterpieces of Mughal and Rajput paintings and bronzes, which were studied by him assiduously. His collection of Indian art-works was of immense value, but it is a disgrace to the province that they all have gone to a mill-owner of Ahmedabad. Bengal has lost a great treasure. Such a fine collection of Indian art should have been kept here in a public museum.

We can see a little Japanese influence on his work. A batch of prominent Japanese artists who visited India, among whom Mr. Tai Kwan was well-known, resided in his house for some time as guests, and their technique enriched the master.

After ten years since he had worked out his new conception of Indian painting (*i.e.*, the Krishnaleela series) Abanindranath became the Vice-Principal of the Government School of Art, Calcutta, where Mr. E. B. Havell was then the Principal. His first batch of students consisted of Nandalal Bose, Asitkumar Haldar and others. Thus a nucleus of art was formed under the able guidance of Abanindranath and Mr. Havell in the Calcutta Art School. Mr. Havell was a great devotee of Indian art, culture and philosophy. He did the pioneer work for the understanding and propagation of Indian art.

After he had retired from Vice-Principalship, Abanindranath was appointed as the Bageshwari Professor of Fine Arts in the Calcutta University. His lectures have been published in book-form. Abanindranath was not only an artist but was an art-critic of great importance. His other books on Indian art are *Bharatiya Shilpa*, *Alpona*, and *Artistic Anatomy*. He is a fine prose writer in Bengali. His children's books have a special place in the history of Bengali literature. With literary flavour he mixes an artist's imagination, thus his descriptions in words are but pictures in letters. His *Rajkahini* (Stories from Rajput History) is perhaps the most popular children's book. His reminiscences as embodied in *Jornsankor Dhare*, *Gharoa*, etc., are a treasure in literature. They are charming and fascinating in style.

There is not space enough to give a full description of his innumerable paintings which are well-known. Reproductions of some of his paintings have been published by the Visva-Bharati and the Calcutta Museum. Eminent art-critics have contributed on the various aspects of the art of the master in those two volumes.

I should say something about his technique. His works are generally in water-colour, but he has done a few pastel portraits and oil paintings. *The Passing of Shahjahan* and the *Exiled Yaksha* are done in oil on a wooden panel. The portrait of Rabindranath as a young man is in pastel. It is a fine realistic portrait-study of the poet. The personality and the expression of the poet has come out well. This portrait-study shows the artist at his best in European technique, and proves that he could have been a great portrait-painter had he chosen to stick to that.

Though the revival in Indian art has come through Abanindranath, the master as a painter cannot be termed "a revivalist." Sometimes his work is wrongly alluded to as reminding one of the Ajanta, the Mughal or the Rajput painting. His art was his own creation and he has given us a new technique and a new interpretation of art. If his art is analysed, different currents will be found in it. His main attachment was for Mughal painting but the other influences cannot be ignored. He adopted liberally the British and the Japanese water-colour techniques. But it will be wrong to say that he only borrowed, he gave more than what he took. He accepted everything with a spirit of happy eclecticism. Thus he can be called an eclectic artist rather than an Indian painter.

His technique of wash in different colours has given a new possibility in water-colour painting. Such painting in water-colour was unknown in India, Japan or in Europe. With a broad flat brush a Japanese artist gives wash with water only. Taking this hint from the Japanese, Abanindranath introduced successive washes of different colours over the whole

surface of the picture. Gamboze wash was his favourite, he used emerald green and other colours too in wash. The colour-washes gave a mysterious tone, a homogeneousness and colour-harmony to the painting of Abanindranath, and thus they enhanced the beauty of the picture and added to the great delicacy and refinement of his drawing. Washes were given again and again until the desired effect was reached. Unlike Indian painting, the background of a picture of Abanindranath was multicoloured and it sometimes gave a Rembrandesque effect.

Another peculiarity of his technique was to dip the picture completely in water. First, the design was drawn with every detail finely in pencil from memory. He never used any model. Every picture of his was from imagination. Then the first layer of colour was put after which the picture was dipped in water. When water dried, a wash in colour with Japanese flat brush was given. These successive processes of colouring, dipping in water and washing went on. Shading, finishing, and drawing the outline with fine precision of course was carried on. The picture was finished in drawing the outline with a fine brush and touches were given here and there to relieve the colour. He was a colourist.

In ancient Indian painting, such as the Mughal

or the Rajput painting, dipping the pictures in water was not possible, because those pictures were done in tempera. All the colours would have come out had they been dipped in water. The colours in all Mughal and Rajput paintings are clearly, neatly and definitely laid out. Those colours do not overlap each other as they do in the paintings of Abanindranath. We find this process of dipping the picture in water among the British water-colour artists, particularly the great artist Turner was very fond of this process. For this reason, I think some of the pictures specially the East Bengal landscapes by Abanindranath bear a close resemblance to the work of Turner. Such pictures cannot be classified with the Ajantá, the Mughal or the Rajput painting. On the contrary, when I see the water-colour paintings by Turner, Abanindranath comes to my mind. The mellowness and the mystery of colour in Turner has certainly some resemblance to that of Abanindranath.

I hope I do not minimise the genius of Abanindranath by showing the various influences which he has undergone. This shows only his great power of adaptability and synthesis. Did not the Great Raphael undergo many influences? Did he not sit under the feet of many masters as Mr. Berenson the eminent art-critic tells us?

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EDMUND BURKE AND INDIA

By K. V. RAMAN, M.A.,

Research Scholar, Department of History, University of Madras

"Burke was one of the most human-hearted of our great men."—JOHN MACCUN
 "If ever a single-minded and righteous anger burned in the breast of man it was in the case of Edmund Burke as he reflected on the wrongs and miseries of the natives of India. If a revolution took place in the whole spirit of the English Government it was due to the weight of that more generous public opinion which he did more to create than any one else before or since."—LORD MORLEY

It is one of those rare, happy and momentous historical accidents of history that Edmund Burke's active political career should have synchronised with the most formative epoch in the history of East India Company. The commercial company was fast metamorphosing into a territorial potentate. But this though a glorious period for the Company and its Servants, Directors and Proprietors was the most inglorious and cruel period for the Indian masses, for, as Cornwall Lewis said:

"No civilized Government existed on this face of earth which was more corrupt, more perfidious

and more rapacious than the British administration of India between 1765-1784."

But the Indian masses had neither the political consciousness nor the means to raise their voice of protest. Fortunately, they found in Edmund Burke their unelected but true and powerful representative who upheld the cause of India with all the resources of his mind and the brilliance of his eloquence. His

1. In the debate held in the House of Commons on the Bill which finally transferred the Government of India from the Company to the Crown.

severe criticism of Lord North's Regulating Act, his great service as a member of the Select Committee which investigated into the activities of the Company, his tireless efforts in exposing the faults of the Englishmen in India, his stout defence of Fox's India Bill which he believed would secure rice in the pot of every man in India,⁵ and last but not the least his impeachment of Warren Hastings go to make him 'the father of the liberal tradition in India.'

But on that doughty defender of the down-trodden and the suppressed are heaped up all sorts of false motives by some English writers in order to cover up a historical fact, namely, the existence of the selfless administration of the British in India. They argue that his own need rather than India's motivated him to take an active interest. They say, that his thought towards India was turned only when his stock-jobbing operations failed. And lastly, Burke is said to have fallen a victim to Philip Francis's blackmailing tactics.

If these were the reasons that motivated one of the greatest statesmen of the times, one should get a poor opinion of British politics itself. On the other hand, it is not difficult to perceive that the motives attributed by these writers do not stand the test of actuality. But when one goes through Burke's epic speeches on the horrors of the misrule of the Company and its consequent effects on the Indian people one will inevitably come to the conclusion that humanitarian love, sympathy for the oppressed and hatred of tyranny, wherever they might be, rather than selfishness or cupidity, were the reasons that made Edmund Burke champion the cause of India. As Professor Harold Laski observed:

"There is nothing more noble attempt in Burke's career than to mitigate the evils of the Company rule in India. Research may show that he pressed his case too far; yet nothing has so far come to light to cast doubt upon the principles he there maintained."⁶

The fact that Burke was ready to resign from the Secretaryship when Rockingham mildly suspected him⁷ coupled with the fact that he flatly declined the East India Company's offer of a post and a pension go to show how Burke did not care for his personal profit or advancement.

But on the other hand, his strong criticism of the Company's misrule and support for the Indian people were fully in accord with his conviction and settled policy. As Morley said it was India itself that stood above all else in his mind. It had filled his mind and absorbed his time while Pitt was still

an undergraduate at Cambridge. And what kind of India did he have in his mind? It was the land of princes, once of great dignity and power, of an ancient and venerable priesthood, of a nobility of antiquity and renown . . . where might be founded almost all the religions of the world.⁸ Can there be a nobler service than his exhortation of his people and the power-drunk ministry to consider India not as a dark land of barbarous savages but as having a people "for ages civilized and cultivated—cultivated in the arts of polished life, whilst we were yet in the woods."⁹ When he realised that these 'venerable people' were subjected to a 'magnificent plan of universal plunder' and the land made 'a scene of woe, the like of which no eye had seen, no heart conceived, and which no tongue could adequately tell,' his passions were roused, his imagination fired and his power of eloquence kindled. Burke feelingly said:

"A ministry of another kind would have first improved the country . . . But they felt nothing for a land desolated by fire, sword and famine . . . their sympathies took another direction; they were touched with pity for bribery, for rapine and oppression."¹⁰

He even angrily addressed the members of the House of Commons thus:

"Figure to yourself the form and fashion of your sweet and cheerful country from Thames to Trent . . . emptied and embrowelled."¹¹

These were not empty words coming from a power-drunk propagandist or a corrupt politician, but sincere words emanating from a deep sympathy with humanity, penetrating understanding and a courage of conviction. Burke pleaded for a better understanding of India. He insisted that the conquering race must abide by a moral law. According to him, England must be in India for India's benefit and not for her own. Thus he said:

"All these circumstances are not, I confess, very favourable to the idea of our attempting to govern India at all. But there we are: there we are placed by the Sovereign Disposer; and we must do the best we can in our situation. The situation of man is the preceptor of his duty."¹²

Professor Laski has rightly pointed out that there has never in any language been drawn a clearer picture of the dangers implicit in imperial adventure.¹³ Burke's was not a blind and uncritical my-country-

5. Speech on Fox's East India Bill, December 1, 1783.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Speech on the Nabob of Arcot's debts, February, 1785.

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*

10. Speech on Fox's East India Bill, *op. cit.*

11. Laski, *op. cit.*

^{5.} Burke's Speech on the East India Bill, December, 1783.
^{6.} H. J. Laski: *Political Thought in England from Locke to Bentham*.

^{7.} Rockingham afterwards confessed that his suspicion was unfounded.

right-or-wrong patriotism. Thus when he saw "the cries of India being given to seas and winds to be blown about an unhearing Ocean"¹² he did not hesitate to declare:

"I swear by this book that wrongs done to humanity in the Eastern world shall be avenged . . ."¹³

What is this but the quintessence of humanitarianism and internationalism? Burke's race-consciousness embraced all mankind. His generosity transcended all barriers. In the words of Lord Morley, Burke had a veneration for all old and settled order, whether in the Free Parliament of Great Britain or in the ancient absolutism of Versailles, or in the secular pomp of Oude and the inviolable sanctity of Benares.¹⁴

Again, it is said that Burke's mind was poisoned by Philip Francis and that Burke's source of information was objectionable. This is as untrue as it is unbelievable. It would be more appropriate to say that the tortured mind of Philip Francis pictured to Burke the equally tortured minds of the Indian people groaning under 'tyranny sublimed into madness.' Philip Francis, it must be emphasised, was neither the first nor the only man who informed Burke about India. Burke had already met in a coffee club a run-away lad from Calcutta, Emin¹⁵ by name, who by opening his heart opened the eyes of Burke to the atrocities of the Company rule. From then on he devoted himself assiduously to a study of the conditions in India. He soon came to possess greater knowledge of Indian affairs than anyone else of his time. That knowledge, Lord Morley remarks, grows "from sedulous meditation of long years, directed by a powerful intellect and inspired by an interest in human well-being."¹⁶ Nobody was more conscious of it than Burke himself. He boasted, and justly too, that

"If I had asked for a reward, which I have never done, it would be for the sixteen years I laboured with the most assiduity and met with the least success—I mean in the affairs of India."¹⁷

12. Speech on Fox's East India Bill, *op. cit.*

13. Speech in the House of Commons, 1784.

14. Edmund Burke—A Historical Study by Morley.

15. Vide Edmund Burke by R. H. Murray, pp. 63-65.

16. Morley, *op. cit.*

17. Quoted by Mr. Newman in his *Edmund Burke*.

Lastly, Burke's impeachment of Warren Hastings for "high crimes and misdemeanour" which was once the most spectacular achievement of Burke and the most valuable service he did to India (for that acted as a permanent source of fear for the succeeding Governors-General) is now regarded by some as a result of personal enmity between him and Warren Hastings. English writers like Dodwell and Roberts, wholly forgetting the heart-rending misdeeds of Hastings spend much time in debunking the character of Philip Francis and "his tool—Burke." Thus a writer remarks that the investigation was not instituted to ascertain truth, but to fix criminalic glitter' on the whole episode.¹⁸ It is when they view Warren Hastings only from the point of view of the growth of the British Empire that these writers err. Nobody can deny that Hastings was one of the founders of the British Empire, but Burke looked at him and his actions from quite a different angle, from the point of view of the welfare of India. Thus he thundered:

"I impeach Warren Hastings in the name of the people of India whose country he has destroyed . . ."

Lord Morley observes:

"That Hastings was acquitted was immaterial. The lesson of his impeachment had been taught with sufficient force—the great lesson that the Asiatics have rights, the Europeans have obligations . . ."

And he even goes further and calls Burke as the "first apostle and great upholder of integrity, mercy and honour in relation between his countrymen and their humble dependents."¹⁹

Edmund Burke's name has taken a permanent place in the annals of British Indian administration as having been responsible for starting a liberal tradition. It is no wonder that his speeches and writings along with those of John Stuart Mill became the fountain-head of inspiration for our freedom-fighters.

18. *Journal of Indian History*, Vol. III, p. 131.

19. Morley, *op. cit.*

20. *Ibid.*



THE PURPOSES OF THE UNITED NATIONS

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The declared purposes of the United Nations are, briefly, four: first, maintenance of international peace and security; secondly, development of friendly relations among nations; thirdly, international co-operation for the solution of international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character and for the promotion of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and, fourthly, co-ordination of all international activities.

These purposes have been enumerated in Article 1, but will be found also in other parts of the United Nations Charter including the Preamble.

According to Goodrich and Hambro :

"It is difficult to think of a single matter within the sphere of international relations or affecting relations between states which cannot be brought within the scope of these comprehensive purposes".

Maintenance of international peace and security is rightly placed at the head of the list of the objectives of the United Nations, for without peace none of its other aims can be achieved. The United Nations is entitled to take all "appropriate measures to strengthen Universal peace,"¹ and so Universal peace between and within nations is within the scope of the United Nations. Prof. Hans Kelsen categorically says, "The purpose of the United Nations is world peace."² For in the first place, a civil war, or any other situation within a state, may be interpreted by the competent organ of the United Nations as a threat to international peace, in which case intervention on the part of the organisation is not prohibited according to the express provision of Article 2(7) which lays down the principle of domestic jurisdiction of nations; secondly, the United Nations Organisation is required to ensure that even states which are not Members of the United Nations Act in accordance with the principles laid down in Article 2 of the Charter "so far as may be necessary for the maintenance of international peace and security";³ and, thirdly, the preamble speaking of the determination of the peoples of the United Nations "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" expressly refers to "mankind".

Peace in all parts of the world is thus the first concern of the United Nations Organisation. With a view to maintaining international peace and security the United Nations will not only (a) "take effective and collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace", but will also (b) "bring

about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace."⁴

Evidently, prevention and removal of war and any other threat to the peace, suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and solution of international disputes and tensions are all more or less negative steps in the interest of peace. But "to strengthen universal peace" the United Nations is also entitled to take definitely positive steps like developing "friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples".⁵

It is obviously difficult to maintain peace and security in an atmosphere of suspicion, fear, resentment and jealousy. For removal of this difficulty it is essential that there should be a community of friendly nations through all possible means. The Charter refers to "the equal rights and self-determination of peoples" as a specific means for this purpose. This reference, however, does not involve a guarantee that the United Nations will alter the status quo in accordance with these ideas. The Charter of the United Nations seems to be very cautious in this connexion: it only enjoins that "respect" for these ideas should be the "basis" of friendly relations among peoples or nations.⁶

Peace and friendship among nations may be called the political purposes of the United Nations in view of their direct relation with the struggle for power among nations.

These political purposes, however, may not be effectively realised unless there be some conditions of stability and well-being among nations.⁷ This brings us at once to the economic, social and other purposes of the United Nations. Of course, these non-political purposes are not necessarily ancillary to the political purposes of the United Nations. Aims like greater economic stability, wider prosperity, more complete social justice, higher educational standard, relief against distress, human rights and fundamental freedoms may be pursued independently of all other purposes. But the interrelation between the political and non-political objectives of the United Nations, as of any other association, is too patent to be ignored.

A significant thing about the non-political purposes of the United Nations is that they speak specifically of

1. Goodrich and Hambro : *Charter of the United Nations*, p. 22.
2. U. N. Charter, Art. 1 (2).
3. *Law of the United Nations*, p. 19.
4. U. N. Charter, Art. 2 (6).

5. U. N. Charter, Art. 1 (1).
6. Ibid., Art. 1 (2).
7. Bentwich & Martin: *A Commentary on the Charter of the United Nations*, p. 7.
8. U. N. Charter, Art. 55.

human rights and fundamental freedoms. Before the First World War, very little was said about them. But during the period between the two World Wars there had been wide and far-reaching attacks upon even some basic rights and freedoms of human beings on grounds of race, sex, language or religion. As a result there developed some sort of a world public opinion which condemned all such attacks. Discerning thinkers began to see that some of the tensions among nations were basically due to the discrimination practised by certain Governments against racial, religious, social and political groups. This led to an agitation for the international protection of human rights and freedoms and ultimately clauses regarding these rights and freedoms were placed in various parts of the Charter itself.⁹ But what are these human rights and fundamental freedoms? Generally, they seem to mean "those minimum rights of the individual which at any stage of civilisation are deemed to be inseparable attributes of the human person."¹⁰ They are by no means confined to the "four essential human freedoms" listed by President Roosevelt in his message to the Congress on January 6, 1941; (a) "freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world"; (b) "freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world"; (c) "freedom from want—everywhere in the world"; and (d) "freedom from fear—anywhere in the world." Nor can it be said that they are exhaustively defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights proclaimed by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948 with the affirmative support of no less than 48 States. In any case, there is no unanimity of views regarding either definition of these rights and freedoms or their enumeration.

Just as the reference to "the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples" does not amount to a guarantee that the United Nations will alter the status quo in accordance with this principle, so also the reference to the human rights and fundamental freedoms does not involve a guarantee that the United Nations must enforce the undisturbed enjoyment of these rights and freedoms. The Charter of the United Nations requires the Organisation only to "promote" and "encourage" universal respect for and observance of "human rights and fundamental freedoms for all."¹¹ The United Nations can do this by undertaking a study of these rights and freedoms in different countries, by attempting to find what may be called an L.C.M. of these rights and freedoms in them and by persuading them to adopt suitable international conventions in this connexion. As Bentwich and Martin say:

"To promote" is a word less powerful than "to maintain," the term which defines the Organisation's authority in matters of peace and security. So that the Organisation should be able to maintain peace,

Member States have agreed to serious inroads on national sovereignty, such as the delegation of executive powers to the Security Council and the renunciation of neutrality. No comparable concessions are made in the economic and social fields."¹¹

However, it need not be supposed that because such concessions have not been made by the members of the United Nations in respect of its non-political activities, the achievements of the Organisation are likely to be necessarily less in these spheres than in others. Far from it. As a matter of fact, the non-political purposes of the United Nations are developed and emphasised in different parts of the Charter of the United Nations; and elaborate bodies like the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the Specialised Agencies, Committees and Commissions and even non-governmental organisations have been working in these fields with lesser friction and greater success than the Organisation as a whole in respect of its political purposes.

It is, of course, not possible to make a clear-cut distinction between the political and non-political purposes of the United Nations. Those purposes of the United Nations which tend to restrain the struggle for power among nations have been called political and the rest non-political. Lurking behind many economic, social, cultural and educational matters, and even matters of health, there are often factors which are used by nations to develop their prestige and power.

The fourth purpose of the United Nations is co-ordination of international activities and is administrative in nature. It is, of course, not expected that all international activities in the political, economic, social, cultural and humanitarian affairs will flow through the United Nations. This is neither possible nor desirable. For, the world we live in is still more a multiverse than a universe. All that is intended is that the United Nations should be a forum for discussion and a clearing house for information in most international affairs. The Charter, therefore, cautiously speaks of the United Nations being only "a centre," and not "the centre" for harmonizing the activities of nations in the attainment of the common ends.

Of all the ends of the United Nations the political ends are the most important; and their priority has been recognised even in the drafting of the Charter. While international peace and security must be maintained by the United Nations, the Organisation is only expected to make "respect" for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples the basis of friendly international life; and "respect" for human rights and for fundamental freedoms and their observance are only to be "promoted" and "encouraged." The very order of statement of the purposes of the United Nations, peace and security coming first, friendship among nations second, and others later is an

9. Bentwich & Martin: *A Commentary on the Charter of the United Nations*, p. 8.

10. Arts 1(3), 55.

11. Bentwich & Martin: *A Commentary on the Charter of the United Nations*, p. 117.

indirect emphasis on the political purposes of the United Nations. Indeed, in case of a threat to the peace, an act of aggression or any breach of the peace the first concern of the United Nations is not to enquire whether the status quo was in conformity with the principles of justice and international law. Its first move is for the suppression of all forms of breaches of the peace, and then "bring about by peaceful means," and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations."¹² The ancillary nature of the non-political purposes is also evident from Article 55 which states that various social, economic, and humanitarian acts to be undertaken by the United Nations "with a view to the creation of the conditions of stability and well-being are necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations." Under Article 73 the obligation to promote the well-being of the inhabitants of the non-self-governing territories is accepted as a sacred trust only "within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter." The first purpose of the trusteeship system is to further international peace and security,¹³ and Article 84 also requires that "It shall be the duty of the administering authority to ensure that the trust territory shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security." Again, under Article 2 (7), the United Nations acquires the right of intervention in the domestic affairs of a nation only when the Security Council takes enforcement measures for meeting threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression. Under Article 25, the Members of the United Nations agree to accept and carry out the decisions of the Security Council in accordance with the present Charter. But Article 56 only requires that all Members pledge themselves to take joint and separate action in co-operation with the Organisation for the achievement of the purposes" in the non-political sphere; and this Article has been interpreted as having reduced the responsibility of Members in respect of socio-economic activities of the United Nations only "to give separately or jointly, such support, as they think fit."¹⁴ Finally, a state can qualify for being a member of the United Nations by being first of all, "peace-loving" and may be expelled or suspended from membership of the United Nations for any contrary act in this connexion.¹⁵ But no similar emphasis is placed on the non-political aspects of the life of a nation in connexion with the recruitment of members for the United Nations or their suspension or expulsion.

Professor Hans Kelsen has pointed out a number of defects in respect of the wording of the provisions

in the Charter in relation to the purposes of the United Nations.¹⁶ (1) As there is little difference between "peace" and "security," the addition of the word "and security" may be treated as rather superfluous. (2) In case of a breach of the peace, the purpose of the United Nations cannot be to "maintain" it but to "restore" it, a terminological distinction which is made in Articles 39 and 51, but not in the Preamble and Chapter I. (3) It is difficult to understand why there should be "prevention and removal of threats to the peace," but only "suppression," and not "prevention" of acts of aggression and other breaches of the peace. (4) It is not only that "acts of aggression" have not been defined in the Charter used in association with the phrase "breaches of the peace," it seems to be even superfluous. (5) In Article I "breaches of the peace" has been treated as a wider concept including that of "act of aggression," for the wording here is "acts of aggression and other breaches of the peace." But in Article 39, where the wording is "the breach of the peace or act of aggression," the concept has been treated in a different way.

(6) If "effective collective measures" in Article I means enforcement measures determined by Articles 41 to 50, a threat to the peace cannot be "prevented" by such action, but only "removed," for under Article 39 such action is to be taken only if such a threat actually existed." (7) The Preamble of the Charter uses a long phrase, "obligation arising from treaties and other sources of international law," which could be far more briefly expressed by two words, "international obligations." (8) Particular stress in the Preamble on the respect for treaty obligation is problematical when Article 14 authorises the General Assembly to recommend measures, including revision of treaties, for the peaceful adjustment of any situation. (9) It is evidently a purpose of the United Nations to secure international co-operation in political and other affairs. But what is "international co-operation in the political field" as stated in Article 13, Paragraph I (a)? The term 'international' here might be regarded as superfluous, for by a treaty only international co-operation of states can be established. States may co-operate in the field of international as well as in the field of national politics. But it seems the authors of the Charter do not intend to treat co-operation in the field of national politics as 'political' co-operation. This explains the formula "co-operation in the political field" as used in Article 13: (i). (a) in contradistinction to "co-operation in the economic, social, cultural, educational and health fields" in clause (b). In the interest of clarity of thought the phrase "international co-operation in the political field" should have been replaced by such a simpler phrase as "co-operation in international politics."

(10) The Preamble of the Charter states that an 'end' of the United Nations is "to promote social pro-

12. United Nations Charter, Art 1(1).

13. *Ibid.*, Art. 76.

14. Bentwich & Martin: *A Commentary on the Charter of the United Nations*, p. 118.

15. United Nations Charter, Arts 4, 5, & 6.

16. *Law of the United Nations, Chaps. 2 & 3.*

gress and better standard of living in larger freedom" and a 'means' to this end is "to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples." But the 'end' and 'means' seem to be more or less identical. (11) Article 1 (3) states that a purpose of the United Nations is "to achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character." But Articles 13 and 55 authorise the General Assembly to initiate studies and make recommendations for the purpose of promoting international co-operation in certain fields which may be both national and international.¹⁷ (12) After having specifically stated in Article 1(3) that the United Nations has a 'humanitarian' purpose, why the same purpose is not specifically mentioned in Article 13(1)b? (13) Educational and health fields are specifically mentioned in Article 13(1)b, but why not in Article 1(3)? (14) The term 'educational' in Article 13 (1) b might be treated as superfluous, for the matter seems to be covered by the term cultural in the same Article. (15) Article 55 states that the United Nations shall promote "universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms." But why was the word 'observance' omitted in Article 1(3)? (16) In Article 1(3) "human rights" were treated as matters for international co-operation. But in Article 13(1)b the function of the Organisation with respect to human rights is not specifically characterised as comprised in the function of promoting economic and social co-operation. (17) 'Progress' implies 'development' and, as such, is redundant in the phrase "social progress and development" in Article 55(a). (18) What is meant by the phrase "larger freedom" in the Preamble? Does it imply the political freedom of democracy or only the economic freedom in the sense of liberalism? (19) Article 55(b) makes a distinction between promoting "solution of international economic, social, health and related problems" and promoting "international, cultural and educational co-operation." But surely solution of the problems referred to implies international co-operation, and international co-operation in the sphere suggested also implies solution of problems in that sphere.¹⁸ (20) Article 62 defining the functions of the Economic and Social Council is superfluous, for Article 60 has already stipulated that all the functions set forth in Chapter IX shall be performed by the Economic and Social Council. (21) Why does Article 62 make specific mention of the functions stated in 55(b) and 55(c) but not of that stated in 55(a)? (22) Why is the phrase "without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion" carefully maintained in Articles 1, 13 and 55, but dropped in Article 62? (23) The Preamble speaks of "fundamental human rights." There is no reason why the same idea should be covered in other parts of the Charter by the phrase "human rights

and fundamental freedoms." (24) The formula "human rights and fundamental freedoms," may be treated as incorrect, for freedoms are nothing but rights. (25) The Preamble proclaimed the principle of making no distinction as to sex. But why did it not speak also of the principle of making no distinction as to race, language or religion, a principle which has been established in later Articles? (26) Why "the dignity and worth of the human person" and "to practise tolerance" are mentioned only in the Preamble but not in other parts of the Charter? (27) It may be pointed out that the obligation stated in Article 2 (3) is not exactly in harmony with the corresponding function of the United Nations under Article 1 (1). As it is, Members are obliged to settle their disputes only, but the Organisation is also required to adjust situations which do not assume the character of a dispute. Besides, Article 2 (3) requires only that justice should not be endangered; but Article 1 (1) also requires that there should be, moreover, conformity to international law. (28) To speak of maintenance of justice and at the same time of respect for law is problematical. Either law is identical with justice or not. In the former case one of the terms is superfluous. And in the latter case, the question arises whether in case of conflict, the one or the other shall be maintained. But the Charter gives no answer to this question.

These and other similar defects in the statement of the purposes are not very important and might even be ignored as being almost natural in any document drawn up by different persons. But the purposes, as stated in the Charter, may be subjected to more serious criticisms.

In the first place, the United Nations is more concerned with peaceful status quo than with peaceful change. The emphasis on the political purposes of the United Nations, specially on the Organisation's role as a machinery for international peace and security, is unmistakable. In a sense, this is even justifiable on the ground that order comes before the law and that the United Nations, like any national state must first act as a policeman, before it can act as an arbitrator. But there is a danger—and the danger was noted even at San Francisco—that this rigid attitude toward moral and legal foundation of peace might lead to unjustifiable settlement of the Munich type.¹⁹ In a dynamic world society like ours a greater emphasis should be placed on the necessity, method and techniques of peaceful change on the maintenance of the existing status quo for the sake of peace only.

In the second place, though the Charter speaks of strengthening "Universal peace," the United Nations as an Organisation is not authorised to have anything to do directly with the problem of national peace. The primary objective of the United Nations is international

17. Kelsen : *Law of the United Nations*, p. 23.

18. Bentwich & Martin, *A Commentary on the Charter of the United Nations*, p. 66.

peace. National peace included in the idea of Universal peace is only its secondary objective. If peace in all its aspects was directly within the scope of the purpose of the United Nations, the Organisation could deal with a case like the Chinese revolution in 1949 which, when it occurred, was certainly a grave threat to the peace of a very wide area. As it is, the United Nations can deal only with international quarrels which, in some cases, at least, may be of a very minor importance as in the case of a dispute between, say, Uruguay and Paraguay. Thus some of the great problems of peace may be beyond the scope of the United Nations.

In the third place, even the problems of peace that are within the scope of the United Nations cannot be effectively dealt with by the United Nations. For in respect of international peace, the jurisdiction of the United Nations is not exclusive, but subject to the concurrent jurisdiction of the nations themselves. Nations have often played this role of peace-making by arming to the teeth, ostensibly for self-defence but actually in some cases for aggression. If international peace is to be an effective purpose of the United Nations, the authority of the Organisation must cut across the authority of the nation states in respect of peace, and have greater authority over nation states, making them subordinate, not co-ordinate, units of administration. The real weakness of the United Nations in this respect is seen in Articles 2(7) and 51 which speak of the vague principles of the domestic jurisdiction of the nations and their rights of self-defence.

In the fourth place, the purposes of the United Nations for maintaining peace and developing friendship among nations are backed up by some obligations on the part of the members of the United Nations. For instance, Members are required to settle their international disputes by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace and security and justice are not endangered; they must refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state; and they cannot take shelter behind the principle of domestic jurisdiction when the Security Council takes enforcement measures for peace among nations.¹⁹ But there is an influential opinion maintaining that there is no corresponding obligation on the part of Members in respect of the non-political purposes of the United Nations. As Hans Kelsen says:

"... the Charter does not impose upon the Members a strict obligation to grant to their subjects the rights and freedoms mentioned in the preamble or in the text of the Charter. The language used by the Charter in this respect does not allow the interpretation that the Members are under legal obligations regarding the rights and freedoms of their subjects. All the formulas concerned establish

purposes or functions of the Organisation, not obligations of the Members, and the Organisation is not empowered by the Charter to impose upon the governments of the Member States the obligation to guarantee to their subjects the rights referred to in the Charter. The fact that the Charter, as a treaty, refers to a matter is in itself not a sufficient reason for the assumption that the Charter imposes obligations with respect to the matter upon the contracting parties."²⁰

Some, however, maintain a contrary view. According to a Philippine delegate, for instance:

"Signature of the Charter involved the observance of the principle that there should be no distinction as to race, sex, language or religion. This was one of the fundamental principles of the Charter. Any member could call upon another to account before any appropriate organ of the United Nations for alleged infringements of that obligation."²¹

According to a resolution adopted on April 25, 1949, Article 1 (3) of the Charter binds all Members to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, and in Article 55 (c) the Members undertook to promote universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. The Preamble of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the General Assembly on December 10, 1948 also states that the Member States have pledged themselves to achieve in co-operation with the United Nations the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms. In any case, however, the obligation regarding human rights and fundamental freedoms will not be backed by the binding decisions of the Security Council unless issues relating to these rights and freedoms endanger or threaten international peace and security.

In the fifth place, it may also be maintained that the organizational structure of the United Nations and its authority also are not adequate to the great tasks with which it has been entrusted. The General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council and the Trusteeship Council can only recommend measures, but cannot make binding decisions. The decisions of the Security Council are, of course, binding. But it can be paralysed at any moment through the principle of Great Powers' unanimity or veto. Besides, any enforcement action to be taken by the Security Council is based on the principle of the collective responsibility of the state guilty of the threat to, or breach of, the peace, and not on the principle of individual responsibility which alone can make such enforcement action really effective. The International Court of Justice consists of the most highly qualified judges. But the Court has no compulsory jurisdiction, but only voluntary jurisdiction in respect of disputes between States.²² Nor do the

20. *Law of the United Nations*, p. 29.

21. Kelsen: *Law of the United Nations*, p. 30.

22. Statute of the International Court of Justice, Articles 36, 53 (2), 65-8. Charter of the United Nations, Articles 37, 95 and 96.

organs of the United Nations approach in any way the democratic principle of individual as the unit of representation so far as their structures are concerned.

Finally, it may be said that these defects stem from the basic fact that the world today is not yet adequately prepared for world loyalty and world institutions over and above national loyalties and national institutions. The vast majority of mankind consider their nation states as the highest units of allegiance, and they act more for national peace and national prosperity and less for international peace and international prosperity. It will be agreed that national peace and national prosperity cannot be adequately maintained and developed if parties or groups within the nation are treated as of higher importance than the nation itself. But it is not yet duly realised that narrow nationalism which thinks more of the nation and less of the world is a danger or threat to international peace and security. The result is that while politics in a nation are a struggle for power among groups and individuals under the guiding influence of an ideal, politics among nations are essentially a struggle for power without the guiding

influence of any powerful ideal. Thus, power is more important than morality in international affairs; and the nations and their leaders do not feel much scruple to take shelter behind all vague provisions in the United Nations Charter and other international documents. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Dag Hammarskjöld, once said to a religious gathering:

"The United Nations stands outside—necessarily outside—all confessions, but it is nevertheless an instrument of faith. As such, it is inspired by what unites, and not what divides the great religions of the world."²³ True; but if this instrument is to be effective for international peace, this faith of the United Nations, i.e., loyalty to a world-wide cause must be stronger than the modern religion of nationalism. Basically, this requires that the flag of mankind must be planted on the great psychological Everest of narrow nationalism which during the last few centuries has given cover to all sorts of human vices in all critical moments of history.

23. *The Statesman*, August 23, 1954. Also, *The United Nations Review*, October 1954, p. 23.

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KANGRA VALLEY PAINTING

BY PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

THE history of Indian painting, covering a long period of about five thousand years, comes to an end about the middle of the 19th century with the death of Molaram of Gharwal, the last representative of the Hill Schools of Painting. Of the Hill Schools, the most brilliant representative was the short-lived School of the Kangra Valley, which reached its climax during the reign of Samsar Chand (1774-1823). This school, though a late development of the Hill School, has lent a valuable prestige to the last phase of the history of Indian painting through a series of amazing masterpieces, rich in their charming colour schemes, wonderful presentation of natural scenes and an enchanting gallery depicting the shy beauty of Indian women in diverse poses of love and devotion, and, above all, by their sublimated presentation of Krishna-lila heavily charged with a mystic devotion derived from the religion of the *Bhagavata*, popularized by a group of composers of love-lyrics in Hindi, of which Kesavdas, Beharilal and others were the stimulating inspiration for the masters of the Kangra School. Though first recorded by an early English traveller, Moorcroft (1800), the Kangra School was the brilliant discovery of Dr. Coomaraswamy, who first exhibited some specimens at the Allahabad Exhibition in 1910 and which he fully presented with a subjective and penetrating interpretation of their contents in his

epoch-making work *Rajput Painting* (2 Vols., Oxford 1916). The study and exposition of the beauty of Kangra masterpieces demonstrated the amazing vitality of Indian culture surviving in a living form even on the eve of the British conquest of India.

The highly aesthetic qualities of Kangra paintings, their flowing and rhythmic draughtsmanship, their attractive colour schemes and their charming techniques soon captivated the hearts of European and American connoisseurs, who ever since the publication of Coomaraswamy's monograph, have been acquiring and exporting out of India the rarest gems of the school, to the progressive impoverishment of the art-treasures of India; the nation being still unconscious of the great values of its spiritual heritage. Between the year 1916 and the following half a century, an enormous amount of the finest miniatures of this school have been exported out of India, the loss of which could not be covered by the acquisitions of a few private Indian collectors (Tagores, Ghosh, Treasury-walla, Ardesir and Sangram Singh). As things stand at present, the most outstanding masterpieces have found their ways into the European and American collections. The last great exodus was the transfer of the famous Manuk Collection of Patna to England. Even now the exodus of our art-treasures has not stopped, particularly, in respect of miniatures of our pictorial masterpieces.

Pious resolutions of the Government of India as regards acquisition and preservation of the surviving treasures of Indian painting in our National Galleries have not been practically implemented and the narrow and stingy rules of purchase are threatening the exodus of the few remaining masterpieces of pictorial art, now in the collection of private connoisseurs and collectors. Our nationalists with pretensions of higher education and culture are still impervious to the beauties of our old masterpieces and continue to neglect the study of their great artistic heritage. Equally perverse is the attitude of our modern exponents of art and the modern practitioners in India, who cultivate a pose of vanity and superiority complex, turning their backs on our old masters of painting and sculpture, pretending that they have nothing to learn from the Buddhist, Moghul, Rajput, and Gujarati Schools of painting, forgetting that their counterparts in Europe swear by and intensely study the old masters of European Schools, the Gothic, the Byzantine and the Italian Primitives, sometimes slavishly copying the manners and mannerisms of El Greco, Duccio and Margaritone.

Indian painting can never grow before modern artists and connoisseurs bend their knees before the old masters of India and assimilate all the lessons they have to teach to all our modern and future art-practitioners.

It is surprising to find what amount of earnest study and scientific research is being devoted by European scholars to the Hill Schools and the Kangra Valley paintings. The lead given by Coomaraswamy, half a century ago, has not been followed by any Indian connoisseurs (with the exception of Mehta and Mukandi Lal), but has been steadily followed by a group of foreign scholars, Goetz, Kramrisch, J. C. French, Basil Gray, William Archer, Irwin, and Tchoukine. It is therefore encouraging to find an Indian connoisseur taking up, in 1954, the serious study of the Kangra Valley School. Mr. M. S. Randhawa, I.C.S., the Development Officer of Chandigarh, has given us a new study of this school, generously patronized by the Information Division of the Government of India. The great merit of this book is the presentation of 40 examples in full-colour facsimiles (mostly unpublished before) at a very cheap price. The author has been able to tap many private collections in the Punjab and brought forward many new data for the study of this fascinating branch of Indian painting. Except that coarse-grain screens have been used by the *Times Press*, Bombay, the reproductions have on the whole given a correct colour translation of the originals. If finer screens were used, the strength and delicacy of the draughtsmanship could have been conveyed as in the reproductions of analogous specimens reproduced by Faber and Faber in their *Kangra Painting* and *Garhwal Painting* (London). In the matter of accurate colour reproductions Indian engravers are yet far behind their counterparts in Europe. And improvements in the standards of colour facsimiles are one of the chief necessities and conditions for the greater understanding and appreciation of Indian pictorial masterpieces by Indians.

Mr. Randhawa's Introduction and descriptive letter-press are somewhat disappointing, as he has denied us the benefit of an accurate iconographic study and documentation of the pictures with quotations from Hindi texts. Addressed primarily to Indian readers, his English descriptions of the subject-matters miss fire. We strongly recommend to the author a study of the popular book: *Lore Poems in Hindi* (Little Books on Asiatic Art, Vol. 4, Calcutta, 1936) for citations from Hindi texts in support and explanation of the illustrations in his second edition. The *Bara-masia* pictures cited by him would have made greater appeal if accompanied by the corresponding texts from Kesavdas. The *Feast in the Forest* also called forth the well-known texts of the *Bhagavata*. As regards the *Elopement* (24), the identification of the story from the *Kathasarit-sagara*, was given long ago with citations of three illustrations of the topic (*Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Berlin, N. F. XII, Heft 6, 216-219). Some of the specimens reproduced have been known in earlier or better versions (7, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 20, 21, 29, 30, 34.). It is a matter of regret that out of the 40 specimens cited, hardly more than 4 could be said to be outstanding specimens. This seems to suggest that the best masterpieces of the school have been combed out long ago and exported out of India. *The Fire in the Village* (28), though an unusual thing, has been 'spoiled' by the introduction of the divine pair Krishna and Radha borrowed from a well-known masterpiece. The *Suklabhisarika* (11) and the *Reverly by Night* (25) are two very rare and unusual illustrations. The *Lament of Separation* (15) is really a ragini motif, that of Todi, frequently illustrated. It is unfortunate that a second-class example, very much clumsy and involved in its composition, has been pasted on the cover. We could warmly congratulate the author for recovering the names of four, hitherto, unknown names in the Kangra School—Gursahaya, Kushanlal, Hastu, and Purkhu of whom future students may help to provide fuller particulars. The letter-press appears to have been done in a hurry in the midst of heavy administrative works. Several irresponsible and rash remarks have crept into the text. To say that "by the 8th century A.D., Buddhism had ceased to be an inspiration to the artist" is to ignore the great glory of the illustrated MSS. of the Pala School (10th to 13th century). To say that "the orthodox art of India declined rapidly after the 9th century" is to forget the monuments of Elura and of Elephana which include the finest masterpieces not only of India but of the whole world (e.g., Hiranya-Kasipu panel, and the Tri-murti). In spite of these minor blemishes, this profusely illustrated tribute to a great school of painting will be of great help in winning new devotees to one of the finest phases of Indian painting.*

* *Kangra Valley Painting*: By M. S. Randhawa. Published by the Ministry of Information, Government of India. 1955. 18 pages text, 40 colour plates. Price Rs. 18.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

PERSIAN RECORDS OF MARATHA HISTORY —II: Sindhia as Regent of Delhi (1787 & 1789-91): General Editor P. M. Joshi. Translated from the Persian with notes by Jadunath Sarkar M.A., Hon'y. Litt. Published by the Director of Archives, Government of Bombay. Pp. i-x + 1-63. Price Rs. 2.

The book, under review, is the second volume of the Persian Records of Maratha History series published under the editorial care of Shri P. M. Joshi. It contains English translations of Persian records preserved in the Salar Jang Library of Hyderabad and in the Bombay Record Office (Parasnis Collection). The Persian papers have been translated by our eminent historian Acharya Jadunath Sarkar.

The book, within its short compass, contains very valuable records which cover the years 1787 and 1789-91. These were crucial years in the career of Mahadji Sindhia and in the history of North India. In 1787, Mahadji invaded Rajputana and in the encounter with the Rajputs at Lalsot suffered a heavy reverse. In the end he was forced to beat a retreat. This famous Lalsot campaign is illustrated in the first part of the book. We can follow the events and discussions in Mahadji's camp with a fulness of detail and accuracy of reporting unparalleled by any other event in Indian history. The period 1789-91 is also of considerable historical interest as during it Mahadji was the actual dictator of the policy of the Delhi Empire. The copious Persian reports from Sindhia's camp covering the years 1789-91 have been published for the first time in the second part of the book. They shed much light on the character and capacity of Sindhia, on the inner workings of the Maratha camp in Rajputana in 1791, and on the growth and development of Sindhia's army under De Boigne. 'No biographer of Sindhia can afford to neglect this original source.' Our thanks are due to the Director of Bombay Archives for publishing this invaluable source-book of Maratha history.

TARIT KUMAR MUKHERJI

ANCIENT HISTORY OF SAURASHTRA (being a study of the Maitrakas of Valabhi v to viii centuries A.D.): By Dr. Krishnakumari J. Virji, Ph.D. With a foreword by George M. Moraes, Professor of History, St. Xavier's College (Bombay). Published by Konkan Institute of Arts and Sciences, Bombay-I. 1952. Pp. vi + 354. Price Rs. 22-8.

This monograph which won for its authoress the degree of Ph.D. of the Bombay University in 1947 is a work of considerable painstaking research. The authoress has spared no pains in collecting her materials from all available original sources, literary, epigraphic and numismatic as well as books and

articles published by scholars working in this field so far. The work consists of three parts. Part I deals with the history of the Maitraka dynasty (5th—8th century A.D.) with a concluding chapter on the Valabhi era. Part II describes the social, the religious and the economic conditions as well as the state of learning and the administrative organisation in the country under Maitraka rule. It consists of additional chapters on coinage and epigraphy, this last containing a chart illustrating the development of the Maitraka script out of the original Brahmi alphabet along with complete lists of inscriptions of the dynasty as well as the names of donors, the objects of donations and the beneficiaries mentioned therein. Part III contains a list (illustrated with 2 maps) of place-names found in the inscriptions along with their identifications. The book is further enriched with two Plates illustrating the Maitraka seals and coins as well as bronzes. A comprehensive bibliography and a good index bring this useful volume to a close.

The above brief analysis is enough to demonstrate the high scholarly value of this work. In its admirably exhaustive and critical treatment of its subject-matter, it might well serve as a model for other regional histories. We propose to make a few remarks for consideration by the authoress when a new edition is called for. Instead of drawing upon the data from distant regions and times in our land the authoress would have been well advised in confining herself as much as possible to the material bearing immediately upon her subject. Some of her statements require considerable revision. Such are the references to Skandagupta's succumbing to the repeated attacks of the Hunas and his war of succession with his brother Purugupta (sic.) (pp. 22-23), to the Mauryan polity as "a loose confederation of several States established by the express consent of the constituent units" (p. 230), to the ancient Indian kings performing "religiously" "from a very early age all legislative, executive, military and judicial functions in the State" (p. 231), and to all land in the kingdom vesting in the king as State-property (p. 232). Of the same nature is the sweeping generalisation (p. 231) that "neither in ancient nor in mediaeval India was there any possibility of a despotic form of government." The faulty transliteration of Sanskrit texts (pp. 22 n, 253, etc.) and the unfortunately too frequent misprints of personal and place-names should be corrected. In the bibliographical list at the end the most scholarly and up-to-date editions of the original works where available should be mentioned instead of their reverse.

The paper, print and general get-up of the book are satisfactory.

U. N. GHOSHAL

CULTURE OF HARMONY: By Phanibhusan Roy, M.A., Ph.D., with a foreword by Dr. Mahendranath Sarkar. Published by S. C. Seal, M.A., LL.B., Hon. General Secretary, The Indian Research Institute, Calcutta. Price: Inland Rs. 10, Foreign 14s.

The work under review discusses in detail the Vedic and Post-Vedic ideas of Hindu civilisation in its various aspects. It embodies a critical study of the various systems of Indian thought including the philosophy of Buddha. Indeed, much has been said on the nature and implication of the concept of *Nirvana*. One cannot but admire the extent of scholarship revealed in the pages of the book and it must be said without any hesitation that the writer evinces a first-hand study of the original texts which have been the sources and guides of his deliberations. The view-point of the Purvamimamsa school which puts emphasis on the theory of Karman and does not deny the necessity of knowledge for the attainment of emancipation has been thoroughly discussed. The Naiyayika position, so far as the concept of God is concerned, has been nicely brought out. It is really interesting to study the positions of the Sankhya and the Vedanta thinkers on cosmic order which has been correctly analysed. It is gratifying to find the writer advocating the cause of the four-fold means of human existence. In his opinion neither rigid and austere asceticism nor absolute quietism for the attainment of *Nirvana* is suitable for the average man in search of happiness and tranquillity. A close and intensive reading of the work will undoubtedly convince the reader of the author's faith in Hindu ideals of life.

Notwithstanding the merits of the work mentioned above, it strikes a critical student that the author has not allowed his penetrating insight to discover and appreciate the depth of implication of the orthodox masters in many places. It is true that his study is extensive and helps one in understanding the original texts but it is equally true that the more curious student will miss a critical evaluation of the theories which have been discussed. It is also a fact that the exposition, in some cases, has been so literal that it is difficult for one who is not acquainted with the original texts to understand and appreciate the worth of the exposition. But it must be said at the same time that the merit of the book out-weighs the demerits which do not always harass the reader or prove a stumbling block to a simple understanding of the original texts.

G. SASTRI

INDIA AND MALAYA: By Nedyam Raghavan. Published under the auspices of the Indian Council of World Affairs by the Orient Longmans Limited, Bombay, Calcutta, Madras. Price Rs. 2-12.

The charming peninsula of Malaya has been from time immemorial the meeting ground of trade-routes, races and civilisations. It has a composite and heterogeneous population, which comprises mainly the Malayas proper, the Chinese and the Indians. According to the 1947 Census returns, they constituted 43.77 per cent, 38 per cent and 11 per cent, respectively, of the population in the Federation of Malaya. The same returns revealed that the Chinese numbered 77.6 per cent and the Malayas 12.2 per cent in the Colony of Singapore in 1947.

Malaya has been throughout the historical period a close cultural relative of India. It was the bridge through which Indian culture passed into the Pacific.

The Indian influence on the life of Malaya—spiritual as well as material—has been so profound that "till the nineteenth century she owed nearly everything to India, alphabets, religion, a political system, law, astrology and medieval medicine, literature, sculpture in stone, metal work and the weaving of silk."

Recent history has made Malaya specially dear to patriotic India. It was an important recruiting and training centre of the Indian National Army of Netaji Subhash Chandra Bose, who arrived at Singapore in 1943. About 20,000 I.N.A. men were trained in Malaya and the efforts put up by the great leader and his selfless followers "brought India's freedom miles nearer."

Hindu and Buddhist influences were once supreme in Malaya. Islam went to Malaya in the 14th century. Islam, it should be noted, went from India. The whole peninsula became Muslim. A mingling of Muslim and non-Muslim cultures took place. Malaya was later drawn into the vortex of European power-politics. Her natural wealth, strategic importance and weakness made her for many years a bone of contention among Portugal, Holland and England. Fortune favoured the last-named in the long run and the peninsula became an English colony which it still is, in fact, if not in name. The grant of Penang to Captain Francis Light in 1785 by the Raja of Kedah was the thin end of the wedge.

Japan occupied Malaya during World War II. War-time conditions quickened the growth of nationalism. Malaya is on the march today. She is eager to order her life in her way. But British imperialism clings tenaciously to its ill-gotten gain in South-East Asia.

Mr. Nedyam Raghavan spent 25 years in Malaya and the volume under review bears the stamp of his intimate knowledge of the country and its problems.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

On ART (Addresses and Writings): By A. D. Purani. Published in April, 1955, by Sri Aurobindo Karyalaya, Pondicherry. Pages 90. D.C. 1/16. Price. Re. 1-8.

This small book contains seven pieces providing ample food for thought. It is dedicated to the late Dr. A. Coomaraswamy. The author defines Art in the words of Sri Aurobindo as the discovery and revelation of beauty, as the self-expression of consciousness of aesthetic vision and a perfect execution. He has shown in his own simple way that there are not only aesthetic-values, but also life-values, mind-values and soul-values with which we are to enter into the true concepts of Art.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

THE DIVINE NAME: By Sri Raghava Chaitanya Das. Published by the author from A/5 Anandasram, Proctor Road, Bombay-7. Pp. 456. Price Rs. 5.

The author of this attractive volume is a distinguished disciple of Sri Bhakti Siddhanta Saraswati, the founder of the Gaudiya Mission in Calcutta and pioneer of a renaissance of Bengal Vaishnavism. He is a learned preacher and deals in this book with the central message of Sri Gouranga Mahaprabhu, the medieval *avatara* of Bhagavan Sri Krishna. As its name signifies, the book mainly explains the wonderful efficacies of the Divine Name, the panacea of all ills of earthly life. It is divided into sixteen Chapters which are well written and profusely substantiated by Sanskrit couplets from various scriptures on Bhakti. About 550 Slokas from prominent Sanskrit

works as well as 60 Bengali verses from *Sri Chaitanya Charitamrita* have been quoted to make the book authentic and instructive. The evangelic life of Sri Haridas Thakur, known and respected as Namacharya has been described in some detail while discussing the nature of Bhakti and the practice of Nama-Sankirtan. In the opinion of the author the fourteenth chapter explains the importance of Sri Sankirtan vis-a-vis Smaran, Shravana and Dhyana where the niceties of the four forms of devotion and the superiority of Sri Nama-Sankirtan over all these *sadhanas* are clearly brought out. The fifteenth chapter contains many suitable quotations from different Puranas in support of the subject discussed. In the last chapter the author tries to show that the devotional repetition of Sri Krishna Nama is the quintessence of all spiritual practices. Sri Chaitanyadeva's discourse on the saving grace of Nama is elaborately expounded in the tenth chapter.

Cordially we welcome this interesting book and recommend it to the devout of all sects and sections throughout India. It is written in a readable style, printed in large type on glazy paper, beautifully bound and decorated with a tricolour picture of Sri Chaitanyadeva. Few works in English on Sri Mahaprabhu have appeared till now. Of all Acharyas it is he alone who declared that Bhakti is greater than Mukti as well as that atonement of all sins and attainment of Mukti is within the reach of every body by means of Nama-Japa. Long ago Sir Jadunath Sarkar's *Sri Chaitanya and His Contemporaries* was published; but that seems to be antiquated in the course of several decades. Hence the publication of works like the one under review is the desideratum of the day. The religion of love practised and preached by Sri Chaitanya and recorded in *Sri Chaitanya Charitamrita*, *Sri Chaitanya Bhagavata* and other Bengali scriptures is unique and universal and should be broadcasted by such English work like the present one all over India and the world.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

INDUSTRIAL ORGANISATION IN INDIA: By Mahesh Chand, M.A. and Shridhar Misra, M.A. Premier Publishing Co., Fountain, Delhi. Pp. 227. Price Rs. 5.

In eighteen chapters the authors discuss various aspects of organisation of industries in India. In the first seven chapters, Economic Evolution, Village Economy, Indian Agriculture, State and Agriculture, Treaties and Division of Industries, Manufacturing Industries and Organisation of Labour have been dealt with. In next eight chapters—Coal, Iron and Steel, Cement, Cotton, Sugar, Paper, Match and Glass Industries, have been discussed in lucid language suitable for young learners of the principal industries. Jute and tea should have been discussed. The authors devote a separate chapter for college students in U.P., now Uttar Pradesh. Trade Business and Trading Business in India are subject-matters for the last two chapters of the book.

Although the authors discuss the subjects as modern economists, they have never missed to give due weight to the considerations of Indian economy and the common man. The authors rightly devote a portion of their studies in each chapter on rural economy and small industries in the context of world trends. The book will be helpful in understanding the present-day industrial structures of the country.

A. B. DUTTQ

RAJNI: By Pushpa Kapur. Distributed by Rama Krishna and Sons, New Delhi. Pp. 265. Price Rs. 3-12.

Set in pre-Partition Punjab this novel reads like one of those trifling purposeless films that one has generally learnt to associate with Bombay. The people in this novel belong to the so-called smart set who have discarded the Indian mode of living as something opprobrious or alien and have found their salvation in a glut of boisterous dinners, dances and parties. Lest all this should bore the unwary reader, there are pompous lectures on such varied topics as women's place in society and home, evils of alcoholism, oppression of domestics in rich men's houses, the virtues of wearing "pure khaddar" and doing social welfare work, etc. What little of narrative is there, is full of silly women's chatter and idle verbiage. The net gain, as one painfully reaches the journey's end, is one moderately successful marriage, one wrecked marriage, an unjustifiably delayed union of two loving hearts and the inevitable final impression that all the good paper wasted on this book might well have been used for some worthier purpose.

RAMESH K. GHOSHAL

THE PERENNIAL FOUNT: Lyrics of Adoration and Love: By Nana Lal. Translated from the original Gujarati by Balchandra Parikh. Hind Kitabs Ltd., 261-269, Hornby Road, Bomday. Price Rs. 3-8.

Sri Nana Lal is one of the foremost modern Gujarati poets. This small volume comprises twenty-three of his fine lyrics. Translation is always a difficult task. Much is lost in the process. Still, through these renderings we feel the fervour of the original poet.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

SANSKRIT

SIDDHA-SIDDHANTA-PADDHATI AND OTHER WORKS OF THE NATHA YOGIS: By Smt. Kalyani Mallik, M.A., B.T., Ph.D. Poona Oriental Book House, 330-A, Sadashiva Peth, Poona. Price Rs. 10.

Dr. Mallik, who has made a special study of the religion and philosophy of the Nathas, now publishes a number of works belonging to them, some of which are ascribed to renowned teachers and founders of the sect. The latter numbering four are in Sanskrit. They principally deal with matters relating to Yoga, the practice of which was essential in Nathism. Other works, all very small in size, published in the volume are six in number. Composed in modern Indian language five of them are eulogies of famous Natha Gurus. The sixth, the *Gorakh Upanishad*, gives an account of the characteristic features of the sect. The manuscript material on the basis of which the works are published is insufficient and defective. The printed text is therefore found to be full of corruptions many of which are corrected by Shri P. C. Divanji who has contributed a foreword to the volume. Dr. Mallik in her learned introduction gives a short account of Nathism and its propounders, along with a brief summary of the contents of the texts published in the present volume. A note on the position occupied by the works among the Nathas and the special contribution, if any, made by them to their literature and thought would have been welcome. Dr. Mallik's idea of collecting and publishing the literature of the Nathas, which is generally inaccessible, is commendable as it will be helpful in the proper appreciation of the sect and its tenets.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BANGLAR AGNI YUG: By Kshirode Kumar Dutta, M.A. Published by Hindi Prakashani Bhawan, 10, Dixon Lane, Calcutta-14. Pp. 124. Price Re. 1-8.

This is a short history of the freedom movement of India from 1857 to 1920 when Mahatma Gandhi became the leader of the Indian National Congress. Pre-Gandhian movement was neither non-violent nor non-co-operative. Since 1905, i.e., the Partition of Bengal the movement gathered force and there was national awakening in all spheres of Indian life. The author is a political sufferer and actively participated in the 1905 and subsequent movements and as such is in the know of many facts of the party organisations of those days when most of the Samities were secret organisations to escape Governmental repression. The author has touched all progressive movements—social, literary, educational, journalistic and cultural—of Bengal and India to bring out a comprehensive portrait of the struggle for India's freedom.

We commend this informative volume (Part I) to all interested in the subject. We anxiously wait for the next part.

A. B. DUTTA

HINDI

KALE NAGAR MEN: By Kamal Shukla. Oriental Book Depot, Nai Sarak, Delhi. Pp. 138. Price Rs. 2-8.

The modern city is for the lower middle class specially the Black city,—the dark valley of Death. Its struggle, day after day, for mere marginal existence is likely to wear out even a stone to pulverised dust. A member of this class has very often to fight his battle of life on two fronts, namely, in the office and at home, while his surroundings are sprawled over with temptations, usually too strong to be resisted. Such is the story of Umakantha who, however, has some kind of a compensation towards the end in the form of penitent love, with a dash of deep understanding, of his wife, Kanak. *Kale Nagar Men* is a moving tale of the lower strata of our society, caught up to the point of strangulation, nay, death, in the tortuous ways of money as well as of the machine. The author has both skill and style and, above all, imaginative sympathy, without which all art is tinsel, in an abundant measure.

KAL AUR AJ: By Sneha, M.A. Amrit Book Co., New Delhi. Pp. 55. Price twelve annas.

A three-Act, stage-worthy short play, the theme of which is the Hindu Code Bill. It can be used effectively, if reformed widely and artistically, to make a breach in the stone-walls of orthodoxy.

GWALIOR RAJYA KE ABHILEKH: By Harihar Nivas Dwivedi. Madhya Bharat, Puratattva Vibhag, Gwalior. Pp. 138. Price Rs. 5.

It is a very useful and informative catalogue of 750 inscriptions, covering in terms of time the Vikrama, Gupta, Shaka, Hijri and Christian eras, which have been deposited and deciphered in the Archaeological Department of Gwalior. It will be of great help to Indian historians.

G. M.

GUJARATI

CAVI PREMANANDNI SANDIGDH KRATIS: By Dr. P. M. Vakil. Published by N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay-2. 1950. Thick card-board cover. Pp. 330. Price Rs. 3-2.

His researches into the poetical works of the premier Poet of old Gujarat, Kavi Premanand, has led him to conclude that about 50 per cent of them were apocryphal, i.e., written by others and attributed to his pen. His work has brought him the Ph.D. Degree of the Bombay University. He has been a Professor of Gujarati. The subject has been handled in such a way as to rob Premanand of whatever repute he has had as the premier Poet of Gujarat. The work reminds one of the Bacon-Shakespeare controversy. Dr. Vakil dubs those eminent men, whom he suspects rather concludes the real writers, hiding beneath the glamour of the poet's reputation, as lovers of falsehood, dishonest money-glibbers, and not straightforward. He is welcome to his conclusions but to charge the eminent writers whom he suspects with trickery is rather going beyond the bounds of decency for a rising young inexperienced debutante. He gives his meed of praise to the distinguished Kavi, but rather hesitatingly. In Gujarat, there is a phrase, which says you can call your mother 'Mother' as well as 'your Father's wife'. The latter is not graceful. Dr. Vakil could have couched his observations in the spirit of that adage.

JYOTI REKHA: By Sundarji G. Betai. Published by R. R. Seth and Co., Bombay-2. 1950. Illustrated cover. Thick card-board. Pp. 22. Price Re. 1-8.

This is a second edition—the first was in 1934—of Shri Betai's poems. He has taken advantage of the publication of this second edition to add to his collection, one more poem, called *Balidan* (Sacrifice), describing the crucifixion of Jesus Christ, who died so that humanity may live in peace. The addition is on a par with the previous poems in quality, imagination and expression, perhaps a little better.

JIVAN PANTH: By "Dhum Ketu." Published by Gurjar Granth Ratna Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. 1949. Illustrated jacket. Thick card cover. Pp. 351. Price Rs. 4-8.

Dhumketu (A Comet) is the *nom de plume* of Shri G. G. Joshi, who has written about 51 notable works in Gujarati and has become an established writer of readable fiction. The present book gives interesting glimpses on his life, in fact, is a book of reminiscences and shows how an unlettered poor village boy rose from obscurity to fame, from poverty to riches. A supplement is on the way, this is what the publishers say.

REPORT OF THE GUJARAT SAHITYA SABHA, FOR THE YEAR 1947-48: Published by the Sabha. 1950. Paper cover. Pp. 158. Price Rs. 3.

Gujarat Sahitya Sabha, Ahmedabad, is one of the best and foremost literary societies of Gujarat. This report setting out its activities in the year 1947-48 shows how in spite of great difficulties, in its way, it has carried on its useful work. The Gold Medal given by it every year to some well-known worker of the Province was given to Hari Narayan Acharya deservedly, he being the almost only the Naturalist of Gujarat, and a well-known researcher. Its other

function is to select well-known writers to prepare a review of the progress of Gujarati literature in the previous year. This work too has been capitally done by Professor Raval and Danjibhai.

K. M. J.

BHOODAN YAJNA: By Vinoba Bhave. Published by Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad-14. Pp. 12+148. Price Re. 1-4.

The book opens with an appeal to his countrymen by Vinoba. It gives the etiology of Bhoodan, clears some misconceptions, seeks support and winds up by saying that the movement which is true to India's genius will lead to economic and social revolution and bring world peace.

The book proper is made up of seventeen of his speeches selected so as to touch almost all the salient aspects of the movement, with another item—the eighteenth—given to questions put to and answered by him. The pages show that his is no tinker's job. He is there to demolish old values and create new values for a new social order.

BIRENDRANATH GUHA

PREMAPANTH, 6: Edited by Desai Valjee Gorindjee. Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. March 1954. Price four annas.

This is the sixth of a series, culled from Gandhiji's writings about himself, edited in such a way as to be easily understood by the reader, and referring to Gandhiji's apprentice period, rather, its first half—as indicated by the name given to the selection by the editor, "Purvvardha of Udyogakanda." It relates among other things to the Congress in 1901, which

Mahatma attended; the Boer War; One Month's Stay with Gokhale; Gandhiji's First Experiences in Calcutta; His Early Struggles. This is a valuable addition to Gandhi literature, made available at a cheap price and to be understood and appreciated by everybody.

P. R. SEN

BOOKS RECEIVED

Six St. Thomasines of South India: By T. K. Joseph, P.O. Chengannur, Travancore. Price Rs. 2-8.

Education and Socialism: By Kumaraswamiji. Published by V. R. Koppal Tontadarya Press, Dharwar. Pp. 109. Price Rs. 2.

Socialist Democracy in Yugoslav Practice: By Edward Kardeli. Published by Yugoslav Embassy, 13, Sunder Nagar, New Delhi.

Agriculture in Yugoslavia: Published by Yugoslav Embassy, 13, Sunder Nagar, New Delhi.

Nutrition: Published by the Publications Division, Old Secretariat, Delhi-8. Price eight annas.

Basic Education: Published by the same. Price four annas.

Acharya Vinoba Bhave: Published by the same. Illustrated. Price Re. 1.

See India—Hill Stations of Northern India: Published by the same. Illustrated. Price Re. 1.

Towards A Socialist Economy: By S. N. Agarwal. Published by Indian National Congress, 7 Jantar Mantar Road, New Delhi. Pp. 134. Price Re. 1-4.

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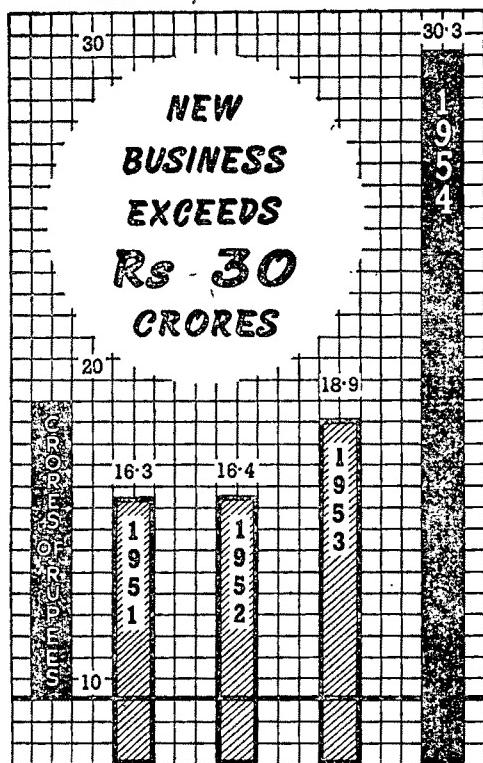
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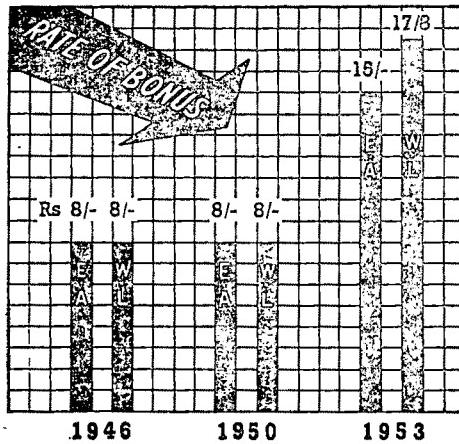
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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Expansion of Ancient Indian Culture

V. Raghavan writes in *The Vedanta Kesari*:

In ancient times India had not only cultivated every branch of science and humanistic study but, full of the spirit of adventure, carried on a very active overseas commerce, so that her material goods no less than her spiritual treasures, her spices as well as her doctrines, were in demand in the outside world. Some of her contributions to the world-culture were of fundamental nature: if the West came to know how to spend its leisure hours intelligently with a fable or a game of chess or if it knew counting, it was through India. In the East, she gave the entire South-East Asia its alphabet, literature, music and dance, architecture, code of life and religion, so that even to this day that part of the Orient retains a general unity with India. Thus, of the ancient and mediaeval worlds, in both hemispheres, India played the role of the prime *guru*.

Indians went out by land routes as well as by the sea and from the evidence of early literature and sculpture, they appear to have been a vigorous ship-building and sea-faring people. A Tamil proverb says: Cross the surging seas and gather your riches.

ANCIENT MIDDLE EAST

The Sumerians who were non-Semitic came from another country by the sea. The terraced pyramids or temple-towers of Assyria-Babylon called *Ziggurat* meaning pinnacle or mountain top strongly suggest *Sikhara*.

As early as 1400 B.C., Vedic Aryans had gone from India to *Asia Minor* and at Boghazkoi, clay tablets have been unearthed which record a treaty between the Mitanis and the Hittites in which the Vedic gods Mitra, Varuna, Indra and Nasatya have been mentioned; and a treatise on horses and chariot-racing is also seen here which is in language closest to Sanskrit. Among Kassites *circa* 1746-1180 B.C., Sanskritic King-names have been found. In 10th century B.C. there was trade between Phoenicians and the Bombay coast and Indian ivory and peacocks went to decorate the temple of King Solomon. In the 7th century B.C., the library of Assurbanipal records the word *Sindhu* in the sense of Indian cotton. Indian teak has been found to have gone into the architecture of the Chaldeans.

GREECE

The Indo-Greek contacts is a favourite subject of research and scholars differ on the question and extent of the mutual indebtedness of the two countries. There are, however, some facts which are admitted, even by Occidental writers here, and these we may point out. They are not inconsiderable. In the sixth century B.C., Greece and India were brought together by Persia as the two wings of the

empire of Darius and Indian contacts led to a growth of new ideas in Greek thought. When the Persian King Xerxes invaded Greece in 480 B.C. there were Indian bowmen and cavalry in his army. Indian merchants went forth with their commercial products to Babylon and farther regions. In one of the Buddhist Jataka stories we read of Indian merchants who went to Baberu or Babylon with Indian performing peacocks. The Indian peacock was a curiosity and the Hebrew name of the peacock *Tuhi* is derived from the Tamil name *Tohai*. Similarly the Hebrew *Koph* for monkey is Sanskrit *Kapi*; *Karpas*, and cotton as well, are from Sanskrit *Karpasa*; Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Arabic, Spanish and other European words for Rice go to the Tamil word *Arisi*. Hebrew *Ahal* for aloe is Tamil *Ahil*. To return to Greece: Orphic theology, to which early Christianity was indebted, shows Indian influences in the cosmogony of the world egg (*Hiranyagarbha*), the essential divinity of man (*Upanishads*), rebirth, ascetic purificatory practices, etc. The philosophical and mathematical ideas of Pythagoras (6th century B.C.) were derived from India, his biographer Iamblichus recording his studying the esoteric teachings of the Brahmins. According to Aristotle's pupil Aristoxenus, Indian philosophers were seen in Athens interviewing Socrates. In Plato, we have clear echoes of Karma, Punarjanma, Varna-Brahman, Kshatriya and Vaishya,—as also of Maya and Vedanta. Alexander was very much attracted by Indian ascetics and he took one of them with him to Greece. The doctrines of the Eleatics—such as the unity of the individual soul and supreme soul and the unreality of plurality—are from Vedanta. The Samkhya doctrine of Sat-karya-vada is echoed by Empedocles, and Greek tradition says that Thales, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Democritus and others went to the East for philosophical enlightenment. Neoplatonism, and Plotinus and his pupil Porphyry chiefly, were completely under the sway of Samkhya and Yoga; and to the same Samkhya system, Christian Gnosticism of the 2nd and 3rd centuries A.D. owed much. Dr. J. Filliozat of Paris, who is specially qualified to speak on matters medical, has reopened the question of the mutual contacts of India and Greece and shown clearly how Greece was indebted to India in medicine. In the post-Alexander period, there were Greek satrapies and settlements on the N.-E. of India and the Greeks there were thoroughly Indianised: some accepted the worship of Vasudeva and Krishna and some of the Buddha. Two outstanding examples of these two phases of Greeks becoming Vaishnavas or Bauddhas must be mentioned: In Gwalior State, at Besnagar near Bilsa, you have an interesting stone monument (which I have myself visited)—a pillar with the Garuda—Garuda-stambha; he who set it up was a Greek ambassador named Heliodorus who subscribed himself in the inscription thereon as a most devout Bhagavata, and quoting

from the Mahabharata, said that three were the means of attaining immortality: Self-control, Sacrifice and Vigilance. Menander of Sialkot is an example of the Greek who became Buddhist and he figures in the Buddhistic work Milindaprasna. According to this work, voyages to Alexandria were the most common thing in India and there were Indians living in Alexandria in the first century of the Christian era, and in the same century Taxila counted among its pupils Apollonius of Tyana. Clement of Alexandria refers to Buddhists and their doctrines. In fact, Buddhism which was actively spread by special missions sent by Emperor Asoka to the Greek kings Antiochus, Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt, Antigonus Gonatus of Macedonia, Magas of Cyrene and Alexander of Epirus, influenced Christianity also, and along with a kind of Vedanta which went with it, sowed the seeds for the rise of Sufism too. There are striking parallels between Buddhist Jatakas and Christian parables; and Christian ritual, rosary and asceticism were derived from India. In the Periplus of the Eritrean sea, an interesting document left by an Alexandrian sea-captain who visited the Indian coast about A.D. 80, we are told that in return for condiments, spices, silks and unguents, India got, among other things, 'choice girls for royal harems'; the prevalence of Yavani or Greek female guards at Indian palaces are borne out by the Sanskrit dramas.

ROME

The same Periplus of the Eritrean sea referred to earlier speaks of brisk trade between Rome and India. Roman trade with ancient South India is amply attested by literary evidences in early Tamil literature, by Roman coins found on the Malabar coast and Madura and the archaeological finds at Arikamedu near Pondicherry. At Muziris on the Malabar coast, and at Puhar, the mouth of the Cauvery on the east coast, there were Roman commercial settlements. On the accession of Augustus in 25 B.C., the Pandyan King sent him a congratulatory mission. Oriental luxuries had captivated the world of Roman fashion so much that Pliny complained about women clad in the too fine Indian muslin and the drain of Roman money by India to the tune of over a million sterling. The intellectual commerce between the two countries is particularly evident in the branch of astronomy, the Romaka-siddhanta in Sanskrit being a reminder of this contact. The astronomical writer Garga says, and Varahamihira quotes his observations, that the Yavanas were out of the Hindu fold, but among them this science of Jyotisha was well established, and to them therefore as much respect was due as to Hindu sages.

LATER MIDDLE EAST

From the 6th century onwards Iran and Arabia began to play the role of cultural liaison between India and the West. If the roots of branches of European science go to the Arabic, the roots of the Arabic themselves go to Sanskrit. The numerals are known as Arabic only because the Arabs conveyed them from India. The place value of numbers and the decimal system were the invention of India, and in the 8th and 9th centuries A.D., the Arabs spread Indian arithmetic and geometry over the world. Sanskrit works on astronomy and medicine were translated into Arabic when Indian scholars in both these branches were invited to Baghdad during the times of Caliphs Mansur and Harun. The Arabic Siddhanta is Siddhanta, i.e., the *Brahmasphuta Siddhanta* of Brahmagupta; the same author's *Khandakhadyaka* was done into Arabic as *Arkand*. Aryabhata is

mentioned as Arjehir. Kanka and his work on lives and the mysteries of nativities and Sanjhal and his great book on nativities all represent translations of works on Jataka. In A.D. 869 an astronomer Sankaranarayana flourished under Ravivarman Kulasekhara of Quilon and wrote a commentary on the astronomical work *Laghubhaskariya* which has been discovered and published from Trivandrum; this author informs us of the visit of the Hindu astronomers to 'Mlecchadesa.' Indian doctors were much in demand in Arabia and were given places of honour in the hospitals and the Court. Scholars were sent to India to study medicine and Indian scholars were taken to translate Sanskrit medical works into Arabic. The Indian physician Manka attended upon Harun, rid him of an incurable complaint and later translated the Sanskrit treatise on Toxicology by Chanakya. It is recorded that when a Greek physician failed to cure the king's cousin, the Indian *Bahla* succeeded. Sanskrit works in every branch of medicine were translated: Arabic Sirak is Charaka; Sasrad is Susruta; Ledan is Nidan. Rai, 10th century, wrote on snakebite and he too was translated and it is from the Arabic source, from Masudi, historian of the 8th century, that we learn of a Hindu lady doctor Roosa who wrote in Sanskrit a treatise on woman's ailments. Down to the 17th century it is the knowledge derived from these Arabic versions that formed the basis of European medicine, surgery and surgical instruments.

The Arabs' interest in Indian medicine and astronomy was next only to that in Indian fables. In all these departments the Arabs derived their interest from that evinced earlier by the Persians in all these. The Sassanian king Khosru Anushirvan (531—

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379) had the animal fables of the Sanskrit *Panchatantra* translated into Pehlavi from which a Syriac translation was made in A.D. 570—Kaililag and Damanag, i.e., Sanskrit Karataka and Damanaka. From this an Arabic version rose in the 8th century and from that, these fables entered mediaeval European literature. Between the 11th and the 13th centuries other versions arose in Syriac once again, in Greek and Latin, in later Persian, old Spanish, and Hebrew, and then from the 15th century onwards German and other versions began to appear. There is no more remarkable book in this respect in the world of literature. The American scholar Edgerton says that no other work of Hindu literature has played so important a part in the literature of the world; and of its versions which exceed 200 and are in more than 50 languages, three-fourths are from countries outside India. The Christian storybook of Josaphat, which was very popular in the Middle Ages, draws on Indian fables, the name Josaphat itself being merely the Buddhistic word Bodhisattva. One of the legends in Chaucer's Squire's Tale had an Indian origin. Some of the fables of Aesop too derive from Indian sources. Thus chess and fable were two precious gifts India gave to the leisure hours of the world.

CENTRAL ASIA

We shall take leave of the Middle East and the West and see how Hindu culture spread forth in the Asian continent itself in a more complete manner. It was with Buddhism that India claimed Central Asia, China and Japan, and nearer still, Ceylon, Burma and Tibet. From the second century B.C. and in some places from even the pre-Asoka period, Buddhism began to flourish in the territories neighbouring the North-West of India, in *Kotan*, *Kuchar*, *Bactria*.

There were Buddhist monasteries here from the ruins of which fragments of manuscripts and writings on different materials have been unearthed, which have not only shed new light on Sanskrit and Buddhistic literatures but have helped to reconstruct many local languages of these places, e.g., the Nam language which the doyen of Sanskrit studies here in England, Prof. F. W. Thomas has recently described. That Sanskrit medical lore, Ayurveda, was in vogue there is known from the medical MS. fragment called the Bower MS. unearthed in Kuchar. One of the discoveries made here, which is of utmost significance to the history of Sanskrit drama, is the find of fragments of a socio-religious play called *Sariputra-prakarana* and a farce of the Buddhist poet Asvaghosa, by the distinguished German Sanskritist Luders, plays which have been completely lost in India itself. The play uses abstract concepts like Sraddha or Faith among its characters and forms the forerunner of the allegorical play in Sanskrit which was again to raise its head only in the 8th century A.D. Sanskrit Buddhistic texts in the local scripts or translated into Khotanese, Tokharian, Sogdian and Uigurian have been discovered here. These places were very active with Buddhism and formed the media of the further spread of that faith into China. When the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien came here in A.D. 400 there were 4,000 Buddhists here and when his successor Hieun Tsang visited it, there were 150 monasteries and 10,000 Buddhists; and in the beginning of the 6th century A.D. Sanskrit was very much in evidence; Sanskrit works were even composed here. In the Kuchar region life was thoroughly Indianized, Indian names being taken, Indian music being sung and inter-marriages with Indians being practised.

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The New Materialism

Miss Clare Cameron writes in *The Aryan Path*:

It has long been the custom to decry materialism as the root of all evil, and perhaps never more so than now, when the abuse of it is so painfully evident. Yet it was once said to me that our troubles lie, not in materialism as such, but in too much of the wrong sort and too little of the right. I have pondered on that chance remark.

Perhaps ever since man fell into duality, into the creation of "the ten thousand things," there has been the conflict between the "good" and the "bad" in him, the split in the psyche, which is now perilously wide. There must be prolonged self-emptying ere he becomes as No-thing, and in the abyss itself finds Everything. We cannot throw ladders across that abyss, for there are no short-cuts to heaven. Yet the figure of modern man, inflated with power and torn from his roots as he sears towards the stars (now almost literally), is familiar to us. The predominance of mental illness, neuroses of all kinds, crime waves and the violence bred from fear and greed, are also evident enough. The unbalanced state of the world is reflected in and shared by the sensitive person. For all this we blame materialism, which is not a cause but an effect.

True, there are signs of a religious revival throughout the world. Under an intense spiritual radiation from the heavens (which, incidentally, is the cause of much inner and outer disturbance, even such as a healing medicine first causes within the physical body) there is a quickening in the souls of men and women. They are "called", and according to their capacity and in their degree are responding, even though the initial stages of that response are sometimes painful.

We may think we know all the lore of the spiritual life, having read widely and thought deeply and, in a sketchy sort of way, made tentative attempts to put our lives in order. Conscience is appeased. We have many virtues to our credit, are active in good works, members of progressive societies, and pay sincere lip-service to our particular creed. We see the beautiful Country of the Future from our threshold. But are we really prepared to help create it?

It is so easy to deceive oneself, to eat of the Tree of Knowledge and imagine we are fed. Usually we have to allow much of it to be removed from us before we are fit to take and even able to taste and appreciate, the simple Bread and the living Water. We have to be shown, in hard experience, the wrong use of materialism. It includes greed for ideas, as well as for possessions; rushing in to do good where angels would not tread, thus piling confusion upon confusion; emotional and intellectual self-indulgence as well as physical; and, in many other ways, denying our own soul.

Having felt the call, or thinking we have, we tend to swing from one opposite to the other. Riches are evil; so we choose to be poor. We bind ourselves to a rigid self-imposed discipline. Self-indulgence is a sin; so we renounce the harmless and legitimate pleasures of life. These reactions are not only the heritage of our Puritan ancestry, but also the result of too literal an interpretation of the great scriptures of the world, and far too little genuine insight. The split in the psyche grows wider as we exchange one tension for another. The conflict remains, since all these fine resolutions are dictated by the little separate self.

Long ago the Buddha discovered that neither in asceticism nor in indulgence, neither in escape from the world nor in submergence in it, was enlightenment to be found. Attachment is the cause of all sorrow. Freedom is won by treading the Middle Way between extremes, without attachment. Neither possessions nor lack of them are wrong in themselves, but their abuse, which derives from our being bound to them through Craving and Ignorance. Lao Tze taught very much the same thing, when he spoke of the Tao which is everywhere, and which we may experience for ourselves once we relinquish our grasp upon the passing, ephemeral forms. The old man of Tao, even though he has scarcely a rag to his back, is always gay and laughing, because he is wholly free. There is no split in the psyche for him! Man cracks himself, through the tension of misunderstood cravings.

What has this to do with the New Materialism? Even at the ascetic extreme we still have our being on the surface of life, on the circumference, unwilling to accept and explore through shame and suffering to the centre where truth abides in fulness. For at the heart of every problem is the point of release. We suffer, yes—because we resist the marvellous transforming process towards liberation. How well we know that travail precedes rebirth! But do we live as if it were true?

Instead, we make frantic attempts to jump this split in the psyche, to close it, by means of courses on psychology, the study of religion and anguished prayer to a God we create in our own image. We kick up such a lot of dust because we are frustrated and unhappy. In this dust we cannot see. We are familiar with the various forms of escape, some of them very subtle. Yet the Hound of Heaven is forever at our heels, and it is good that this should be so. The Beautiful Country of wholeness and peace and joy glimmers like a mirage before our longing eyes.

Yet the Buddha taught that even this longing for enlightenment was a form of craving. How deep this process of self-emptying goes! How patient we need to be while issues far down in consciousness rise up to be accepted, understood and adjusted! Even those from other lives arise at this time of spiritual urgency, when we are being prepared to take our part in New Materialism.



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At last, we are driven from the circumference to the centre, sometimes in despair, and we are as quiet as the earth in winter. Yet, as in the earth, much is happening in the soul during our winters of discontent, when they are accepted and used.

I believe it is from *this* soil to which all the leaves of the old order have fallen, both in us and the world, that the New Materialism will spring, in the heavenly time and the heavenly way.

Can we visualize a world in which there will be no competition, but men and women working together in love and unity of purpose because they are united in the love of God which reveals that purpose and, flowing through them, informs the heart, the brain and the hand? Can we see the Light breaking over the earth, as the shadows cast by man's abuse dissolve, when exploitation of the land, animals and peoples is no more? Can we imagine the recovery of health and freedom and joy, since it has been said that disease is the result of the inhibition of the soul's powers?

The choice is in our own hands. The Kingdom of Heaven is within, potential in time as it is ever-present in eternity. And the Kingdom will come when we take our greedy, grubby hands off it, cease trying to bring it in *our* own way; and let the Supreme Creator educate us in the laws of true being.

If there are only a few as yet who are crossing the threshold, yet they serve to map out the Beautiful Country, and to radiate the first beams of its sunshine. Not by words, not by deeds, but by what we are shall we quicken others to be aware of their lack, their need, and how they may be healed and fulfilled. Then the Tree of Knowledge is seen for what it is, and the Tree of Life begins to put forth its leaves for the healing of the nations.

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K. K. Khullar writes in *Careers and Courses*:

Ganl hiji once remarked that if any Englishman dedicated his life to securing the freedom of India, resisting tyranny and serving the land, he would welcome that Englishman as an Indian. If that is the criterion of being an Indian, A.O.Hume will then, perhaps be considered as one of the greatest of the Indians, though of course born of alien parents. A.O. Hume, the founder of the Indian National Congress, had the making of an Indian.

FOUNDED INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Curiously enough the Indian National Congress which won for India complete independence and self-rule was founded by a man who was English by birth, and who was a member of the Indian Civil Service. At the time when battles were being fought on the sands of Sabraon and Mudki, when steel was clashing all around on the banks of the Sutlej, young Hume entered the Bengal Civil Service, full of energy and ambition. After a short training, he was made a magistrate and deputy collector in the historic district of Etawah. The biographers of Hume report his eternal interest in Sikh history. It is said that he was never tired of reading anything connected with Ranjeet Singh. Though essentially a student of science, Hume developed taste for Far Eastern and Indian histories.

His stay at Etawah was marked by a marvellous advancement in administration and education. Though a member of the Civil Service, known in those days as the 'White-Brahmin Caste,' he never harboured any official complexes and inhibitions with which his colleagues were accredited. Hume mixed freely with the people and talked openly as no other administrator would do. Thus breaking away from the official tradition he started free schools in the district of Etawah—a novel experiment in the history of Indo-Anglican education. And the medium of instruction was Urdu and Hindi. In this way about thirty schools were opened; roads made, hospitals constructed; with the result that Hume became a household word in Etawah. For people outside Etawah, Hume was a mysterious and legendary name.

A DIP IN JOURNALISM

At Etawah, Hume underwent another bold experiment in the field of journalism. Indian journalism in those days was just a newly born baby. Raja Ram Mohun Roy had started his nationalistic organ, *Sambad-Kaumudi*. Another mouthpiece of Indian Renaissance was, the *Banga-Doot* of Dwarkanath Tagore. The *Statesman*, the *Amrit Bazar Patrika*, and the *Civil and Military Gazette* came much later. A. O. Hume in collaboration with Kanwar Lachman Singh, initiated a journal named *People's Friend*. It was a brave attempt; and it was given a popular response. Hume's views on education and politics are there in the editorials of the *People's Friend* expressed unafraid. The journal was, therefore, certainly a positive contribution of Hume to Indian journalism. Later in his life, he started another paper entitled *Stray Feathers*, a magazine of birds.

Hume's tastes were intensely varied. Ornithology was his passion and botany his stimulation. In Simla he had a museum of his own with more than fifty-thousand birdskins and with a large number of various types of eggs, Hume was very fond of extinct birds especially 'dodo' (a bird once found in Mauritius and Madagascar but which became extinct by the end of the 17th

century), and he spent a lot of time to know whether the bird had once again settled in New Zealand or not.

Hume also published a huge book on his research and studies, entitled *Game-Birds in India*. It is an exacting work, but truly it is love's labour. It reveals Hume's everlasting interest in birds. It is also said that he could understand the language and the laws of most of the Asian birds. The book is a store-house of information on birds and can be conveniently placed beside Kipling's Indian "Jungle-books." In brief, *Game-birds* is another solid contribution of Hume to Indian Ornithology.

Hume's attitude towards the 1857-rebellion is noteworthy. He always held that the main trouble of the Indian was poverty and it was the economics of poverty and frustration which led the Indian people to revolt against a foreign rule. In 1868, he was made the Commissioner of Excise and Customs in North-West Province and while negotiating with the Rajputs on the question of Sambar-Jake salt, he showed boundless affection for the Indian people, with the result that he was transferred to the post of a Home Secretary. The financial policy of Lord Mayo also contained some of Hume's suggestions. Hume was also sensitive to the lot of Indian agriculturists and thus he wanted to ameliorate their conditions but he regretted later on that his hands were not free while in the service. In 1882, Hume retired and after that date a new Hume emerged—gay and happy—still industrious and ambitious. Even at that age his idealism was lofty and he was full of energy and enthusiasm. He set to work out his dreams with zeal and industry unknown to the officialdom in India; he founded the Indian National Congress. It was a step by which he earned the affection of millions of India and out of regard for him, he is called an Indian and the Father of the Indian National Congress. The idea of starting a national organisation had been developing in his mind for a long time, especially as a result of some extremely unpopular measures of Lord Lytton—press legislation, agricultural dabblings, racial discrimination policy and Afghan affairs. "All these measures of reaction combined with the Russian methods of police repression," to quote Wedderburn, "brought India under Lord Lytton within measurable distance of a revolutionary outbreak and it was only in time that Mr. Hume was inspired to intervene."

WAY CLEARED FOR NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Therefore in 1883, Hume gave a clarion call to the graduates of the Calcutta University in a soul-stirring letter asking for "fifty men good and true, selfless and fearless," "to act upon the eternal truth that self-sacrifice and unselfishness are the only unfailing guides to freedom and happiness." Lord Dufferin approved of this call. After that Hume went to England and met Ripon, Lord Dalhousie and John Bright. The Congress was to be held at Poona but due to the outbreak of cholera the venue had to be shifted to Bombay. On 28th December, 1885, in the famous hall of Tejpal Sanskrit College, all the leading men of the country well-acquainted with English language attended the conference. It was a four-day session and W. C. Bonerjee was elected as its first president but the moving spirit behind it was A.O. Hume. In all, the session was attended by seventy-two men who "elected themselves as delegates." Prominent among those who attended the conference were Dada Bhau Naroji, Pherozeshah Mehta, G. Subramania Aiyer and D.E. Wacha. And among the officials attending

the session Ranade and Wedderburn are two memorable names. The principal objects of the Congress were to eradicate racial distinction, to promote friendship among the earnest workers in the country's cause in the various parts of the empire and so on.

The Congress then passed a resolution demanding abolition of the India Council, holding of simultaneous I.C.S. Examination in England and India, admission of elected members in the Imperial and Legislative Councils, the separation of the executive from the judiciary. The leaders were quite profuse in their declaration of loyalty to the British throne and of the blessings of British Raj in India. Lord Dufferin gave a garden party to Hume and other prominent leaders but in the years to come his attitude was completely changed. The British press was shocked. *Pall Mall Gazette* wrote that Russian gold was pouring in India and the like.

It is generally presumed that after 1885 Hume disappeared from the scene but history has something else to tell. He remained in India till 1894, attending all the sessions of the Indian National Congress enthusiastically. Then he sailed for Britain. Hearty farewell was given to him at Bombay and it is a fact that people observed tears rolling down his eyes while leaving India, a country where he had spent half a century. There in England he joined the liberal party and led an active public life, supporting the cause of Indian independence whenever he found an opportunity.

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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Tripahi's Address at the International Labour Conference at Geneva

Following is the text of speech delivered by Shri K. P. Tripathi (General Secretary, I.N.T.U.C.), Workers' Delegate, India, to the 38th Session of the International Labour Conference, at Geneva on 6th June, 1955:

As I rise to speak my heart is drawn to India. Mr. N. M. Joshi died a few days ago of a heart attack. He was one of the founders of the Indian Labour Movement and was the Secretary of the All-India Trade Union Congress twice. He dominated the Indian scene for nearly a quarter of a century. He was a delegate to the I.L.O for many years and was a member of the Governing Body. At his instance several labour laws were passed in India and his contribution to the I.L.O. was considerable. His loss has been a great blow to the Indian labour movement.

Coming to the Director-General's Report, I think I must congratulate the Director-General for the excellent Report he has presented. He has been rather apologetic about the subject and the manner of its presentation, as it differs from his previous reports, involving comprehensive surveys of world events. But I think he need not be: his treatment of labour-management relations in the context of the present-day situation and with reference to the changing future, evinces fundamental thinking. I think if there is any world institution which has a duty to survey world trends, with a view to guiding men's minds to the changing future, it is the I.L.O. Hence, the effort is worthwhile.

In a masterly analysis, the Director-General has pointed out how the world stands at a new age of atomic energy where man inherits world power, how the actual and the potential productive machine of the world has become so vast that it can produce world requirements many times over through the employment of only a fraction of the world's working population, and stands a little indecisive as to which way to go. The problem is yet a little obscured by the existence of national barriers which impede the free economic flow, the balance of payments question, the low productivity and purchasing power over vast regions of the world, and so on. Yet the problem is unmistakably clear to thinking minds. It is like a huge dam poised over a flat countryside which would be flooded if it burst. Wisdom lies in conducting the pent-up waters to irrigate the countryside, that both may assist each other to prosperity. In other words, the world cannot continue any longer, without the gravest danger to its politico-economic existence, to retain this artificial division into developed and underdeveloped regions. Either human wisdom will raise up the backward areas through planned development in a measurable space of time towards living standards obtaining in developed regions, or it will bring its own doom.

For this a vast flow of capital and technical know-how is necessary from developed to under-

developed countries. Some assistance at present is being given, but in comparison to the requirements and the urgency of the problem, it is extremely meagre. Those who can give seem yet to believe that the problem can be solved by military might, and therefore seem to be more interested in giving assistance for militarism and armaments, rather than for common development. If anybody believes that the problem can be solved through militarism, he is living in a fool's paradise. There is only one way to solve it, that is by the common development of the underdeveloped regions through the pooling of the resources of all those who have, so that the quickening desire for the well-being of vast masses of human beings now steeped in squalor, misery and hunger, may be met before it boils over into undesirable revolutions.

Consequently, the assistance has to be given without any strings attached. The world is politically cut up into national sovereignties which are extremely jealous of undue outside influence. There are other areas which have yet to become free and their only dominating passion is for national independence. Naturally these areas would forgo any foreign assistance if they felt that this had strings attached. Since it is clear that the development of backward areas is necessary not only for the sake of the countries themselves but also, and equally, for the developed areas, the assistance will have to be without strings, speedy and spontaneous. It must be recognised by governments and nations, as it is already recognised by thinkers, that the development of backward areas is necessary and urgent in the interests of the world as a whole.

In certain quarters, however, there is as yet no sufficient realisation of this. They admire their own prosperity and expect others to do the same. This attitude is born of a belief that their prosperity is entirely of their own making, but history tells us that it is through the sacrifice of the colonies and their industries that the Industrial Revolution of the 18th and 19th centuries, and consequently the prosperity of the West, were built up. The countries which owe their prosperity to the 20th century owe

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to the two great wars when they built up their production potential by remaining neutral while capital and "know how" of other established countries were engaged in destroying themselves.

Therefore prosperity anywhere is a product of diversity elsewhere as much as of the effort in its own place. Looking at this problem from this point of view we have to conclude that the prosperous people owe it as a duty and as a debt that they make adequate sacrifices to bring prosperity to regions which had once to be sacrificed for their good.

Today colonies and dependencies are disappearing. The new countries arising into independence will no longer get the benefit of exploiting others to build up their productive potential through colonialism. Neither will they get it through powers in which they might remain neutral. They do not desire prosperity at the cost of others. Then what shall they do if they want to become prosperous? In the present context, if they produce or export the advanced countries tremble that a low wage economy is competing unfairly with them. If they produce for the home market this can hardly absorb the products because of lack of purchasing power. This is the dilemma of unbalance. This planned expansion of production against planned expansion of wages and purchasing power for consumption on a global scale becomes the problem of this age. The question is, shall we have wisdom enough to tackle it?

Most unfortunately the world continues to be divided into mutually hostile and suspicious power blocs with most deadly weapons of mass destruction poised against each other. A fear complex rules. Even talks of aggression rearmament are indulged in. But anybody with a sense of history will realise that the two economic systems facing each other have come to stay, so that one cannot destroy the other without destroying both. In this context the only solution lies in accepting the necessity of the co-existence of both. Co-existence does not mean each scowling at the other from his own doorstep. It does not mean mere tolerance of each other. It means appreciation of the necessity of both systems with mutual respect. Once this fact is accepted by both camps the cause of tension will disappear and vast resources of mankind now tied up in war efforts could be freed for economic development and a consequent solution of the world's ills. I hope that the Four-Power Conference at the summit will succeed in accepting the fact of co-existence and in freeing the world from the fear complex so that economic issues may be tackled.

Europe developed through the sacrifices of colonies. America developed through the sacrifices of wars. How shall Asia and Africa develop? The answer is through the voluntary sacrifices of Europe and America, not through war or colonialism but through voluntary self-denial by the developed countries, so that part of the capital and "know how" may be diverted to develop the backward areas of the world.

Great powers which hold the destiny of the world in their palm are today on trial. Will they have gained wisdom enough to see the future and act accordingly?

The Director-General has discussed the question of worker-employer relations in the changing world of today. Time was when this relation was one of



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master and slave. Later it became one of master and servant. After the Industrial Revolution it became one of employer and worker. Today, however, the worker has improved mentally, morally, culturally and organisationally. He has developed a personality. He has become the equal of the employer. Political power has fallen into his hands, in the democracies through the vote, in Communist countries through the dictatorship of the proletariat. So the employer-worker relationship has also undergone a change. The owner-employer has practically disappeared and has been replaced by the manager, who is himself an employee. The worker has been replaced by an employee who feels equal to the employer, if not like him in personality. The distinction between the worker and the management today is one of degree rather than kind, and the employer-employee relation has been replaced by that of co-partnership. In some countries, if not the boss, at least bossing has disappeared.

This is the most revolutionary change that one could conceive. It is showing itself effectually in workers' housing amenities, working and living conditions, conveniences, holidays, wages, securities, etc., so that in these standards also the difference between the management and the worker is becoming one of degree rather than kind.

The far-seeing employers understand this and try to adjust, but the bulk of the employers have still to realise this. To cloud the issue, in the undeveloped countries the employer has not yet been replaced by the management, so that a difference of kind rather than of degree obtains. Ideas in the modern world know no barriers. Modern ideas have reached the undeveloped areas of the world and vast forces are arising against the master-servant and employer-worker concept of the feudal and the industrial world. Whether the change will be easy or revolutionary only time will show. In India, the absurdity of this situation has been realised and there is at present a Bill pending in Parliament which will replace the hereditary employer concept by the modern manager concept. But co-partnership is still a long way off. The time has come when the industrial set-up of the world should be so recast that (a) the worker-management relationship might be replaced by co-partnership, (b) the lowest worker should be able to rise to the highest rung of the ladder of management through mere gradation, (c) the training of workers within industry or elsewhere should be automatically provided for such a rise, and (d) in working and living conditions, in welfare measures, comparable standards should be provided for the worker and the management.

It is a pity that the I.L.O. has so few chances to get into direct contact with the dictatorship countries and those with a colour bar. If it could come into more direct contact with them, perhaps the workers' lot in those countries might improve more quickly. I hope the I.L.O. will realise its duty to all labour all over the world and not try to confine

its activities to small regions out of political prejudice. The I.L.O. is a persuasive rather than a coercive institution, I say again, and I hope that those who are trying to utilise it for coercive purposes will desist.—*I. L. O. News.*

WHO'S Sixth Year of Activity

Co-operation and mutual aid in health field increased in 1954:

In 1954 the World Health Organization (WHO) completed its sixth year of existence. Nearly 330 major health projects in 75 countries received assistance from WHO last year. At the same time, the Organization made further progress in the task of establishing standards for drugs and vaccines, in co-ordinating research and in developing training facilities for health personnel.

These facts emerge from the 200-page Annual Report for 1954 which Dr. M. G. Candau, Director-General of the World Health Organization, submitted to the Eighth World Health Assembly opening in Mexico City on May 10th.

The essential aim pursued by WHO in 1954 remained the strengthening of the permanent structure of public health services in its Member States, rather than short-term campaigns. Indeed, the fact that countries markedly increased their requests for WHO help in working out long-term plans for the development of their services is considered by Dr. Candau, in his introduction to the Annual Report, as "the most encouraging aspect" of the requests received by the Organization last year.

Another important development, in the Director-General's opinion, is "the growing attachment of Member States to the idea of international co-operation, and their increasing readiness to undertake joint action in solving problems which affect more than one country." The Annual Report lists a number of such joint undertakings, among them the Inter-American Centre of Biostatistics in Chile, the Regional College of Nursing in Egypt, the advanced course for waterworks engineers in Europe, etc.

HEALTH SERVICES IN THE FIELD

In order to strengthen national health services, WHO helps to introduce essential measures and techniques into the permanent organization of the country. These measures depend on the level of development of the country and its health organization. The Annual Report contains many striking examples of the work carried out with WHO assistance in widely different areas, including the S.E. Asia region.

South East Asia: The WHO Regional Office, located in New Delhi, is responsible for an area comprising Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Nepal and Thailand. In these seven countries the Organization was able to assist 66 health programmes last year. As 85% of the population of South East Asia live in rural areas and have a low standard of living, the essential need is to provide basic health services for such areas.



As a step towards meeting this need, various kinds of rural health units are being organized by the governments. From a modest start, with emphasis on environmental sanitation and on maternal and child health, they are gradually being expanded as resources in money, material and manpower permit.

WHO-assisted programmes for maternal and child health, control of communicable diseases and for the training of health workers are being integrated progressively into the general public-health services. Basic environmental sanitation remains the most important single problem, and plans have been made to give more assistance in sanitation to all the countries in the region.

TRAINING AND EDUCATION

Approximately 40% of all health projects assisted by WHO last year were training programmes designed to meet the critical shortage of all categories of health personnel. So far, since its inception in 1947, WHO has awarded over 4,500 fellowships, of which 667 were in 1954. The tendency is to place a high proportion of fellows for study within their own region. In 1954 regional fellowships accounted for 68 per cent of the total awarded. Aside from obvious savings in travel costs, these regional fellowships have the advantage of enabling students to learn under conditions similar to those in their own countries, so that the process of adapting knowledge acquired by them to their home environment is easier.

FINANCIAL POSITION AND COLLABORATION WITH OTHER AGENCIES

The regular budget of WHO in 1954 amounted to \$3,500,000. In addition, 128 health projects directly involved in the economic development of various countries were made possible by an allocation of \$3,977,400 from U.N. Technical Assistance Funds. Joint work with UNICEF continued in all fields relating to the health of children. WHO also co-operated with FAO in nutrition, meat hygiene and zoonoses; with UNESCO on fundamental education; with ILO on occupational health activities and on the hygiene of seafarers and finally, with ICAO, on the sanitation of airports.—*WHO Press Release*.

Technical Assistance Mission Takes Geologist from India to the Amazon Valley

Prof. Calamur Mahadevan, an Indian geologist, is arriving in Brazil this month on a technical assistance mission for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization to work on a survey of mineral resources in the Amazon Valley.

Prof. Mahadevan's mission comes under Unesco's share in the United Nations world programme of technical assistance for economic development now operating in more than 90 countries. In Brazil, he will join a United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization team working with the Brazilian government on development of the Amazon region.

Prof. Mahadevan is on leave of absence from his post as head of the department of geology at Andhra University at Waltair in South India. He recently headed an Andhra University team prospecting for mineral resources in the Godavari Delta in South India.

Before joining the university in 1945, Prof. Mahadevan had been with the Hyderabad Geological Sur-

vey for fifteen years. He is the author of more than 100 research publications.

Prof. Mahadevan, who will be stationed in Manaus, is the first Indian national to be sent by Unesco to Latin America as a technical assistance expert.—*Unesco News*, June 30, 1955.

Independence Day Celebrations of Israel

The beginning of Israel's eighth year of statehood was officially inaugurated on Mount Herzl in the presence of several thousand persons by the Speaker of the Knesset (Parliament), Mr. Yosef Sprinzak.

In a short address Mr. Sprinzak said that now that the Jewish people had returned as free men to its own land, it was its duty to remember the day of the renewal of its freedom "in order to deepen our appreciation of our independence and to inspire us to preserve and build up our State."

Traditional ceremony of Independence Day eve was the visit of the Diplomatic Corps to the President to congratulate the President and the State on the occasion. The good wishes of the Corps were conveyed by its doyen, M. Pierre Eugene Gilbert, the French Ambassador. M. Gilbert was accompanied by the Ambassadors of Great Britain, the Soviet Union and the United States, the Ministers of Belgium, Brazil, Bulgaria, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Yugoslavia, the Diplomatic Representative of Greece, and the Charges d'Affaires of Argentina, Australia, Canada, Chile, Czechoslovakia, Finland, Hungary, Italy, Poland, Rumania, Sweden and Turkey.

A special thanksgiving service was held at the Yeshurun Synagogue in Jerusalem at which Chief Rabbi I. H. Herzog delivered an Independence Day message.

Broadcasts to the nation were made by both President Ben Zvi and the Prime Minister, Mr. Moshe Sharett.—*News from Israel*, June 1, 1955.

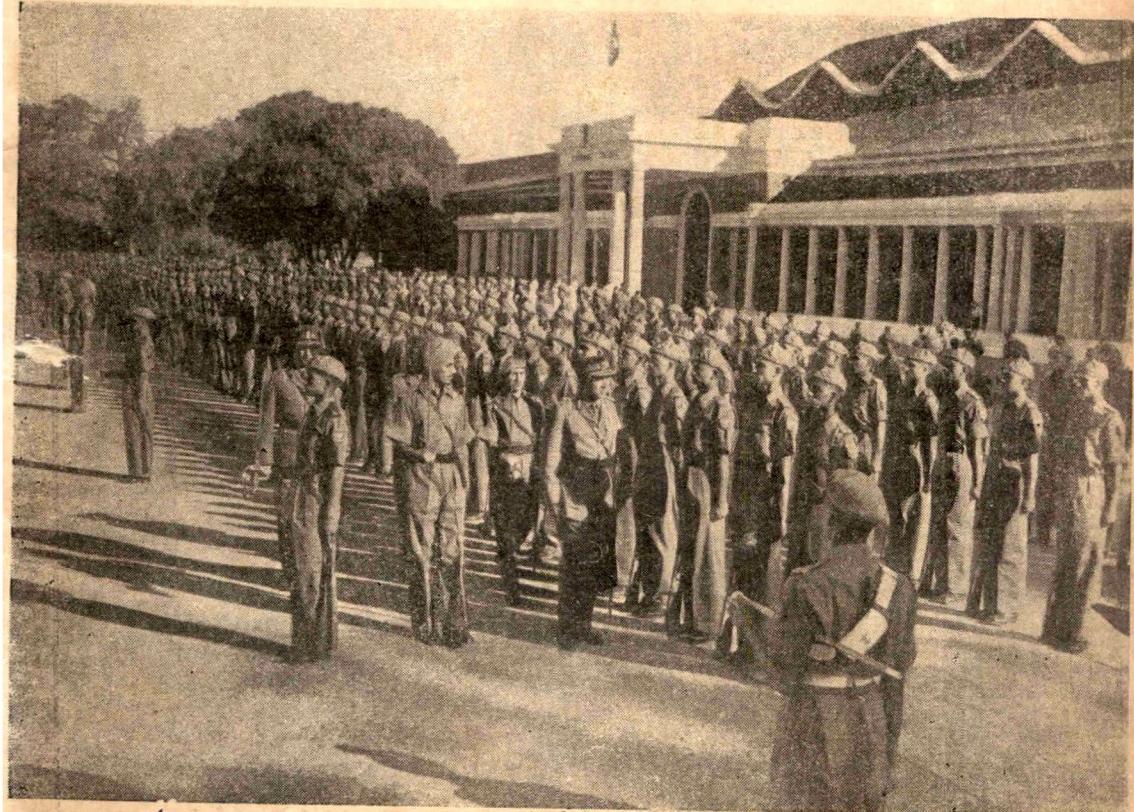
Medical Discovery in France

TREATMENT OF BLOOD DISEASES

The Medical Faculty of the University of Paris has just awarded to one of its Professors, Dr. Jean Barnard, a prize of two million francs. The scientific and medical value of Dr. Barnard's discoveries is not of course, to be measured in terms of money. The prize has been awarded, more especially, for Dr. Barnard's contribution to the treatment of Leukaemia, a virulent disease of the blood, for which no cure had so far been known. Dr. Barnard is the sole scientist who has studied the disease with the best results, and the book which he published in 1948 with the title *Diseases of the Blood* (Flammarion) is well-known in medical circles throughout the world. His methods of treatment, which have been published in the medical journals and more especially in the *Hospital Weekly*, were communicated to the Third International Congress of Hematology which was held in Rome in 1952. The discovery for which he has received the prize, will orient the treatment of blood diseases in a new direction.—*News from France*.



The Kannadi Aqueduct carries the Left Bank main canal of the Malampuzha Project over the Kannadi River, Malabar



Lt.-General Sant Singh inspects the Passing out Parade of the Military Wing at Dehra Dun



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By Chittaranjan Roy

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NOTES

The National Flag

In addressing a vast gathering of students and others at the Gandhi Maidan in Patna, on the 30th of August, Pandit Nehru is reported to have expressed his indignation at the defiling of the National Flag by Patna students thus :

"Mr. Nehru said : 'Let there be no mistake. I do not care if 100,000 or 1 million people have to die for maintaining the honour of the National Flag.'"

The report goes further to say:

"In an 80-minute speech, occasionally interrupted by disturbances created by a section of the gathering, Mr. Nehru said, it was a matter of shame that while Subhadra Bai was holding aloft the National Flag in Goa in the face of bullets, it was dishonoured in Bihar.

"Those who insult the National Flag are traitors and should be punished. I do not care if India is destroyed in upholding the honour of its National Flag."

And finally, in describing the mentality of a section of unruly students, he is reported to have remarked thus:

"Mr. Nehru said 15 students had gone to Delhi to represent their case. They forgot Delhi was not Patna and were arrested at the Delhi station for travelling without tickets. What shame!"

We fully endorse the comments and sentiments contained in the above speech, as it has been reported. There can be no excuse for indiscipline and undoubtedly an insult to our flag is an offence that should be regarded as mortal.

But has Pandit Nehru stopped to think as to why even after eight years of freedom, here in our own land, such an indignity could have been offered by our own young hopefuls. This offence should not have been possible even if they were unlettered rustics which they were certainly not. Matter of fact, it could not have been at all likely to happen in a

rustic area, where the sturdy peasant has a deep-rooted basic sense of pride in the National Flag as an emblem of our liberty and an emblem of the lifelong endeavour and sacrifice of those that fought for it. It is only possible where the callow youth—and grown-up Philistines—can be corrupted by unscrupulous disruptionists and crazy political fanatics, who would say anything or stoop to do anything without any thought about consequences, if only they thought their action or speech would embarrass the party in power. To them liberty or honour of the Nation as a whole does not count at all. All they are conscious of is power, power for their party, and personal power for themselves within the party.

It is easy for them to misguide the half-educated and unthinking. And their influence has led to widespread indiscipline and a distorted and totally diseased condition of the mental process amongst a vast number of the literate townspeople.

Pandit Nehru's Government has done nothing to combat this growing evil. Indeed, it may be said that the Government has helped the work of the disruptionists through its gross neglect of the masses in the matters of education and Mental and Moral Welfare. Moral values today, in Free India, is at a far lower level than it ever has been in our history. Let Pandit Nehru ask a few thoughtful persons, outside his coterie of office-seeking and profit-hunting yes-men, and he will find that to be the truth.

Take the case of education. Today the average man finds it even more difficult to educate his children than ever before. It is more difficult to get them admitted to proper schools, where real education is imparted, and it is almost impossible to put the children in the charge of teachers and tutors, who are devoted to the cause of education. The old class of teachers and professors, who led a dedicated life, and imbued their students with a sense of proper moral values and ethical bases, are dying out due to outrageous neglect of the Government.

Education itself has been taxed by the Finance department, in the imposing of a higher Excise duty on paper. The agile gentlemen in the Finance only thought of a crore or so of rupees, they did not consider the fact that the cost of paper in India, which we claim to be a civilized country, was already preposterously high, nearly 500 per cent of pre-war. No civilized country would have taxed paper under the circumstances, we would venture to say, for education means paper primarily, without taking into consideration these basic facts.

Pandit Nehru has held up—quite rightly—the magnificent example of Subhadra Bai. But can he say that his Government or he himself, has given a moment's thought, prior to the Patna incident, as to how to uphold the shining example of such sacrifice? We would say, on the contrary.

Goa and the British Press

The attitude evinced by the British Press on the Goa issue calls for outright condemnation not only in India, but also outside. We are not objecting to their freedom of expression, but we object to their freedom of telling lies, of varnishing the truth, of expressing calumny. Against whom? Against a senior member of the British Commonwealth in the region of Asia, against the most economically developed and politically stabilised partner of the Commonwealth in South-East Asia. We confess we can understand the attitude of the American Press and their public, but we cannot understand the attitude of the British Press. The British Press is not only conservative, it is being exceedingly unscrupulous so far as Indian affairs are concerned—no matter whether it is Hyderabad, or Kashmir or Goa. The entire British Press—both the Conservative and the so-called liberal, with insignificant exceptions—dance to the same tune to condemn us whenever the slightest opportunity arises. Today of course liberalism or lukewarm politics has vanished from practice and it exists only in ideas and in that respect it is no wonder that the Liberal Press has to close ranks with the Conservatives. It seems, however, that the British Press is required to dance to the tune of American opinion, but they out-herod Herod even there. The fall of their empires, the crumbling of their imperialism, has undoubtedly maddened the British Press, and has deprived them of their senses of right and wrong. India undoubtedly misjudged the British mind when in 1949 Pandit Nehru waxed eloquent in his defence for the continued membership of India in the Commonwealth. It is Eire that seems to have really understood the former overlord and she has rightly cut off all connections from the Commonwealth because it is a Commonwealth of the British nations whose conservatism dies hard even in the face of changing conditions.

The chameleonic attitude of the British Press in its condemnation of the Indian attitude towards Goa

is, however, understandable in one context, and it is the fear complex. India's guilt before the British Press is that she has demanded the liquidation of foreign colonial pockets from the mainland of India, because India thinks that colonialism is an anachronism in a modern world that professes to stand for democratic rights of the nations of the world. But the British Press cannot but condemn India in her demand for the liquidation of colonies all over the world. To support India will be suicidal for the British interests, to help liquidation of their remaining colonies.

The *New Statesman and the Nation* has taken a different attitude in this matter. No wonder that paper is regarded as a black sheep in the context of the trends of British and American journalism. What will happen to Malaya, what will happen to Hong-kong seems the nightmare that seems to ride the Jezebels of British journalism.

Facts About Portuguese India

The so-called "Portuguese Overseas Empire" in India consists of only three tiny footholds on the Western seaboard of India comprising an area of 1532 square miles which is inhabited by 637,591 persons of whom only 1,079 are either European or of European origin. The population of Indian birth was 636,153. The Hindus numbered 388,488 and the Christians 234,275. There were only 14,162 Muslims there.

True to the imperialistic tradition, the Portuguese colonialists made every effort to keep the people in ignorance. As a result nearly 88 per cent of the people were generally illiterate. The percentage of people reading and writing only in Portuguese was only 1.43 per cent while that in Indian languages was more than 10 per cent.

The State revenue Rs. 24,778,358 in 1953 was almost double the figure in 1948 when it was Rs. 12,714,629, thus signifying intensified exploitation of the people. This interpretation of the growth of State revenue would be confirmed when one looked at the figures for expenditure on the import of arms and ammunitions in the colony. In 1948, such expenditure amounted to only Rs. 42,000 but in 1951 it was Rs. 2,934,000—almost seven times the 1948 figure.

The economy of Goa was greatly dependent on India. About 100,000 Goans were living in India. The remittances from the Goans in India kept the Goan economy alive. In 1951, only a little over 41 lakhs of rupees had been remitted from Portugal to Goa while the amount remitted from India was Rs. 68,035,241. Of the 247 ships entering Goa in 1951 only 2 were Portuguese.

Capital Formation in India

Now that India is on the threshold of a Second Five-Year Plan, it is just in the fitness of things that the country should have an idea of the rate and the volume of its capital formation. The annual rate of capital

formation gives the idea of the pace of industrialization of the country and ensures a stock-taking of our resources and their proper utilization. The rate of capital formation is admittedly low in India, in comparison with that of the Western countries. The rate of capital formation in the UK and the USA exceeds more than 20 per cent a year of their national income, whereas it is as low as 6 per cent in India. The result is low *per capita* annual income and the low standard of living. The first Five-Year Plan had the ambition to raise the annual rate of capital formation by about 20 per cent. of the additional income each year. The internal resources thus generated by the process of development would be supplemented to some extent by external resources. By 1955-56 national income, it is estimated, will have gone up to about Rs. 10,000 crores that is, by about 11 to 12 per cent. above the estimated level for 1950-51. Proceeding from the level of Rs. 10,000 crores reached at the end of this five-year period, the rate of progress in regard to national income and consumption standards could be attained if from 1956-57 onwards, investment is stepped up each year by an amount equal to 50 per cent. of the additional output. This means that the rate of saving as a proportion of total national income will have to go up from 5 per cent in the base year 1950-51 and 6½ per cent., in 1955-56 to about 11 per cent. by 1960-61, and 20 per cent by 1967-68. After 1968-69, though the resources devoted to investment will continue to go up in absolute terms, capital formation as a proportion of national income will not be raised beyond 20 per cent. of the national income. On these assumptions, *per capita* income can be doubled by 1977, i.e., in about twenty-seven years, and consumption standards raised by a little over 70 per cent. over the 1950-51 level.

During the first three years of the first Five-Year Plan, the net domestic capital formation improved by over 22 per cent. According to an estimate prepared by the Central Statistical Organisation in collaboration with the Economic Wing of the Union Finance Ministry, the volume of capital formation in 1953-54 is placed at Rs. 719 crores, as compared with Rs. 589 crores in 1950-51 (base year of the Plan). The improvement of Rs. 130 crores in capital formation has been accounted for largely by the public sector. During 1953-54, the total net capital formation in the public sector is estimated at Rs. 277 crores and this compares favourably with Rs. 199 crores in 1950-51 and this is an increase of as much as 39.2 per cent. The private sector also records a capital formation of Rs. 443 crores during 1953-54, as against Rs. 390 crores three years ago, and this represents an advance of 13.6 per cent. During 1953-54, the net domestic capital formation has been estimated at 6.8 per cent. of the estimated national income of that year.

The following table will give the estimates of domestic capital formation during 1953-54, as compared with those for the preceding years:

	(In crores of rupees)		
	1948-49	1950-51	1953-54
<i>Private :</i>			
<i>Construction—</i>			
Urban :	39	97	123
Rural	52	64	81
<i>Improvement of lands and construction of irrigation works—</i>			
Agricultural and other implements and small enterprises	61	72	83
Mining and manufacturing enterprises	45	51	65
Transport	60	57	61
	35	49	29
<i>Total Private :</i>			
Gross	583	703	786
Depreciation	291	313	344
Net	292	390	443
<i>Government :</i>			
Gross	200	262	349
Depreciation	46	63	72
Net	154	199	277
<i>Total Investment :</i>			
Gross	783	965	1,135
Depreciation	337	376	416
Net	446	589	719

The net domestic capital formation as percentage of national income was 5.2 per cent. in 1948-49; 5.8 per cent., in 1949-50; 6.2 per cent., in 1950-51; 6.7 per cent., in 1951-52; 6.7 per cent. in 1952-53 and 6.8 per cent. in 1953-54.

The above estimates have been derived on the basis of commodity flow approach. The gross fixed capital formation has been classified into buildings, roads and bridges, other construction and works, transport equipment, and machinery and other equipment. The public sector includes Central and State Governments, Port Trusts, Municipalities, District and Local Boards, Improvement Trusts and Village Panchayats. The capital formation in the public sector has been estimated from the budget documents and other connected publications giving details of expenditure incurred by them.

That the gross domestic fixed capital formation in India expressed as a percentage of the gross domestic product at market prices is low can be indicated from the following comparison with a few other countries:

	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952
Australia	20.7	24.3	24.8	30.6	25.9
Burma	15.1	8.7	10.3	12.0	15.1
Ceylon	6.0	8.8	10.5	11.6	13.3
UK	12.0	12.6	13.1	13.1	13.4
Indian Union	8.3	9.1	9.3	9.8	10.0

In computing the capital formation, Defence capital outlay has been treated as consumption expenditure of the Government. While constructions, such as dams, canals and wells are regarded as capital formation, expenditures on forest fire protection, eradication of pests and on research, etc., are included in consumption expenditure. All purchases of financial assets, such as shares of

private industrial concerns, etc., have been excluded. The estimation of private fixed capital formation is broadly placed under three heads, *viz.*, (1) evaluation of construction, (2) evaluation of indigenous production or machinery and equipment, and (3) analysis of import of machinery and equipment. Among these, the data about imports are fairly comprehensive, but the data in respect of domestic output and construction are extremely scanty.

Rice Production

The Commonwealth Economic Committee in its review of world grain crops has revealed that the cooler regions of the world are now making higher yields of rice than those attained in tropical lands that mostly consume rice. Italy leads among the rice-producing countries of the world with an average yield of 26.6 cwt. per acre. Australia comes next with 25 cwt. per acre. This is followed by Japan with 22.6 cwt. per acre, the US with 14 cwt. per acre and Brazil with 8 cwt. per acre. In comparison with these, Burma obtains 7.6 cwt. per acre, Thailand 6.8 cwt. per acre and the yield in India is only 6.1 cwt. per acre. It is not milder temperature that contributes to better results, says the Committee, but intensive and better methods of cultivation and widespread use of selected seeds and fertilisers are chiefly responsible for the higher yields. The rate of rice yield per acre of land in India is extremely unsatisfactory. The First Five-Year Plan has made a considerable progress towards extensive cultivation of rice in this country and the Second Five-Year Plan must endeavour to direct its resources towards developing intensive cultivation. The production of rice in India during 1954-55 was 2.42 crore tons, as against 2.76 crore tons in 1953-54. The fall in rice production in India during the year 1954-55, took place mainly in Bihar and West Bengal where heavy rainfall and floods in the northern districts and continuous drought in southern districts hampered the sowing and transplantation of both autumn and winter paddy. Out of the total shortfall of 3.4 million tons, these two States accounted for nearly 3.1 million tons.

According to the estimates of the Committee, the world output of rice in 1953-54, outside China, was 20 per cent above the pre-war level. In 1954-55, a slight decline in production is indicated. The world rice harvest for 1954-55 is estimated at 261 million tons of rough rice. The harvest is 2.7 per cent less than the previous year's record crop and about 17 per cent above the post-war average. In 1953-54, the total acreage outside China recorded a rise by 9 million acres to about 193 million acres. Over half the acreage outside China lies in the Commonwealth, the greater part being in the Indian Union. In 1953-54, for instance, both India and Pakistan had a record area under rice cultivation totalling 101 million acres and this was nearly one-third above the pre-war level for the sub-

continent. In recent years, however, there has been considerable increase in rice acreage in Malaya and Thailand, the latter increasing the area nearly twice as great as before the war. Indonesia, the Philippines, Korea and Formosa have also expanded their rice acreage, but the increase in Burma, Indo-China and Japan is insignificant.

The export of rice in post-war years has declined considerably in comparison with former years. In 1951, there was the highest post-war export of rice with 4.8 million tons, but this was less than two-thirds of the pre-war average and shipments since have been on the decline. Before the war, countries of the South-East Asia exported well over 5.5 million tons of rice, representing thereby three-fourths of the world trade; but the export dropped to only 2.5 million tons in 1953. Although Burma has emerged as the largest exporter of rice in post-war years, shipments from that country were only 1 million tons and this represented one-third of the pre-war level. Only Thailand maintained her rice exports, although her peak year was reached only in 1949. Exports from Indo-China continued to decline, while China raised her rice exports to a post-war peak of nearly 300,000 tons. In 1955, up to June, India has exported nearly 53,000 tons of rice. But in view of the devastating floods that are being hurled up against her north-eastern provinces by the furies of nature, she should take caution in the matter of exports of rice, so as to prevent shortage inside the country.

Sugar Production Increased

Although India is the second largest sugarcane producing country in the world, her production of crystal sugar is much below her normal requirements. The production of sugar was 10.01 lakh tons in 1953-54 as against 13.4 lakh tons in 1952-53 and 14.83 lakh tons in 1951-52. The decline is ordinarily attributed to the cane acreage having dropped from about 48 lakh acres in 1951-52 to about 36 lakh acres in 1953-54. This was further accentuated by the diversion of a large quantity of sugarcane from sugar to *gur*, which commanded higher prices. The consumption on the other hand was said to have swollen from 11.7 lakh tons in 1951-52 to 16.6 lakh tons in 1952-53 and 18.2 lakh tons in 1953-54. As a result of this falling production as against rising consumption, there was a deficit of sugar in the country.

The Development Council for Sugar Industry in its recent meeting at New Delhi has decided to set up a joint committee of the Indian Central Sugar Cane Committee and the Council to formulate a programme for inclusion in the second Five-Year Plan. The Council has been asked to estimate the requirements of the country for crystal sugar at the next Plan and suggest ways and means of achieving the target. The council at its last meeting had recommended that the production

target be fixed at 22.5 lakh tons, to be attained by increasing the installed capacity of the industry from 20 to 25 lakh tons. This may be done by expanding the existing factories or installing new units or partly by establishing raw sugar refineries in the country and the matter is under the consideration of the Council for some time. The Council is also considering the suitability or desirability of stepping up sugar production by shifting or rehabilitation of factories unsuitably located or lying idle on account of inadequate supply of cane. The Council did not approve the proposal for setting up of refineries to cover up the additional capacity for the second Plan.

During 1954, 16 factories were lying idle and 20 were unsuitably located. In the case of some of these factories, production will be possible if proper measures are taken for developing cane cultivation in their areas of operation. The technical efficiency of sugar factories in this country is on the lower side when compared with that of factories in the more advanced sugar-producing countries of the world. This is due to the fact that most of the technical personnel do not possess the requisite qualifications and training and as a result are not able to effect improvements in the productive capacity of the factories. The sugar industry in India calls for early rationalisation. In India there are 170 sugar factories employing 92,000 workers. The minimum basic wage of the worker varies from Rs. 15 to 30 per month in Bombay to Rs. 8 to 24[6]- in Andhra. In U. P. and Bihar the minimum wage inclusive of dearness allowance has been fixed at Rs. 55 per month. The dearness allowance paid to the workers in Orissa, Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Bhopal and Bombay is according to income groups and ranges from Rs. 21 to 51[12]- per month. In Andhra, Madras and Travancore-Cochin, the dearness allowance is linked with the cost of living index. The rate is 2 annas per point of rise.

U. P. and Bihar account for about 68 per cent of the factories and nearly 75 per cent of the labour force employed in the industry. The other important sugar-producing States are Bombay, Andhra and Madhya Bharat. The duration of the crushing season varies considerably in different States. It ranges from 121 to 183 days in Bihar ; 101 to 176 days in U.P. ; 116 to 176 days in Bombay and 56 to 93 days in Andhra. In other States the duration of the crushing season varies from 88 to 196 days. The services of all the employees, except a few technical hands, clerks and workers, are terminated at the end of the season.

Agricultural Labour in India

The Government of India conducted an enquiry into the socio-economic conditions of agricultural labour in India in 1950-51. The survey is said to be the largest of its kind in Asia and was conducted in three stages, namely, the "General Village Survey" the "General

Family Survey" and the "Intensive Family Survey." The reports of the first two stages have already been published. The report of the third and final stage of enquiry based on a survey of 11,000 agricultural labour families is recently published. It contains data on employment, unemployment, wages, income, cost and standard of living and indebtedness of agricultural labour families collected from each of the sample-families, interviewed every month during the period. The survey was conducted on scientific principles of stratified random sampling under expert guidance.

According to the survey report, the average annual income of an agricultural labour family in India is about Rs. 447. Of this 64.2 per cent is derived from agricultural wages, 11.9 per cent from non-agricultural labour, 13.4 per cent from cultivation of land and 10.5 per cent from other sources. The North-West India claims the highest average income of Rs. 651 per year per family, and South India has the lowest average annual income with Rs. 382. Region-wise, it is Rs. 551 in North India, Rs. 506 in East India, Rs. 391 in West India and Rs. 417 in Central India.

The total wage bill of agricultural families in this country is placed at Rs. 500 crores as against a total national income of Rs. 4,800 crores from agriculture other than plantation and this works to 10.5 per cent of the total national income from agriculture. The survey reveals that the per capita income of an agricultural labourer was as low as Rs. 104 per year as against the per capita annual income which was Rs. 264 in 1953. Thus, the share of the agricultural labour families representing 22.7 per cent of the total number of families in the Indian Union came out to be 8.3 per cent. In Madras, Travancore-Cochin, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat and Orissa, majority of the families fell in the income range of Rs. 100 to 400. In U. P., West Bengal, Bihar, Assam, Saurashtra, Rajasthan and the Punjab, the income range of the families varies between Rs. 300 and 700. In Punjab, forty per cent of the families belong to the income group of Rs. 901 and above.

The consumption expenditure is the highest in North-West India with Rs. 674 per year per family, and it is the lowest in West India with Rs. 392. Central India has an average expenditure of Rs. 428, while North India, East India and South India has Rs. 548, Rs. 528 and Rs. 397 respectively. In this respect, States in India have striking differences. Out of a total expenditure of Rs. 468, food alone accounts for 85 per cent. Most agricultural families have to face deficit budgets, the average per family being Rs. 14. The expenditure on clothing and footwear account for Rs. 29 or 6.3 per cent. of the total expenditure. There is practically no expenditure on house-rent and repairs, fuel and lighting, as the agricultural labourers mostly live in *kutcha* houses.

According to the Enquiry, men formed 55 per cent.

of the agricultural labourers in rural India. On an average, an adult male worker keeps himself employed for 189 in the year in agriculture and 29 days in non-agricultural labour. The number of days of employment is the highest in North India, being 289. It is 245 days in Central India, 224 days in East India, 196 days in West India, and South India with 181 days has the lowest number of days of employment. As regards the employment of women, North India leads with the highest number of days (143 days) of employment for women, followed next by Central India with 141 days of employment. The number of days of employment for women is 139 days in South India, 116 days in West India, 115 in North-West and 123 days in East India.

On an average an adult remains without wage-paid employment for about 82 days a year. Even for the remaining part of the year, the labourer always faces the uncertainty of being gainfully employed. Nearly 16 per cent of the labourers throughout India did not secure wage-paid employment all through the year. In South India, unemployment is relatively high involving about 20 per cent. of the workers who remain unemployed for 115 days during the year. Unemployment among the agricultural labourers is also equally high in West India where they remain unemployed for nearly 113 days a year, and the number of days of employment is the highest in North India where they remain unemployed for only 44 days a year.

As regards the remuneration of workers, the average daily wage of an adult male casual worker is 17.5 annas for the country as a whole. The average daily wage for a woman worker is 11 annas. About 13.5 per cent. of the man-days worked by men is paid for at rates less than annas 10 and at the same rate women have to work for 56 per cent. of the man-days worked by them. An agricultural worker earns on an average only about one-third of the wage earned by an industrial worker. The average daily wage of a male industrial worker is 54 annas and it is 17.5 annas for a woman worker.

Indebtedness among the agricultural labourers is widespread in the country. Of the total agricultural labour families, nearly 45 per cent. are indebted, the average debt per family is Rs. 105. In South India, the family indebtedness is Rs. 102, in West India it is Rs. 108, in Central India Rs. 103 and it is the highest in North-West India with an average debt of Rs. 335. The total debt of the agricultural labourers in India has been placed at Rs. 80 crores.

The expenditure on clothing and footwear constitutes nearly 6.3 per cent of the total expenditure and it is higher on an average in North-West India. An agricultural family spends on an average Rs. 30 or Rs. 6.5 per cent. of the total expenditure on the services and miscellaneous group of expenditure including items like, tobacco, betel-nuts, bidi, cigarette, washing soap and medicine. The expenditure on these items is the highest in South India.

U Nu on Goa

The daily press on August 21 carried the following item containing the clear and forceful remarks of the Burmese Premier on Goa:

"U. Nu characterised events in Goa as the kind of spark that can lead to a conflagration."

"The Portuguese had no right to be in India, he declared.

"I do not want the importance of the Goa affair to be underestimated. It is the kind of spark that can lead to a conflagration," U. Nu said.

"Such a serious problem cannot be solved by accusing Prime Minister Nehru of being a Hitler or a dictator. Nothing can be more absurd than to accuse such a man who told his Parliament that his Government would not be provoked by the killings (by Portuguese) into military action against Portugal and that he would try to seek the transfer of Portuguese India, the last foreign territory in the country, by peaceful means," U. Nu said.

"Declaring that Portugal had no right to be in India, U. Nu said, in his opinion Portugal's insistence to stay on even long after the British and the French had withdrawn was an amazing political phenomenon.

"The Burmese Premier said: 'Not only Mr. Nehru but also those who are Asians will not be able to tolerate colonialism, whether it is by Portugal or any other country.'

"What is needed at present," U. Nu said, "is a concerted effort on the part of all peace-lovers to bring the Portuguese and Indian representative together to find a peaceful solution of the Goa problem."

Pandit Nehru on Goa

The following news appeared in the daily press on August 21:

"Sitapur, Aug. 20.—Prime Minister Nehru addressed the Council of the Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee for 70 minutes this evening.

"Shri Nehru is understood to have referred to the Goa Satyagraha and said that the movement was an intricate problem involving international complication.

"The Goa problem, he said, had to be solved by peaceful methods and there was necessity of self-restraint.

"He said the Government of India was taking steps for early liberation of Goa.

"Shri Nehru is stated to have observed that recent demonstrations at Bombay did more harm than good to the cause of the Goa liberation movement."

Radhakrishnan at Durgapur

The Vice-President delivered a short but exceedingly apt speech at the opening of the long-awaited Damodar Valley barrage at Durgapur, which was a very impressive and successful ceremony. We give an extract from the report from the *Statesman* of August 10:

"Durgapur (Burdwan), August 9.—Over 6,000 people, who had come from the surrounding areas, shouted with joy as Dr. Radhakrishnan, the Vice-President, opened the Durgapur Barrage, designed and constructed entirely by Indian engineers, and water from the controlled Damodar rushed into the irrigation-cum-navigation canal on the left bank of the river here this afternoon.

"Dr. Radhakrishnan, who dedicated the barrage to the people of India, said it would help to irrigate 100,000 acres immediately and 1.3 million acres ultimately and transform a valley of devastation and sorrow into a valley of progress and prosperity."

"The function took place in a pavilion erected on an embankment beside the barrage. Standing on the dais and invoking the blessings of God, the Vice-President pressed a switch which opened the head-regulator gates to allow the passage of water from the river into the almost dry bed of the canal.

"Dr. Radhakrishnan said that after Independence the country's first necessity was rehabilitation of refugees. Next in importance came the stepping up of agricultural production. The construction of this barrage was a step in that direction.

"Attempts were being made to control floods. At that very moment, the people of U.P., Bihar, North Bengal, and Assam were suffering from the ravages of floods. We appreciate the great courage and determination with which they are standing up to these natural calamities. It is, therefore, very essential that in the second Five-Year Plan we must do our utmost to bring about a greater measure of flood control."

"The second Five-Year Plan, he said, should not be regarded as a Government Plan. It was a national Plan in which every Indian should take pride. Unless economic freedom and social rehabilitation went into the content of political democracy, it could not be said that 'we have attained political freedom at all.' Measures were being adopted to bring about a social and economic revolution in the country.

"Pointing out the dangers of caste and provincial jealousies and communal rivalries, he said these impeded the march of a country. Those associated with the construction of the barrage had demonstrated that it was possible to subordinate these evils in the larger interests of the country. Men from different parts of India were here co-operating and endeavouring in a common purpose.

"There was a time in this country when people built sacred temples. Today, the alleviation of human sorrow, removal of poverty, and improvement of the lot of people must be regarded as a sacred task. This was a secular form of sanctity.

"Recently, many Indians had visited different countries and had been impressed by the passionate fervour, sincerity, and dedication with which the people there were working for their solidarity and uplift. Stupendous improvement had been made under a

different form of government. Here also, though our methods are different and though we believe in democracy, the same fervour, enthusiasm and national dedication will have to be generated among the people."

"A Welfare State should not be content merely with the advancement of the material well-being of the people. History showed how many Welfare States, which had economic prosperity, justice, and equality, had descended into the depths of degradation and the horror of concentration camps. A Welfare State must also be interested in raising the moral and spiritual standards of the people. The country expected from every citizen not feebleness but efficiency, not grudging work but dedicated service."

Corruption in Services

New Delhi seems to have woken up at last to the rampant evils of corruption in the Public Services. But unless a Central Ministry with a fearless and staunch person at the head is put in charge, nothing much will be achieved we fear.

"New Delhi, Aug. 6.—To fight the evil of corruption in public services each Ministry at the Centre will hereafter have an officer of at least the status of a Deputy Secretary to be the Vigilance Officer in that Ministry.

"Each Ministry will nominate its own officer under this procedure, the initiative for which was taken by the Home Minister, Mr. Pant.

"The Vigilance Officer, according to a Government Press release, will function under the direct control and guidance of the Secretary of the Ministry concerned and will concentrate on preventing and punishing corrupt practices in the Ministry and its attached and subordinate offices.

"It is fully realized, the release says, that the battle to root out the evil of corruption has to be waged on many sectors and in a variety of ways and that the main effort and initiative must come from within each Ministry and Department."

Conflagration in Morocco

The daily press of August 21, carried the news-item given below. It is a lurid example of the evils of colonialism:

"More than 60 people were killed or wounded in French Morocco to-day as violence flared up throughout the Protectorate according to reports reaching here.

"Biggest outbreak, which marked the second anniversary of the exile of the Nationalist Sultan Mohammed Ben Youssef, was in the Atlas mountain town in Kenifra where the commander of 3,000 French troops claimed to have caused 60 casualties among rebel tribesmen.

"Today was picked by the Nationalists for anti-French demonstrations but French officials had hoped tension would be eased in time by yesterday's Paris decision to

begin consultations on Monday with leaders of all the Moroccan parties.

"One person was killed and four were wounded in a clash at Rabat this afternoon. No further details were immediately available.

"In the villages of Boujad and Oued Zem, 180 miles south of here, six people were killed including a French official and a French policeman. Police opened fire on small groups of rioters in these villages.

"Reports here said that paratroopers dropped into the Atlas mountains during the night after riots in Kenifra which caused 14 deaths yesterday, sealed off the town and ordered the tribesmen to surrender.

"A paratroop lieutenant was shot and another soldier fatally injured as they tried to smash through barricades."

French North Africa

The weekly news magazine *Time* for August 29, carries a long report on the conflagration in North Africa. We give extracts below:

"Violence that came close to actual warfare blazed across French North Africa. In an 850-mile arc from Constantine in Algeria to Casablanca in Morocco, more than 800 were killed and thousands more wounded in a spreading, sporadic rebellion that brought the wrath of Islam close to the shores of Europe. The uprising threatened to cut off France's vast colonies in equatorial Africa. More than 300 million Moslems were already feeling their impact, from Senegal to the Celebes. In the eye of the storm were 20,000 Americans—airmen and their families stationed at the four Strategic Air Command bomber bases in western Morocco."

"In Paris there was shock and alarm. Premier Edgar Faure, who had appointed an able man to bring peace to Morocco and had then hung back from letting that man put through the reforms he demanded, condemned 'this terror and savagery,' and grimly warned of French retribution. In the Moroccan capital of Rabat, his appointee, French Resident General Gilbert Grandval, was shocked at the bloody collapse of his efforts to win a compromise.

"The man who arrived in Morocco a month and a half ago with the ardent desire to restore order and peace by friendship has a broken heart," said Grandval. "There is no motive that can excuse such a crime."

"Day before the fighting broke out, Grandval had rushed back to Morocco from Paris with a special invitation to the nationalist leaders, asking them to meet with the French Cabinet to work out a compromise. Because Grandval had won their trust, most nationalist leaders accepted this last-minute offer. But though the moderates in Morocco urged calm on their impatient people, the extremists would not be stayed. As so often before, the French concessions came too late.

"The seeds of revolt had been sown over 43 years of French insensitivity to the political and spiritual

longings of North Africa's Arab peoples. France gave North Africa roads, hospitals and the works of Voltaire, but not the political liberty it demanded. The spark that ignited the violence was struck one day last week. It came on *La Date Fatidique* (literally, the fateful date).

"It was the second anniversary of the dethronement of Sultan Sidi Mohammed Ben Youssef as head of some 9,000,000 Moroccan Moslems. On August 20, 1953, the French bundled Ben Youssef aboard a DC-3 and exiled him, ostensibly to 'save' him from his own people, actually because he supported their demand for more political freedom. So flimsy a pretext was an insult to North Africa's faithful. Morocco's urgent nationalists flatly refused to accept the weak and wizened old man whom Paris foisted on them in Ben Youssef's place. Ben Youssef, never very popular as Sultan, became in exile a martyr.

"The French were dismayed and alarmed. Since last month's riots in Casablanca (*Time*, July 25), 60,000 of their troops have been standing guard in Morocco, but more, apparently, were needed. From its limited reserves in Europe, the French army flew a battalion of marines and a company of security police to beef up the Moroccan garrison. It even took space on commercial airliners to fetch hundreds of Senegalese NCO's from their units in Indo-China.

"There were other uprisings in Rabat, Marrakech and Fez, but the worst fighting broke out where it was least expected: among the Berber tribes. Lean, eagle-eyed horsemen who accept the authority of Islam, though not all of its practices, e.g., they eat wild boar, the Berbers are the descendant of the proud indigenes of Africa's northwest corner. Many Berber tribes held out against the French until as late as 1934, but since then their *Caïds* (chiefs) have accepted French gold.

"The French encouraged Berber hostility to the Moroccan Arabs as part of their general policy of divide and rule. Two years ago the Berbers were persuaded to back up El Glaoui, the cunning old Pasha of Marrakech, who acted as France's agent in the removal of Ben Youssef. El Glaoui has teamed up with the right-wing elements among the French *colonies* in North Africa to delay and sabotage Gilbert Grandval's plans for reform and self-government.

"An important segment of Berbers had now switched sides. 'There is new hope in Morocco,' the Berber *Caïds* wired Premier Faure recently. 'We respectfully ask you to put an end to the El Glaoui myth There is no question of accepting the Pasha of Marrakech as the chief of the Berbers. They form a part of the whole, the Moroccan people.' But when the French continued to temporize, the *Caïds* told their Berbers to saddle up.

"While the French army had its hands full beating back the Moroccans, other fanatical Arabs saw their

chance in Algeria, North Africa's richest province and legally a part of France.

"With perfect timing, gangs of Algerian *fellaghas* (rebel bandits) raided French police stations and stormed the railroad station on the outskirts of Constantine (pop. 119,000). Fourteen Frenchmen standing at a bar were blown to bits by a bomb. The *fellaghas* called themselves 'The Army of Liberation'; they were joined by urban terrorists known as 'Death Battalions.' The rebels swept through dozens of French villages, burning, looting and killing. Scores of French civilians were knifed or torn to pieces before the troops swung into action.

"Pitched battles broke out in half a dozen Algerian towns. It was impossible to count all the casualties, but reliable estimates ranged as high as 560 dead (460 of them rebels) and possibly thousands injured.

"All told, *La Date Faidique* claimed the lives of some 650 Arabs and 200 Frenchmen. French North Africa was in flames, and at week's end there was still no knowing how far the flames would spread, or how they would be put out."

Events in Sudan

The daily press carried reports about a mutiny amongst the Sudanese troops in Lower Sudan. The following extract from *Time* for August 29, gives the background :

"The Sudan moved closer to the pleasures and perplexities of freedom. In Khartoum the Sudanese Parliament voted unanimously last week to ask the British and Egyptians to withdraw their two remaining battalions of troops from the country within 90 days. Under the 1953 Anglo-Egyptian agreement, this clears the way for the Sudan, by referendum or election of a Constituent Assembly, to settle the one big question about its future: Shall the Sudan (pop. 8,800,000) become an independent nation or join with Egypt?"

Stigma of Illegitimacy

The Worldover Press supplies the following news:

"Rome.—The Italian Government is moving to eliminate the traditional stigma attached to children born out of wedlock. Until new legislation was brought forward, the estimated 2,000,000 illegitimate were marked on official records with the initials 'N.N.', meaning in Latin 'no name.' It is expected that soon the state will be permitted to assign fictitious names on birth certificates whenever one or both of the child's parents are not known."

Colour and Herrenvolk

The same source gives the following news:

"Johannesburg.—Figures on the relative success of white and coloured nurses in Pretoria taking identical examinations after training, show that the percentage of colored candidates passing the tests is higher than that of the 'Europeans'."

Pakistan Through U. S. Eyes

The international edition of the *New York Times* of August 14, gives the following editorial on Pakistan's changes in Government:

"Pakistan (area : 365,907 square miles; population : 76,000,000) has one of the best armies in Asia and is firmly committed to the free world camp in foreign policy. But in its eight years of independence it has experienced grave difficulties in establishing democratic self-government. A Constituent Assembly tried for six years, without success, to write a Constitution. It was dissolved in October, 1953 by Governor General Ghulam Mohammed, an appointee of the British Crown under the Indian Independence Act which, in the absence of a Constitution, is Pakistan's basic law. Since then, Ghulam Mohammed, though gravely ill, has ruled by decree.

"Pakistan's political difficulties are not surprising. Carved out of British India as the Moslem counterpart to Nehru's Hindu state, the country is split by a thousand miles of Indian territory into two halves. West Pakistan, including most of the territory and the capital, Karachi, is united in ardent devotion to the Moslem faith, but shot through with provincial rivalries. East Pakistan, a single province (East Bengal), includes most of the people and much of the industry, but has a strong Hindu minority and champs at direction from Karachi.

"At first, the gulf was bridged by the party that won Pakistan's independence—the Moslem League. But the league is based chiefly in West Pakistan. As the lustre of independence began to dim, there arose in East Bengal organized opposition to the League's policy of centralized control from Karachi and a special status for the Moslem religion. Despite the opposition, the League's leader, Prime Minister Mohammed Ali, tried to carry on a one-party Government. Dissolution of the Assembly in 1953 was one rebuff to his policy. A second came in Pakistan's first elections two months ago. The Moslem League won only 35 of the 80 seats in the new Constituent Assembly. Two Bengali parties—the United Front under Fazlul Huq, and the Awami party under Hussein Suhrawardy—won 16 and 13 seats, respectively.

"Last week in Pakistan the new Constituent Assembly convened and a fresh approach to the political and constitutional problems got under way. Sunday, Ghulam Mohammed resigned as Governor General because of bad health. He was replaced by a bluff soldier and personal protege, Maj. Gen. Iskander Mirza, 55. The same day Mohammed Ali resigned as Prime Minister. He was replaced by another Moslem League leader, former Finance Minister Chaudri Mohammed Ali. The New Prime Minister will head a coalition Government linking the Moslem League with the United Front of Falzul Huq."

Democracy in Turkey

The following news, taken from the international

Israel Election Results

General elections were held on July 29 to elect Israel's third Knesset (Parliament) in which about 79 per cent of the 1,060,000 voters participated. The election was held on the basis of proportional representation, and 18 parties competed for the 120 seats in the Knesset of whom 7 parties failed to win sufficient votes—1 per cent of the total votes cast—to entitle them to any representation. The table following showed the relative position of the different parties:

<i>Name of the party</i>	<i>Position in—</i>		
	<i>3rd Knesset</i>	<i>2nd Knesset</i>	<i>1st Knesset (Present Parliament)</i>
Mapai (Labour)	40	47	46
Herut	15	8	14
General Zionists	13	20	7
Mepam	9	7	19
Achdut Avoda	10	4	—
Hapoel Hamizrahi		8	—
Mizrahi	{ 11	2	16
Aguda	{ 6	3	—
Poale Aguda	{ 2	—	—
Progressives	5	4	5
Israel Arab Democrats	5	3	—
Communists	6	7	4
Others	—	5	9

* Religious Bloc

The *News From Israel* adds: "Final returns will not be published until the vote of men and women serving in the Defence Forces and who voted in army bases has been counted. When all votes have been finally counted the surplus votes will have to be distributed. (The surplus vote is the number of votes remaining over after dividing the number of votes received by a party by the 'key' required for a seat. For example, if 840,000 eligible votes were cast for the 120 seats the 'key' will be exactly 7,000—obtained by dividing 840,000 by 120. If party 'X' received 15,000 votes, it is entitled to two seats and has a surplus vote of 1,000. The Israel election law provides for party agreements in regard to the surplus vote, which agreements have to be registered before the elections with the Central Elections Committee. A party with a large surplus vote and an agreement with another party may thus still manage to obtain an additional seat in the final computation)."

Malayan Elections

As in the Singapore elections in April, the elections in Malaya resulted in the victory of the coalition of parties favouring immediate independence. So long Malaya had been administered through an executive council and a Legislative Council packed with nominated members. In the new Legislative Council, which would consist of 98 members besides

the Speaker, 52 members were elected from 52 constituencies. The new Council would have a cabinet consisting of nine members with Sir Donald MacGillivray, the British High Commissioner at the head. In the elections, held on July 27, a triple alliance of Malaya, Chinese and Indian organisations headed by Tengku (Prince) Abdul Rahaman swamped all rivals by winning 51 of the elected seats. The component parties of the alliance were United Malaya National Organisation (UMNO), Malaya Chinese Association (MCA) and Malayan Indian Congress. The chief opponent of the alliance was the Party Negara headed by the veteran Dato Sir On Bin Jaaffar but it failed to secure even a single seat.

Of the 29,00,000 adult inhabitants of Malaya about 17 lakhs were eligible to be voters; but actually only 12,50,000 registered themselves as voters of whom about 84 per cent were Malayas. About half of the adult Chinese were excluded from the electoral rolls on the ground that they were outsiders.

The defeat of Dato Sir On Bin Jaaffar, who had been the founder of the United Malaya National Organisation but had left it later on, in his own constituency was most unexpected and caused the greatest surprise in political quarters.

The results of the election together with the success of 15 Chinese candidates put forward by the alliance in an election in which the voters were predominantly Malayas were interpreted to mean that communalism had lost its hold in Malayan politics.

On August 2, the High Commissioner, Sir Donald MacGillivray invited ten members of the alliance—six Malayas, three Chinese and one Indian—to join Malaya's first elected Cabinet. The Indian in the Cabinet, who would be in charge of Labour relations, was Mr. V. T. Sambandham, President of the Malayan Indian Congress.

U.S. Private Foreign Investment

More than 2,000 United States private business companies and corporations controlled and operated business enterprises outside the United States with a book value of 16,200 million dollars, reports the *New York Times*. They were dealing in the production and distribution, in the words of the newspaper, "of everything from breakfast food to Diesel trucks and from crude oil and dried coconuts to bobby pins and antibiotics."

USIS adds, "Encouragement of the flow of U.S. private capital abroad is an integral part of the basic foreign economic policy of the United States. Recent pronouncements and actions of the U.S. Government provide proof of a policy promoting and encouraging the flow of U.S. private capital abroad, and evince a willingness to do a big part of the job of bringing about a fruitful meeting between U.S. capital and foreign investment opportunities."

The U. S. Government created a new office in the Department of Commerce in April (1955) known as the Office of Foreign Investment with a view to encouraging private capital investment abroad. In May this year the U.S. Congress approved of U.S. participation in the International Finance Corporation which would be established as an affiliate of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and would work directly and intensively in the field of private enterprise. The U.S. Government would contribute \$35,168,000 as the U.S. share of the \$100,000,000 capital stock of the IFC.

Then there was the Investment Guarantee Programme, which provided, by means of inter-governmental agreements, insurance protection to U.S. foreign investors against the risks of inconvertibility of foreign currency receipts and loss through expropriation and confiscation. Through December 31, 1954, insurance totalling \$48.5 million had been issued to cover 69 investments of U.S. private capital engaged abroad. Of the total, \$45.9 million insured U.S. capital invested overseas against inconvertibility of foreign currency receipts, and \$2.6 million against loss through expropriation. Total fees collected amounted to over \$1 million; no payments under guarantee contracts were required. Up to May, 1955, twenty-four countries had signed such agreements with the U.S.A. The Government of India was reportedly considering the proposal for signing such an investment guarantee agreement with the United States. The latest reports indicate that a 25 years guarantee has been decided upon.

Mr. Eric Johnston, head of President Eisenhower's International Development Advisory Board and President of the Motion Picture Association of America, however, pointed out that while foreign governments were mostly willing to import American private capital, they found it impossible to accept the American terms for such investment.

U.S. Productivity

During the period since the end of the Second World War, factory output in the United States climbed six times as fast as factory employment. One of the high lights of the past decade was that the giant producers had grown bigger. For example, General Electric Company's plants had grown from 93 plants in 72 cities in 16 States to 135 plants in 105 cities in 28 States of America. Standard Oil of New Jersey, the largest oil concern, sold in 1954 nearly twice the petroleum products it had done in 1946. The largest chemical company Du Pont, had a sales volume in 1954 of almost triple its 1946 volume. There was, however, also a growth in the number of small producers. At the start of 1946 there were 264,000 manufacturing firms in the U.S.A. At the start of 1955 the total stood at 311,000.

The post-war decade also witnessed a gradual progressive upgrading of unskilled labour to skilled labour and an almost complete mechanisation of factory work. The percentage of work energy supplied by machine had risen from 17 per cent in 1880 and 84 per cent in 1930 to 95 per cent in 1954.

Another major trend of the period was the entrance of the Southern, South-western and Western States into the industrial age. Before the war those States were mostly agricultural.

This striking increase in the productivity was also reflected in the workers' income. There had been a 23-per cent rise in their real wages since 1946.

Ambassador and Colour Bar

Sri Gaganbehari Lal Mehta, India's Ambassador in the U.S.A., and his Secretary were the latest victims of the colour bar in the U.S.A. when on August 22 they were asked to leave the public dining room at the international airport at Houston in Texas, U.S.A.

Reuter reports: "Texas law forbids serving Negroes and white people in the same room but a Federal Government contract bars discrimination at the airport.

"Mr. John Stevens, the Houston Mayor's executive assistant, said the Government's anti-discrimination contract 'unquestionably applies to the dining hall'."

Nonetheless the Indian envoy and his secretary were asked by the manageress to leave the room. She is also reported to have said that had the Indians not complied with her request she "would have had to have them removed."

Mr. John Foster Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State, sent a formal apology to the Government of India through the U.S. Ambassador to India, Mr. Sherman Cooper, and also sent a personal apology to Mr. Mehta. *Reuter* adds that the mayor of Houston had apologised on behalf of every citizen of Houston to Mr. Mehta.

Referring to the incident, the *Vigil* writes editorially on August 27 under the caption "Negroes in America and Indians": "We think if we want to show real dignity we should inform the American Government that the apologies are unwanted. On the other hand, we should let the USA know what we think of the 'colour bar' by instructing all Indian representatives to prefer the company of Negroes wherever discrimination is practised as regards the use of any public place or other amenities. We should spurn the 'honour' of being, as 'privileged' foreigners, classed with whitemen who approve or tolerate such discrimination against their own fellow citizens on account of race or colour . . ."

The news paper expresses the view that the attitude, so long maintained by the Indians, in demanding separate treatment from the Negroes in

USA should be given up. Such an attitude had been of no help to the struggle for the end of racial segregation in USA. It had rather helped to strengthen the notion of the Negroes' inferiority in the minds of the white. The cause of the American Negro would be greatly helped and India's dignity would be considerably raised, the newspaper writes, "if instead of asking for equal treatment with the whites, Indians, while in America, show by their conduct that they make no distinction between white and coloured citizens of the U.S. and will, where discrimination is made, choose rather the Negro's side of the partition because the Negro, though as much a citizen of the U.S. as any white man, is weaker, wronged and under-privileged."

This incident has been closed by the extremely correct and dignified attitude of our Ambassador. The U.S. press, in general, has very severely condemned the action of the misguided female in charge, as she has brought her own country down to the level of the uncivilized barbarians of South Africa.

India-China-USSR Film Venture

The *Star*, weekly news-magazine, published from Lahore, reports that an Indo-Sino-Soviet co-production film depicting the life and travel to India in search of knowledge of the illustrious Chinese Buddhist scholar, Hiuen Tsang, was expected to be undertaken next year by Producer-Director Chetan Anand. According to the paper's cinema critic, "Permission to make the film—an unprecedented three-nation effort—was granted by the Government of India last month while the Soviet Government agreed to the proposal in October last when Chetan was in Moscow as a member of the Indian Film Delegation.

The co-operation of the Chinese Government is being sought and its envoys in India have expressed enthusiasm for the project on the fabulous Chinese pilgrim, Yuan Chwang, as he is called by his people and whose name is lost in legends."

The film would be in Russian aquacolor and in four versions—Hindi, Chinese, Russian and another for international screening. The final agreement would shortly be signed in Moscow, the report adds.

U.N. Officials' Illegal Transmitter

That the charges often heard in this country against U.N. officials were not altogether unfounded would be clear from the subjoined news-item taken from the 4th August issue of the *Bombay Chronicle*:

"New Delhi, August 2.—Mr. Sadath Ali Khan, Parliamentary Secretary to the Prime Minister, said in reply to Dr. Gidwani that it was true that the United Nations representatives in Delhi had been operating a wireless transmitter without any permission or licence from the Central Government.

"The matter had been taken up with the U.N. Secretary-General in New York, he said."

It would be interesting to know the nationality of the particular officials since obviously the U.N., as an international organisation, cannot have any use for such clandestine news.

Press Commission Report

Sri B. V. Karakar, Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting, introduced a resolution in the Lok Sabha on August 19 for consideration of the report of the Press Commission. According to his statement, the Union Government had already reached tentative conclusions on most of the recommendations of the Commission. One or two recommendations only were still under discussion. Yet the views expressed by the House might induce a change on the views of the Government even on matters on which tentative decisions had already been reached, said the Minister.

The recommendations of the Commission that would require legislation by the Parliament were those relating to service conditions of working journalists, the revision of law regarding Press registration, the regulation of the economic aspects of the industry by the price-page schedule and the constitution of a Press Council.

According to the *Statesman's* special representative in New Delhi, the great majority of the members, taking part in the discussion that ensued, held that concentration of ownership was the most serious ailment of the Indian Press. "There was also marked unanimity on the best remedy: Imposition of a price-page schedule. Such a measure, it was argued, would protect small papers from unfair competition and thus prevent them from being taken over by large combines."

"The majority of speakers wanted early implementation of all the recommendations, which, in the opinion of Mr. H. N. Mukherji (Com.) were interdependent. . . ."

The two major Indian news agencies—*Press Trust of India* and the *United Press of India*—came in for sharp criticism for mismanagement and alleged blacking out of news.

PTI adds that Mr. Hirendranath Mukherji, Communist member from West Bengal, analysed the ownership and circulation of various newspapers and told the House that 18 persons, apart from their grip over the Press, not only controlled the operation and management of almost every sector of the industry, but also had a monopolistic position in regard to newsprint, advertising, financial resources, banking facilities and relations with the Government. Such power was dangerous, he said.

Mr. H. V. Kamath (PSP) referred to the "growing unholy alliance between political power and finance capital" and said that there was also an "unholy wedlock between the Government and what I call the Press barons. The manner in which the

Government has seduced the Press barons on some occasions has been very reprehensible . . ."

He said that Asian news agencies were unable to compete with well-established foreign agencies because of the Government's policy 'regarding cable rates, wireless and other charges which were now high. He urged the Government to help the *PTI*, *UPI* and other Asian news agencies through reduced cable and wireless charges.

Mr. Joachim Alva (Congress) wanted Indian business houses with annual earning of more than one crore to set apart at least 1½ per cent immediately for advertising and break the monopoly of the British and American advertisers.

Mr. S. Gurupadaswamy (PSP) drew attention to the fact that the concentration of the means of information in the hands of a few capitalists presented the greatest danger to Indian journalism. He then referred to the fact that only five agencies were controlling the majority of the advertising material.

Mr. C. C. Shah (Congress) stressed the need for encouraging Indian language papers for increasing the number of district papers.

Sri Sadhan Gupta (Communist) expressed the hope that the Government would not be cowed down by the threats of closing down their papers by the "Press Barons" if the price-page schedule was introduced and that it would "take stern measures to make them desist from closing down their papers."

Sri Gupta said that it was a "calamity" that the country had to depend for news on *Reuters* which was an imperialist agency. He referred to the despatches from India on Goa which had mentioned that "Goan villagers attacked Indian demonstrators with sticks," and on the basis of which Sir Anthony Eden's paper *The Yorkshire Post* had written an editorial article on Goa in a deplorable way. He asked the Government to ensure the prevention of circulation of news coloured by foreign agencies.

Mr. Fulsinnji B. Babbi (Cong.) asked the Government to ban crossword puzzles. The bill prepared by the Government showed that the Government did not propose to put a ban but only certain restrictions on the publication of crossword puzzle competition in newspapers, he said.

Mr. M. D. Joshi (Cong.) referred to the sad plight of weekly and fortnightly journals which had held aloft the banner of freedom during the struggle for independence and pleaded for help so as to enable them to fulfil their role in the country.

Mr. Jaipal Singh (Jharkhand) and Mr. T. N. Singh, both members of the Press Commission, suggested that the entire evidence laid before the Commission should be published so that the country could know that the "Press Barons" were not the patriots they claimed to be.

Mr. Singh said that from the beginning the

"Press Barons" had attempted to put obstacles in the way of the work of the Press Commission. There had been opposition and non-co-operation. It was only when the Commission had held out the threat of the authority vested in it that they had "climbed down."

Sri N. V. Gadgil urged for the implementation of the price-page schedule at least in the case of the papers published in the Indian languages. He referred to the fact that since the abolition of the price-page schedule 27 papers had closed down. In the case of English papers he suggested that no paper should be sold for less than two annas for eight pages and if the number of pages was increased to 12 then the paper should be priced at two and a half annas. He also urged for a ban on the publication of crossword puzzles.

Many speakers insisted on the immediate implementation of the Commission's recommendations relating to pay and conditions of work of the working journalists. Sri N. V. Gadgil suggested for inclusion in the proposed bill of the relevant provisions of the Payment of Wages Act, so that the journalist could get his emoluments on fixed dates and not instalments as was the case with some papers in Madras.

Replying to the debate, the Union Minister for Information and Broadcasting, Dr. B. V. Keskar, said that it would be wrong to suggest that the Government was trying to avoid implementing the recommendations of the Press Commission. The Government had the fullest confidence in the impartiality and competence of the members of the Commission. The time taken by the Government in reaching decisions over the recommendations was indicative of the importance attached by the Government to the recommendations, he added.

Dr. Keskar said that the Government could not agree to the publication of the evidence placed before the Commission, because in view of the undertakings given to a number of persons that their evidence would be confidential, it would be immoral to publish the evidence.

He agreed that just as in other businesses trends of monopoly were beginning to creep into the newspaper industry. While Government was aware of the dangerous potentialities of this trend, if it went unchecked, it must be realised that the Press was not already in the grip of monopoly. The recommendations of the Commission in this respect were preventive rather than combative of actual evil.

MacCarthyism in Indian Press

Referring to the recent criticism in a section of the Indian Press, more noticeable in New Delhi, of the reporting of political events by Indian newspapermen, the Calcutta *Statesman*'s weekly political commentator under the pen-name of "Vedette" writes on August 7: "By an interesting coincidence, criticism of political reporting by Indian correspondents has arisen

only after the Prime Minister's tour of China on last October and of Russia in June. Charges of partiality to these two countries and of working under Communist influence have been freely brandished in certain quarters. Grave dissatisfaction has been expressed by critics in this category over the quality of reporting and the conclusion drawn that not all is well with the hearts and minds of the two Press teams that accompanied Mr. Nehru."

Part of the complaint could be explained by professional jealousy, says the commentator. But the real reason lay elsewhere even if it was agreed, for argument's sake, that the two Press teams that had accompanied the Prime Minister during his tour of China and Russia had left something to be desired in the matter of representation and ability.

He writes : "Over a period of some years now a group of indigenous MacCarthies have been operating in India, sometimes subtly, through rumour and scandal, but mostly by means of scurrilous writing. No means are repugnant to their conscience—'Letters to the Editor' are manufactured by the dozen, other people's views distorted, misquoted and torn out of context and vile personal attacks launched in the crusading spirit of the far away idol whom they seek to emulate.

"Here is yellow journalism in one of its worst forms. Most of these 'journals' have small circulations, and whenever one of them makes a personal McCarthy attack, the victim is obligingly supplied with a free copy of the publication with a neat printed slip on the cover inviting attention to page so-and-so. Essentially, the object of the attack is the Prime Minister's foreign policy, but placing discretion above valour, they direct their fury at correspondents whose professional decency may prevent them from engaging in an unclean controversy or who may be frightened into silence and discouraged from doing their job with honest objectivity."

The columnist appeals to the public to beware of such little McCarthies and to the Government to take note of their *modus operandi*, which extended "from personal blackmail to pontifical lectures on objective journalism."

We are not unfamiliar with the tactics of yellow journalism pointed out by the *Statesman*. We have to remark that some more subtle poison is in action here, besides mere jealousy or personal feuds, though both of them are potent factors in the production of "yellow" journalism. The standards of journalism have gone down all over the world in the hunt for circulation and in the chase of political power for parties whose cause have been espoused by the journals concerned.

News Procurement Methods

While inaugurating the fourth annual conference of the Federation of Working Journalists, the Finance

Minister of Madras, Sri C. Subramaniam had strongly decried a tendency among the journalists to get news somehow and had compared it with a tendency in certain other sectors to make money somehow. "There is no difference between the two," he said. "I may be pardoned if I say that it is nothing but stealing the news from quarters from where you are not entitled to get it."

The Minister continued: "It is claimed as a privilege of the Press that it should not be asked to reveal the source of news even though it is an illegal source from which a particular item of news has been obtained, it is something astounding which we will have to think about."

The Federation of Working Journalists adopted a resolution reiterating the right of the Press to publish any news it thought necessary to the interest of the public and deplored "the tendency on the part of the authorities to deny journalists free access to sources of information and regiment publication of news."

The resolution added that the public advantage arising from freedom of information far outweighed any inconvenience or embarrassment to individuals, authorities or party interests.

The Executive Committee of the Southern India Journalists' Federation in a resolution adopted on July 29, expressed surprise and regret at the above remark of the Minister about journalists "stealing the news" and observed that "his subsequent effort at elucidation is not calculated to reassure the Press or the public."

While disclaiming any sympathy for those who distorted news, the committee expressed its inability to accept the Minister's view that it was the duty of the Press not to gather news bearing on the Government's plans, policies or actions except from authorised sources and not to publish it until such time as the appropriate authority considered suitable. The characterisation of journalistic enterprise as "stealing the news" was based upon the unsupported assumption that the Press resorts to wrong methods in getting the news.

The resolution concludes : "The committee deplores that the Minister should have thought it proper to warn the Press that the Government might be compelled to keep it at arm's length if it did not agree to the course he suggested. That would be a denial in practice of the freedom of information which is the life-blood of democracy. And it can only encourage wild speculation with consequent damage to public morale."

Law Commission

The Union Law Minister, Sri C. C. Biswas announced the appointment of a Law Commission in the Lok Sabha on August 5. The eleven-member Commission headed by the Attorney-General of India,

Sri M. C. Setalvad, would function in two sections and was expected to submit its recommendations by the end of 1956. The term of one or the other section might, however, be extended if required. The two sections of the Commission would deal with the two main tasks—reform of judicial administration and reform of statute laws.

PTI adds: "The terms of reference of the Commission are: First, to review the system of judicial administration in all its aspects and suggest ways for improving it and making it speedy and less expensive; and, secondly, to examine the Central Acts of general application and importance, and recommend the lines on which they should be amended, revised, consolidated or otherwise brought up-to-date.

"The Commission's inquiry into the system of judicial administration will be comprehensive and thorough, including in its scope, (a) the operation and effect of laws, substantive as well as procedural, with a view to eliminating unnecessary litigation, speeding up the disposal of cases and making justice less expensive; (b) the organization of courts, both civil and criminal; (c) recruitment of the judiciary; and (d) level of the bar and of legal education.

"The Commission's principal objectives in the revision of existing legislation will be (a) to simplify the laws in general, and the procedural laws in particular, (b) to ascertain if any provisions are inconsistent with the Constitution and suggest necessary alterations or omissions, (c) to remove anomalies and ambiguities brought to light by conflicting decisions of High Courts or otherwise, (d) to consider local variations introduced by State legislation in the concurrent list with a view to reintroducing and maintaining uniformity, (e) to consolidate Acts pertaining to the same subject with such technical revision as may be found necessary, and (f) to suggest modifications, wherever necessary, for implementing the directive principles of State policy laid down in the Constitution."

The chairman was empowered to co-opt as members one or two practising lawyers of a State to assist inquiries in that State.

The members of the Commission were: Sri M. C. Setalvad (Chairman); Sri M. C. Chagla (Chief Justice of Bombay High Court); Sri K. N. Wanchoo (Chief Justice of Rajasthan High Court); Sri G. N. Das, (retired Judge of Calcutta High Court); Sri P. Satyanarayana Rao (retired Judge of Madras High Court); Dr. N. C. Sen Gupta (Advocate, Calcutta); Sri V. K. T. Chari (Advocate-General, Madras); Sri Narasa Raju (Advocate-General, Andhra); Sri S. M. Sikri (Advocate-General, Punjab); Sri G. S. Pathak (Advocate, Allahabad); and Sri G. N. Joshi (Advocate, Bombay).

In an article on the tasks before the Law Commission in the *Vigil*, Sri S. N. Dwivedi writes that it

would be regretted that the Commission was not constituted more broadly. The Government was urged to consider the question of enlarging the Commission.

While congratulating the Government "for selecting an able and experienced personnel for the Commission" whose "learning ability and mellowed experience" commanded universal respect the writer points to the strange exclusion of political and economic thinkers as a result of which the judges and lawyers had a monopoly on the Commission.

The writer strikes a note of warning against the danger of the over-representation of the conventional thought in the Commission. The tasks before the Commission was legal planning, not mere tinkering at law reform. No patch-work but a liberal scientific approach was necessary. The Commission's task was to "survey the Indian statute book from two root-points, namely, social justice *versus* private property, and regulation *versus* anarchy."

We are in agreement with Sri Dwivedi's comments in general. The law today is so complicated and the process of justice so tortuous and expensive that the common man can hardly ever get justice on a equitable basis. Law is a lawyers' paradise and the happy hunting ground of the predatory sections of the rich. The few reforms that have been made since the attainment of freedom have increased the arbitrary powers of the government and added worse confusion in legal procedure everywhere. Justice, in short, is even less apparent today to the layman than it was before. It is a hard and bitter statement, but that is the considered opinion of the majority of thoughtful people. Lawyers, however eminent, cannot improve matters.

State Trading

The leader of the Communist group in Lok Sabha, Sri A. K. Gopalan, moved a resolution in the House on August 12 asking the Government to enforce immediately State monopoly of foreign trade in commodities like jute, hides and skins, cocoanut, pepper, tea, cotton, rubber, manganese, mica, coal and other metallic ores in order to implement successfully the Second Five-Year Plan, reports the *Statesman*.

When the resolution came up for discussion on August 26, according to the *Press Trust of India*, there was general support for the idea of State trading in selected commodities. The news agency report says:

"Mr. Gopalan said that if the Five-Year Plan had to be implemented successfully such a measure was necessary. State monopoly of foreign trade was also necessary in view of the State objective of achieving a Socialistic pattern of society. The present form of foreign trade was not at all helpful to the implementation of the Second Plan and unless it was taken over by the State, progress of State economy would be moonshine.

"As long as foreign trade remained entirely in the hands of private business there would be violent

fluctuations in the commodity markets. There would be booms and slumps resulting in closure of factories and causing much harm to the country's economy.

"If the State monopoly of foreign trade came into being the Government would be able to negotiate favourably for the disposal of the country's products. The Government would also be able to enter into long-term agreements with other countries which the private businessman could not do.

"Mr. Gopalan said that another advantage of State monopoly would be that the State would always look to the interest of the country, whereas in private hands the sole consideration was profit.

"Another distressing feature of the country's foreign trade was its dependence on Anglo-American market. 'We want to shed once for all our dependence on one type of markets.'

Foreign trade, he said, yielded an income of about Rs. 125 crores and this could easily be utilised for augmenting the resources of the Second Five-Year Plan if the Government took over import and export trade. This would also lessen the burden on the common man, which he had to share by way of taxes on essential commodities.

"In China, the United States, USSR and many other countries, including capitalist countries, State-controlled agencies were functioning. If State monopoly of foreign trade was enforced, then by no stretch of imagination could it be conceived as a totalitarian method. Many of the foreign countries doing business with India had purchasing agencies here and tried to take advantage of the competition in the market. This proved harmful for the peasants.

"Mr. K. Raghuramaiah (Congress, Andhra) said he had a soft corner for State trading, but could not support the resolution. He said that it was true that the country wanted more money to implement the Second Five-Year Plan, but the question was how to get it. Trading was not a joke. It required contacts and planning. The Government had no such machinery. Moreover, who would take the risk, which was essential in such matters? In Britain, he said, Government tried State trading in raw cotton. But the experience was not happy. In India, too, we had some experience of State trading in foodgrains.

"Mr. Raghuramaiah said that the repercussions of such a measure on unemployment situation should also be taken into consideration. But in certain cases Government could step in and enforce State trading. Tobacco was one of them. India was at a disadvantage while dealing with Communist countries like China, where foreign trade was State-controlled.

"I suggest in dealing with such cases where trade is in the hands of monopoly organisations, whether it is State or some other organisation, and we are dealing with it, we must have an organisation in this

country whether Government or semi-Government," he said." (*Hindu*, 28.8.55)

The Minister concerned had not replied at the time of this writing.

We, for ourselves, have a great deal of hesitation in advocating State monopoly in foreign trade. Until we have more experienced ministers and high officials and the standard of integrity was raised to a far higher level it would be asking for calamity to plunge into limitless State control. As regards efficiency and know-how, we have very far to go as yet.

Privilege Motion in Madras Assembly

The Deputy Speaker of the Madras Legislative Assembly rejected on August 20 a plea of breach of privilege raised by M. Kalyanasundaram, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, regarding the disciplinary proceedings started by the District Educational Officer of Salem, against a teacher of an elementary school in Rasipuram, on the alleged ground, among others, of his "close contact with top-ranking Communist leaders like Mr. M. Kalyanasundaram and Mr. P. J. vanandam," reports the *Hindu* on August 21.

Raising an issue of privilege M. Kalyanasundaram said that the charge against the teacher tended to imply that contact with members of the House constituted an offence meriting action under the Educational Rules, including cancellation of the teaching certificate. If members of the House were to discharge their duties effectively, it was necessary that they should be able to visit different places and institutions, and contact people in different walks of life, so that they could have first hand knowledge of matters and of people's problems, he said.

The Communist Party was a lawful organization and was recognised as an all-India Party. It was one of the main opposition parties in the Assembly. In the circumstances, Mr. Kalyanasundaram maintained, "the charge made by the District Education officer, Salem, was disparaging and calculated to bring down the prestige of the House and the members in the estimation of the people." He said, "How could members have contact with Government employees or people working in Government undertakings and know facts in order to be able to make proper suggestions in the House for improvement, if the very necessary contact was considered to be 'misconduct'? The Government should not allow its officials to take such an attitude towards members of the particular party in the House." Referring to the particular case Mr. Kalyanasundaram said that he had been to Rasipuram only once in his life. The teacher had met him on that occasion and they both had gone to his house and had had discussions on educational, and not on party matters. The teacher, so far as he knew, was not a member of the Communist Party. "Even assuming that he is a member of the Communist Party, how is it an offence?" asked Mr. Kalyana-

sundaram. "Are not members of other political parties visiting the houses of Government officials and even staying with them? Some of them are their relatives. Why should this special discrimination be made against Communist Party. I say definitely it is a breach of privilege."

He further said that the analogy of Mr. Geoffrey Cooper's case could not be applicable because there the matter had rested on presumption, whereas in the case mentioned by him, the issue had been raised on the basis of an actual charge contained in a charge-sheet.

Supporting Mr. Kalyanasundaram Mr. P. Ramamurthi, Leader of the Opposition, said that the whole matter had raised not only an issue of breach of privilege, but also of contempt of the House. It had a very important bearing on the rights and functioning of the members of the House. "Members of the House, including members of the Communist Party, in order to discharge their functions effectively were entitled to contact members of the public, including teachers. To say that this would constitute misconduct only meant that members of the Communist Party were bad characters and persons not to be contacted. That amounted not only to violation of the privilege of the House, but also to contempt of the House. Contempt had been defined as anything obstructing or impeding members in the discharge of their duties or anything which tended directly or indirectly to produce such a result. Irrespective of precedents they should judge the action of the District Education Officer from this point of view, if the action obstructed or impeded, or even had the tendency to obstruct or impede, members in the discharge of their duties. . . . Their concern was not with the action taken against the individual teacher, but its implications for members of the House and the House itself."

Mr. C. Subramaniam, Leader of the House, said in reply that there had been no breach of privilege and the motion had been brought forward with the intention to intimidate the official for the action he had taken. He said that there had been no intention to treat as offence a contact with any M.L.A. or any member of the public. What had been objected to was that teachers should at all take part in politics—Congress, Communist or otherwise. The question, therefore, was whether it had been correct for the teacher to have discussions on party politics. Mr. Kalyanasundaram had stated that he had not discussed party politics on the occasion. The minister was sure that due weight would be given to that statement.

Giving his ruling, the Deputy Speaker explained the privileges of members and said that in the present case clearly no obstruction had taken place nor anything which tended directly or indirectly to produce such results or which could be treated as contempt.

He then referred to the ruling of the Speaker of the British House of Commons on a case which was almost similar to the one mentioned by Mr. Kalyanasundaram. In 1951, Mr. Geoffrey Cooper, M.P., had alleged in the House of Commons that two Government servants had been dismissed from service on the ground that they had given information to the member. Mr. Cooper had maintained that such action would discourage persons coming to give information to members of the House of Commons and was therefore, a breach of privilege of the House. The Speaker of the House of Commons had ruled that privilege could not be extended to such cases though "this, no doubt, may be a very desirable matter to discuss and debate on the vote on the Ministry (concerned)." Mr. Kalyanasundaram had not been obstructed and he could still perform the duties of a legislator in spite of the charge against the teacher. Therefore, there had been no *prima facie* breach of privilege, ruled the Deputy Speaker.

Second Pay Commission

Mr. D. C. Sharma, a Congress member from the Punjab, introduced a non-official resolution in the Lok Sabha on July 29 urging the appointment of a second Pay Commission "to go into the question of the pay structure of the country, so that the disparity between the highest salary and the lowest salary is reduced to the minimum."

Moving the resolution Mr. Sharma said that the resolution was conceived in the spirit of the directive principles of the Constitution which enjoined upon the Government to bring about an equitable distribution of wealth. Things had greatly changed since the last Pay Commission had submitted its report. The new socio-economic urges of the people demanded an integrated approach to the pay structure of the country both in the public and the private sectors. "Our pay structure has to be rationalised in terms of the new need of the country," Mr. Sharma added.

Mr. A. K. Gopalan, leader of the Communist group in Lok Sabha, said in support of the resolution that there were both political and economic reasons for revising the present pay structure. He referred to the strong desire on the part of the employees in Government and other industrial and commercial establishments for an increase in their standard of living not only on the economic but also the cultural side. The pay scales recommended by the Commission in 1943 had not been a living wage even according to that body. The recommendations made by the Pay Commission had been based on the assumption that the cost of living index would stabilise at a point somewhere between 160 and 175 but today the index stood at 354.7. The same pay structure could in the circumstances hardly be considered enough. There were, moreover, anomalies between the pay scales of the Central and State Governments. The

recommendation of the Pay Commission for fixing the ceiling at Rs. 2,000 per month had also gone unimplemented. He urged for the minimum to be fixed at Rs. 100 per month.

The *Hindu* reports: "Five amendments were moved to the resolution. One of them demanded that the highest and lowest salaries should be reduced to the ratio of ten to one, with Rs. 100 as the lowest and Rs. 1,000 as the highest."

Supporting the demand for a Second Pay Commission, the *People* writes in an editorial note on the 31st July: "That there is need for a yet another overhaul goes without saying. There is nothing wrong in revising what has already been worked out, in ever-changing circumstances. Adjustments and readjustments have to be made. Therein lies what is termed as the dynamics of our society. The new pay commission, if and when it is set up, would do well to remove the incongruities which are still present in the pay-scales for various cadres."

The resolution for the appointment of a Second Pay Commission, though it secured approval of the opposition and some Congress members, however, faced official Congress opposition in the Lok Sabha and was consequently defeated by an overwhelming majority.

Replying to the debate, Mr. M. C. Shah, Minister of Revenue and Civil Expenditure, dilated on the financial implications and said that raising the minimum wage of Government servants to Rs. 100 per month would require annually Rs. 28 crores. For raising the salaries of teachers a sum of Rs. 36 crores was needed. Roughly Rs. 100 crores would have to be raised annually to meet all the demands. The Government favoured that sum to be invested in the Second Five-Year Plan which aimed at raising the standard of living of the people as a whole.

Press Trust of India reports: "Mr. M. C. Shah said the minimum wage of a Government servant now was Rs. 70 per month and the disparity between the highest and the lowest paid had been reduced from 1 to 280 before 1946 to 1 to 30 or 31 after acceptance of the Pay Commission's recommendations. Before 1946, the lowest pay average was Rs. 12 and the highest Rs. 4,000 or Rs. 3,300 after deducting income-tax. The minimum today was Rs. 70 and the maximum Rs. 4,000 or Rs. 2,200 or so after deducting income-tax at the present rate.

"Mr. Shah said that if the suggestion that the highest salary should be reduced to Rs. 1,000 was accepted, the Government would save about Rs. 15 lakhs. If this amount was distributed among the other Government employees, each one would get an increase of Re. 1-4. He assured the House that the Government would endeavour to better the lot of the lower paid staff as much as possible. He requested Prof. Sharma to withdraw the resolution.

"Mr. Sharma commended the resolution to the

House but when the Deputy Speaker was about to put it to vote he begged leave of the House to withdraw the resolution. The Opposition refused permission to withdraw and when the resolution was put to vote it was declared lost by 69 votes to 27."

States Reorganisation Commission

The *Bombay Chronicle* published a dispatch from its special correspondent in New Delhi according to whom the States Reorganisation Commission was "sure to recommend the formation of two new States, Karnataka and Kerala." The correspondent writes that there was unanimity in the Commission about the formation of those two States though the possibilities of a Marathi-speaking State was not altogether ruled out. Another certain recommendation was the abolition of Part 'C' States. The cases of Delhi, Cutch, Manipur and Tripura would, however, require separate consideration. "Delhi is special case on account of its being the capital and the other three because of their strategic position. The question of hill areas also is receiving special attention."

The Commission, which would submit its report in September, would also recommend the appointment of a special Minister for Hill Affairs, the correspondent adds.

Text-Book Publication Delayed

The *Hitavada* in an editorial note on July 30 comments upon the inordinate delay in bringing out text-books by the Madhya Pradesh Government. It notes that though schools had opened a month ago, no work could be done in the absence of text-books.

A later report published in August 14 issue of the newspaper says: "While the primers and readers published by the State Government have yet to reach the students and teachers in the primary schools in the State, experienced primary school masters whom one contacted expressed the opinion that the books were undoubtedly attractive and well brought-out, but the planning of lessons in some of them left much to be desired."

1857 Martyrs

The Congress Working Committee recently decided (on July 23) that the centenary of India's first war of independence in 1857 should be celebrated throughout the country in 1957. A five-man committee was appointed to submit to the next meeting of the Working Committee a scheme for celebrating the occasion.

From an editorial note of the weekly *People* on August 28, it appears that there was also a move afoot in the Congress circles to collect information and statistics regarding persons who had lost their property through mass confiscations for participating in 1857 movements. The newspaper also refers to a move to grant adequate compensation for their living descendants and writes: "This is obviously a national task and deserves attention from all and sundry."

PANCH-SHILA

By SAILA KUMAR MUKHERJEE,
Speaker, West Bengal Legislative Assembly

THE Panch-Shila or the five principles of international relationship have been the logical culmination of independent India's foreign policy constantly and openly advocated by our beloved Prime Minister since attainment of independence and since he assumed charge of the Department of External Affairs. To fully appreciate Panch-Shila it would be necessary to state the background of Pandit Nehru's mind even prior to independence. It was Pandit Nehru chiefly who in his books and from Congress platforms, had from time to time given expression to his views on the kind of foreign relations that independent India should pursue. In successive Congress plenary sessions prior to Independence it was Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, who under the inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi sponsored the resolutions on foreign policy, which independent India should adopt.

Since attainment of independence it has been the consistent policy of India's Prime Minister to allot a number of days for debate on the foreign policy of India as it was developing in the midst of explosive situations prevailing in the neighbouring countries in Asia as also in other parts of the world. We have before us exhaustive records of parliamentary debates from 1947 onwards from which it is easy to get a glimpse of the view which the leaders of the country held as also the other different views which the different political parties held. Today in the year 1955 it is much easier for us to have retrospective analysis of the various view-points on the foreign policy of independent India as reflected in the debates of the Parliament and expression of views outside. The doubts and fears, distrust and apathy that were reflected in the earlier years after independence are gradually being replaced by trust and confidence, respect and courage about the soundness of India's foreign policy. This is not my assumption or inference but I am speaking with reference to the records of parliamentary debates during the last seven years that confidence is gradually dawning on the leadership of India at least, so far as the foreign policy is concerned.

The architect of this foreign policy, Prime Minister Nehru, has in his various utterances during these seven years given unmistakable evidence of his deep debt of gratitude to Gandhiji's teachings and it is but natural that his foreign policy should bear the indelible stamp of Gandhian philosophy. In his last public utterance at Delhi at the public reception after

his historic tour of Soviet Union and East European countries with whom treaties based on Panch-Shila were for the first time executed, the Prime Minister declared in the language of Mahatma Gandhi that "an answer to Atom and Hydrogen bombs was no more of them, but truth and non-violence" and he pleaded with the huge audience to observe in their individual and social life the principle of peaceful co-existence by being tolerant towards all religions.

Let us now analyse these five principles. What are they?

- (1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty;
- (2) Mutual non-aggression;
- (3) Mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs;
- (4) Equality and mutual benefit;
- (5) Peaceful co-existence.

They are called Panch-Shila according to the Buddhistic language prevalent in Burma and Indonesia representing five principles or codes of human conduct. They for the first time came into limelight of international politics when on 29th April, 1954 an Agreement was entered into between the Republic of India and the People's Republic of China on trade and cultural intercourse and facilities of pilgrimage and travel between India and Tibet. These principles form the preamble of the Agreement and are its most important part. The legal quibble over exercise of 'suzerainty' or 'sovereignty' by China over Tibet vanished as soon as China could effectively control Tibet and her sovereignty became a fact. China's sovereignty over Tibet had a historical background of centuries even recognised by some foreign powers. New India was not therefore interested in merely treating Tibet as a buffer State as was done by the British in her own colonial and Imperial interest. In consistency with another fundamental policy of India, viz., not to align herself with either of the two power blocs but to remain friendly with all countries, especially with her neighbours, she never took up a position which would have strained her relations with China and at the same time made the position of Tibet worse. Tibet never belonged to India and the charge commonly levelled that India sold Tibet to China is unwarranted. Judging from the above background the entire provisions of this trade and travel agreement have been based on these five principles and with a view to promote each one of them effec-

tively so that friendly relations between two great Asian neighbours may grow. The working of the Agreement for more than one year by implementation of its provisions justify the hope of its framers.

This Agreement of course has only a limited scope. Shortly thereafter, that is within two months, on 28th June, 1954, the two Prime Ministers issued a joint statement from Delhi with regard to mutual relationship between the two countries in which they reaffirmed their faith in the five principles mentioned above and they expressed the hope that these principles should be applied in their relations with other countries in Asia and other parts of the world. They further felt that if these principles are applied not only between various countries but also in international relations generally, they would form a solid foundation for peace and security and the fears and apprehensions that exist today would give place to a feeling of confidence.

Let us examine if these hopes have been fulfilled. Subsequent to the signing of the Agreement between India and China, similar agreements on international level have been entered into between India and Burma, India and Indonesia. In the Bandung Conference 29 nations of Asia and Africa have adopted these five principles with further extension to suit the need of other countries who due to special problems of their own wanted collective security pacts for self-defence. Further, the principles of their agreement have also, as hoped for by its sponsors, been extended to other parts of the world. An agreement based on five principles have been entered into between India and Yugoslavia, India and Poland and lastly between India and Union of Soviet Russia. The hopes expressed by the two Prime Ministers in the Panch-Shila Agreement about lessening the tensions in the world and creating a climate of peace as a result thereof are also on a fair way to fulfilment as will be apparent from records of world events in the East and in the West during the last 14 months which I need not repeat.

Let us now trace the background of these principles of peaceful co-existence. The question of peaceful co-existence can arise between two nations only when they do not exist on equal basis or differ in fundamentals and stand on opposite social or political structures. No question of co-existence can arise between nations who exist on equal terms and identity of interest and on uniform social and political systems. Therefore, peaceful co-existence can only arise between nations who have different political and social systems. India and China, two of the greatest nations of Asia, have entirely two different political and social systems now. But their historical and cultural associations date back to centuries—such contacts only having been snapped during the last two or three centuries. Both having shaken off the colonial

and Imperial dominions almost simultaneously both countries in their own democratic interest of rapid development and progress wanted peace above anything else. They wanted peace not only for themselves but for the whole of Asia and the world because in the context of the present-day world a conflict at any part is bound to have its repercussions on other parts. Therefore, they wanted to evolve a method of working out effectively the goal of peaceful co-existence and they devised the basis of peaceful co-existence as firstly mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty. I want to lay emphasis on the word *respect*. The first principle, therefore, enjoins creation of a mental make-up and attitude of mind of each State and its people to develop a sense of respect for other nations' not only integrity but sovereignty also—be it sovereignty of the people or the party or the dictator. The second and third principles involve some action to implement the first principle of development of mental attitude. Both are negative actions, i.e., not to do some acts, such as aggression and interference in each other's internal affairs. The third principle needs a little elucidation. It had been a consistent cry for years past in democratic countries that totalitarian States through extra-State organisations but backed by the resources of such State infiltrate into democratic countries totalitarian ideas through seemingly innocent organisations. This principle has been further amplified in the latest agreement between India and Soviet Russia, to define and extend the scope of non-interference in internal affairs to the extent of economic, political and cultural fields. This is the strongest safeguard against preserving the sovereignty of a nation. The fourth principle is a principle of positive action. Both countries are at liberty to take such political, economic and other measures as would mutually benefit them as equals and not with a superiority or inferiority complex. If these five principles therefore are fostered in each country on a national basis and gradually receives international recognition—human ingenuity fails to understand why nations should fight unless it be for the purpose of beastly instinct in men of self-interest and self-preservation alone at the cost of others. Panch-Shila therefore is an extension of the scope of human conduct in society between individuals, between different groups in the same state and further extended to the relationship between different nations in the world. As in society individuals want to live in peaceful co-existence with different views and outlook on life, as different groups within the same state having different social or political outlook want to live in peaceful co-existence for the benefit of the State, so too nations with different political and social ideologies can live in peace for the benefit of each nation and the world as a whole.

In the very first speech as foreign minister in the Parliamentary Debate on foreign policy, Prime Minister Nehru observed:

"A country's foreign policy ultimately emerges from its own traditions, from its own urges, from its own objectives and more particularly from its recent past."

The corner-stone of India's foreign policy is her desire to have peace and prevent war. Her policy of non-alignment in any power bloc arises out of this desire. She wants to be friend of all and it is with that view she has pinned her faith in the United Nations in spite of its weaknesses and failures.

This foreign policy of India which ended in that dynamic Panch-Shila is the logical outcome of the

struggle for freedom under the leadership of Gandhiji. Gandhiji held that "end cannot justify the means and that everything must be fair in politics." It may sound utopian still to many but I may conclude by quoting the memorable words of Gandhiji uttered in 1927 :

"If India has patience enough to go through the fire of suffering and to resist any unlawful encroachment upon its own civilisation which, imperfect though it undoubtedly is, has hitherto stood the ravages of time, she can make a lasting contribution to the peace and solid progress of the world: If we are to be saved and are to make a substantial contribution to the world's progress, ours must emphatically and predominantly be the way of non-violence and peace."

—O:

BENGALIANS IN ASSAM—THE RECENT ROY-MEDHI TALKS

BY BIMALCHANDRA SINHA, M.A.

THE problems of Bengalees in Assam have drawn sharp public attention all over India after the Goalpara incidents. There was an enquiry by Shri Madhavan Nair, the General Secretary of the Congress, and there was also a Resolution of the Working Committee suggesting a meeting of the two Chief Ministers and two P.C.C. Chiefs. The All-India Congress Committee, at its last Berhampore Session, also expressed its sorrow and concern at the Goalpara incidents. After that, Sj. Saratchandra Sinha, the President of the Goalpara District Congress Committee, has also issued a public statement expressing his regret for organising public meetings and processions, etc., on the eve of the visit of the States Reorganisation Commission in contravention of the directions of the Congress Working Committee. Lastly, Shri Bishnuram Medhi, the Chief Minister of Assam, came down to Calcutta along with Sj. Mahendra Mohan Chowdhury, the President of the Assam Provincial Congress Committee, and held discussions with Dr. B. C. Roy. After the talks were over, Dr. Roy told the Press the subjects they discussed and the views they held on different questions. It appears from those Press Reports that Sj. Medhi has tried to impress that Bengalees have no difficulty in Assam and the rules do not discriminate against them. Unfortunately, this is not a fact. Even from Sj. Medhi's statements it would appear that there are discriminatory rules which operate against the Bengalees. Moreover, Sj. Medhi has not given all the facts. From the days of the Line System up till even now there are rules in Assam which discriminate against the Bengalees of Assam. We do not propose here to cover the whole ground, but it is necessary, at least, to examine what Sj. Medhi has said now.

PRINCIPLES ENUNCIATED BY DR. ROY

In his talks, Dr. Roy has enunciated the following principles :

(1) A child in the primary stage must have education in his or her mother tongue.

(2) Students of higher classes should learn Assamese, though facilities must be given for imparting instruction through Bengali or English or Hindi, provided there is demand for the same.

Sj. Medhi does not appear to have disputed the soundness of these principles.

SJ. MEDHI'S ASSERTIONS

(1) In reply, Shri Medhi has denied that discrimination is being made between one school and another, so far as aid to Bengali schools is concerned.

(2) As regards secondary schools, Sj. Medhi has said, (a) there was no discrimination about aid, (b) there was no discrimination about admission, (c) there was no discrimination about the grant of Scholarship.

(3) The question of domicile was then discussed. Let us now examine these points *sereatim*.

THE BACKGROUND

In Assam, restrictions on landholding on the basis of indigenous and non-indigenous population has substantially affected the language statistics. The fear that non-indigenous persons may not be permitted to hold land—and those who do not have Assamese as their mother tongue are not regarded as indigenous persons—has compelled people to return their mother-tongue as Assamese, even when it is not so. (See *Assam Census Report 1951*). In all discussions it will be necessary to remember always this background. Otherwise the picture will not be clear.

PRIMARY SCHOOLS

1. Let us quote the Government Reply to the Question put by Sj. Santosh Kumar Barua, 4th session of the Assam Legislative Assembly, 11th September, 1953.

* See Letter No. Rs. 195/47/188 dated Shillong, the 4th May, 1948 : "Government reiterate their policy that settlement of land should in no circumstances be made with persons who are not indigenous to the Province."

Statement showing the number of Primary Schools in Dhubri Subdivision, having as Medium of Instruction, Assamese, Bengali, etc., separately shown for different years.

	No. of Schools	1947-48		1948-49		1949-50		1950-51	
		Expen-	diture (Rs.)	No.	Exp.	No.	Exp.	No.	Exp.
1. Lower Primary Schools with Assamese as Medium of Instruction	348	96,135		582	211,470	773	384,063	833	358,990
2. Lower Primary Schools with Bengali as Medium of Instruction	250	66,000		130	48,360	45	22,236	3	4,674
3. Lower Primary Schools with Hindi as Medium of Instruction	Nil	Nil		Nil	Nil	2	983	2	1,367
4. Lower Primary Schools with Garo as Medium of Instruction	Nil	Nil		Nil	Nil	1	336	1	336
Total	598	162,135		712	259,830	821	407,648	839	3,65,397

Two facts emerge from this very remarkable statement. (1) It will be contended, in the first place, that Assamese-speakers have now increased very much. But in that case we shall have to remember the artificial and unreal nature of the increase. (2) But even granting for the sake of argument that there has been an increase in the number of Assamese-speakers, the Bengali-speakers yet constitute, even in 1951, by their own computation, 17.4% of the total population of the district of Goalpara. The percentage would be much higher in the Dhubri Subdivision which is more Bengali-speaking. The number of schools, using Bengali, is however much lower than 17.4%. In absolute number it is now only 3, while the number of schools using Assamese has gone up as high as 833.

Is this not discrimination?

2. There is also more direct evidence of discrimination. I give only a few instances collected at random from the different memoranda submitted before the States Reorganisation Commission:

(i) Order dated 4-12-48 by the Deputy Inspector of Schools, Dhubri,—Order No. 5965—4920 dated 4-12-48 :—"Sishupathsala all the Local Board M.E. and L.P. and aided schools must take up Assamese in their Schools." Sd. H. Tamuli Phukan, D.I. of Schools, Dhubri.

(ii) Order by the Inspectress of Schools, Assam, as recorded in the Inspection Note on the Bidyapara Girls' Middle English School, Dhubri, as forwarded by her memo No. 696-700 dated 18-1-49 :—"All the primary classes should have Assamese as the medium."

(iii) Letter No. PSO/15/48/534-48 from the Secretary, Provincial Primary Education Board, Assam, Shillong to the Secretary, Dhubri Subdivisional Primary Education Board, sanctioning a recurring grant of Rs. 210/- :—"The grants are sanctioned on

condition that the medium of instruction must be Assamese."

All these instances relate to primary schools. Can it still be contended that there is no discrimination about the primary schools, no discrimination about grants, no forced Assamese-isation? Can it be said that the principle enunciated by Dr. Roy that primary schools must give education in the mother-tongue of the pupils is being at all respected?

HIGHER EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Here, the domicile rules act as a great discriminating factor. But of that later on. Here also, the facts are too many to permit detailed recapitulation. We give only a few illustrative examples:

The medium of instruction in the Government High School at Dhubri was Bengali in the lower classes from the very inception of the school some 60 years back. English being the medium in the higher classes as elsewhere. When in the thirties, Calcutta University prescribed vernacular to be the medium of instruction, the Dhubri Government High School remained the only Government High School in the Assam Valley Districts, with Bengali as the medium of instruction. Arrangements were made however, to impart children speaking Assamese through the medium of Assamese. But since March, 1954 the medium of instruction has become Assamese, and there is no arrangement for teaching Bengali-speakers in Bengali. Similar situations have arisen in the Hamidabad Aided High School and south Salwara Aided High School.

Can it be said that there is no discrimination, even if we leave out the question of domicile at the present moment?

GRANT OF SCHOLARSHIPS

Sj. Medhi has said that there is no discrimination in granting Scholarships. We mention below two cases :

(1) Policy in this regard was laid down in Circular Letter No. 27868-933 dated 10-9-48 of D.P.I., Assam to the Heads of all Government and affiliated institutions. The Circular stated, "Government of Assam have decided that they would not henceforth be responsible for the payment of any Scholarship in any institution to those students who do not have their *domicile* in Assam, as constituted after the transfer of a portion of Sylhet to East Bengal."

(2) The most glaring case of discrimination in this regard is that of Shri Ranjan Prasad Sen Gupta, who stood 10th in the University of Gauhati in the 1953 Matriculation Examination (Roll Dib. No. 398) from the Tinsukia Bengali High School. He has been refused Scholarship because he is not domiciled, though his father is a railway official at Tinsukia, has landed property in North Laming and is living in Assam for three generations.

(3) A girl-student, Sabita Dam, Roll Gau. No F-7, found eligible for a Scholarship on merits among girls, was refused the Scholarship, though her father owns a house at Gauhati and is an advocate of the High Court there. He is also a permanent resident of Assam Valley as certified by the Deputy Commissioner. The same was the fate of three other girls Miss Sabita Sinha, Chitra Ghosh and Bela Chowdhury, who are refugees from East Bengal and now citizens of India in Silchar, Assam. They were deprived of Scholarship earned by merit from Silchar Government Aided Girls' High School on the ground of domicile.

I believe the facts speak for themselves.

THE QUESTION OF DOMICILE

I do not know how domicile can be still enforced even after the passing of the Constitution. Bihar and Assam have long been insisting on domicile. After the commencement of the Constitution, the Bihar Government had to take recourse to a subterfuge. In reply to a Press statement issue on behalf of the West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee, the Bihar Government came out with a Press Note, which stated *inter alia* as follows :

"The rules were further liberalised after coming into force of the present Constitution. It was laid down in a circular of the State Government dated November, 26 1950, that no Indian national could be eligible for any employment under the State Government on the ground only of residence, or place of birth, though the State Government allow preference to candidates, who are natives of or domiciled in the State, for purposes of appointments in the offices under the State."

Assam Government, however, has not felt the need of even this subterfuge and having just written a letter to the Government of India, are continuing their policy of *domicile* in a remorseless and unabashed fashion.

Sj. Medhi has tried to give the impression that the *domicile* rules have now been liberalised. Let us understand its exact implication. The original policy was laid down in the Chief Secretary's Circular No. AAM/10/53/137. It is too long to be quoted in extenso, but we mention the salient points :

(1) *Employment under the State Government* : The first paragraph stated that "a person belonging to any of the following categories shall have to obtain a certificate to the effect that he is a native of, or domiciled in, or a displaced person migrated to Assam for the purpose of employment under the State Government." The second paragraph says, "A person who is not a native of Assam shall be deemed to be domiciled in it only when he has become the owner of a homestead in the State, has already lived in that homestead for 10 years and intends to live in that homestead until he dies." It now seems that a person living in a rented house has also been made eligible, but other conditions remain as they were. About the last condition (living till he dies) the official explanation, as laid down in letter No. AAM-14/48/233 dated the 21st October, 1947 from the Secretary to the Government of Assam, Appointment Department, is as follows :

"The last condition as to intention is not capable of such easy verification. At the same time this is the most important ingredient in determining *domicile*—it is necessary therefore that in deciding this point such circumstantial evidence as to whether the applicant has landed properties or other interests in his native place and whether he pays frequent visits there should be taken into consideration."

Now, what does this really mean ? A Bengalee, residing in Assam for three generations, cannot obtain *domicile* if he has any property in Bengal or visit Bengal ? Is this the way to respect the spirit of our Constitution ?

(2) About displaced persons, the said Circular of 1948 lays down that

"The Government policy in the matter of appointment of displaced persons is that the cases of displaced persons shall be considered only if suitable local candidates (*i.e.* the candidates who are natives of, or domiciled in Assam) are not available."

It is very remarkable that while in other states, refugees are getting priority, even at the cost of the children of the soil, Assam follows an opposite policy.

(3) In the 3rd paragraph of the said Circular, it has been laid down that

"For the purpose of contracts, settlement of fisheries, ferries' toll bridges, forests, excise shops, etc., a person shall be deemed to have acquired a *domicile* in Assam if he has been in residence in the State for at least 10 years along with his family and can also speak Assamese or one of the tribal languages, if resident in districts other than Cachar, or can speak Bengali or Assamese or one of the tribal languages of Cachar, if resident in the Cachar District."

Now is this not discrimination again ? If this formula is now put into operation in West Bengal, I wonder how many non-Bengalces who come here for the

season, stay almost invariably without their families, get jobs and contracts and send out money to other states will have to be driven away! But still it is not considered to be discrimination in Assam! If this is regarded to be a satisfactory formula for Bengalees in Assam, why then should it not be applied by the Government of West Bengal to non-Bengalees in West Bengal?

(4) The last paragraph of the Circular refers to admission into State-managed educational institutions. It lays down that

"For the purpose of admission to State-managed or State-aided educational institutions, a candidate who is not a native of or domiciled in Assam shall be deemed to have acquired a domicile in Assam if he/she or his/her parents fulfil all the requirements as stated in para 3 above" (*i.e.* qualifications for getting contract, etc).

It is of course essential as Dr. Roy has said that a person working in Assam should speak Assamese if he is to be useful. But in case he does not speak Assamese and wants to stay in Assam say only for 5 or 7 years, will he be deprived of all advantages of education? Is that the policy followed in West Bengal? Had it been followed, how could the sons of thousands who come and stay in Calcutta for service or for business for a limited period, get education? The problem is really more acute in an under-developed state like Assam, where, unlike West Bengal, State-managed and State aided institutions are the only ones of their kind, there being no other private institutions of that type? And yet we would not call this discrimination?

CONCLUSION

Above facts speak for themselves. They conclusively prove that in spite of whatever picture Sj. Medhi may try to draw about Bengalees in Assam, there is undoubtedly victimisation and discrimination. Scholarships are not given even when earned by merit; even in primary classes Assamese is being forced upon pupils, Assamese is becoming the only medium of instruction even in predominantly Bengali-speaking areas; discrimination is being made in the matter of State-employment and admission to State-managed and State-aided educational institutions and the slight concessions granted so far, even in the face of the Constitution, do not lessen the rigours of the system in the least. And if we remember in this context the highly discriminatory policy on the matter of ownership of land, the picture becomes an extremely dark one.

In fact if we study the atmosphere in Assam, we find that unless there is a radical and fundamental change of policy, the picture cannot improve in spite of all assertions. For what is actually Assam? We do not want to go back to history, but even now Assam is not at all a homogeneous province. It is not a province like Uttar Pradesh or West Bengal where the overwhelming

majority of the population has the same affinities, speak the same language and so on. As Assam Census itself observes, it is a veritable Babel of tongues. According to the Assam Census of 1931 (p. 177) the proportion of Assamese-speakers in the whole of the then Assam at successive Census enumerations was as follows:

Percentage of Assamese-speakers in Assam

	1931	1921	1911	1901
	21.6%	21.6%	21.7%	22.0%

In other words, only about 1/5th of the total population spoke Assamese. The Census of 1951 is absolutely unreliable in this respect and even the Census Superintendent of Assam has practically admitted that. But even according to that Census, where the proportion of Assamese-speakers has been much inflated, the Assamese-speakers constitute only 56% of the total population. Moreover, they are concentrated heavily in five districts. Thus it would be wrong to suppose that Assam is a State of the Assamese-speakers in the sense that West Bengal is a Bengali-speaking State. A minority language rules forcibly over the entire province. Now if for the purpose of State language Assamese has been adopted, though there is no reason why it should be so, it may be understood that all persons seeking State employment must understand and speak Assamese. But can there be any cogent reason why a contractor operating, say, in Mizoram or Garo Hills, must speak Assamese before he can be allowed to get contracts? Is this not an unnatural state of affairs? Perhaps this is bound to be so, so long as it is not clearly understood that Assam is not an Assamese-speaking province but a polyglot one and the Assamese language must resort to all unfair tactics if it has to be spread all over the province. The sooner the proper linguistic situation in Assam is understood the better for all concerned. Let us hope, the States Reorganisation Commission will not overlook this fact.

One word more. As the facts narrated above prove, Bengalees in Assam are being sharply discriminated against and the rules are not fair to them. Bengali as a language is also being unmistakably repressed. It is also clear from Sj. Medhi's statements that he considers the rules to be fair and the situation all right and he has no intention to introduce any change. But while having no intention of really doing justice, Sj. Medhi is trying to impress upon people that Assam is now anxious for the welfare of Bengalees and even seeks the help of West Bengal for her own development. We wonder what is the real implication of this policy. Is it the idea to lull the States Reorganisation Commission into the sense that everything is now all right for Bengalees in Assam and it would not therefore be necessary to transfer the Bengalee-speaking areas of Assam to West Bengal though in reality Assam wants to do nothing for them?

GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT IN INDIA

BY PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A. (Geog.), M.Com.

INTRODUCTION

THE natural resources of a country are of primary importance for the development of the economic life of its inhabitants. As a matter of fact, natural resources determine the economic life of a nation. England, for example, is an industrial country but she owes her present position to her coastlines, rivers, the proximity of rich coal mines and iron fields and the temperate climate which induces hard-working habit. The U.S.A. is an agricultural as well as an industrial country. She possesses the requisites of industrialisation, coal, petroleum, timber, cotton and other agricultural raw materials, and at the same time its soil at places is very fertile and climate suitable for human development. Japan, too, is an industrial country only because there is no scope for agriculture, as the very nature of the soil is not favourable for agriculture. France is an agricultural country and Germany an industrial country only because of the natural resources available in those countries. Man may grow rich in knowledge and intelligence, he may conquer nature, span seas and cut mountains, travel under water and annihilate distances by fast means of locomotion, and by electricity turn night into day and tone down the rigours of climate to suit his living and working conditions and through irrigation schemes may secure his independence from Nature in the matter of rain and he may, above all, harness mighty forces of nature in his services, but his mastery of nature is not complete and unquestioned. Nature has a knack of escaping from chains and asserting her way. All operations, even living, are hampered by weather conditions. Some physical disturbance might upset human plans. Thus he has been able to conquer nature only partially, and therefore, the effect of geographical environment on the life and working of any people cannot altogether be ignored and completely eliminated. "Undoubtedly men's choices are limited and conditioned and their projects limited by physical framework they live in."¹

The term 'geographical environment' in relation to man covers all those features of land in which he lives, in respect of their effects upon his habit of life in whatever connection. "Such features include the surface of the land, with all its physical features and natural resources, the nature of the soil, whether fertile or unfertile, well-watered or dry, its position, whether insular, continental or peninsular; its relation to other lands surrounding it, its climate, vegetation and mineral wealth, the distribution of land, and water, mountains and plains, plants and animals and

all the cosmic forces—gravitational, electric, radiational, that play upon the earth and affect the life of man."²

In the case of India, a study of her population problem and her economic activities should start with an investigation of the physical environment. This subject may, therefore, be considered under the heads of situation and coastline, physical features, geological structure, climate, water resources, flora and fauna and the facilities of transportation.

LOCATION, SIZE, ETC.

India is a vast country lying entirely to the north of the Equator between latitudes 8 deg. and 37 deg. north and longitudes 66 deg. 20 min. to 97 deg. It is one of the central and largest of the three irregular peninsulas of Southern Asia. It bridges the space between the semi-arid Southern Asia and the rice-producing and rice-exporting countries of the South-Eastern Asia. It, therefore, occupies a central position between two distinctly different regions. It possesses a highly favourable position as regards the rest of the world for purposes of international trade. She stands at the head of the Indian Ocean at the very centre of the Eastern Hemisphere commanding trade routes running in all directions and connecting India with U.S.A., Great Britain, Germany, France, etc., in the west; S. Africa in the south-west; Ceylon in the south and China, Japan and Indonesia, etc., in the east and Australia in the south-east.

It measures 2,000 miles from north to south and 1,700 miles from east to west. It has a land frontier of 8,200 miles and a coastline of about 3,500 miles. Extending over an area of 12,69,640 sq. miles, she comprises 29 States (including Jammu and Kashmir and Andhra). Measured by the extent of its territory, she is the seventh largest country in the world. It is about 13 times as large as U.K.; 8 times the size of Japan; two and a half times the size of U.S.A. and more than a third of Canada and of Europe and a seventh of U.S.S.R.³ Its shape has been defined by the great Greek geographer, Strabo as "rhomboidal rather than triangular with an acute apex pointing southwards into the southern Indian Ocean."⁴

2. Davis: *Earth and Man*, p. 3.

3. *India Reference Annual* (1954), p. L

U. K.	1,21,000 sq. miles
Japan	38,45,144 "
Canada	32,86,000 "
Brazil	
Russia	87,08,000 "
Europe	39,00,000 "
U. S. A.	30,22,387 "

(Source : *Compton's Pictured Encyclopedia*, 1952, p. 246).

4. Holdisch : *India*, pp. 2-3.

The situation of an area relative to the larger mass of a region often exercises a significant influence. On a land frontier, the people, by force of circumstances, have to develop a turbulent and martial spirit and may develop a defensive or aggressive spirit, according as their region is better or worse than that across the border. They are brave and courageous through elimination of the weaklings and are in the front rank in attack or defence.

There is no part of the world better marked off by Nature as a region by itself than the Indian subcontinent.⁵ The northern borders are well-defined by lofty mountains with their snow-capped peaks penetrating far into the sky. There are no easy ways in and out through the mountain-wall which shuts off India from the rest of Asia but there are a few difficult passes like Zozila and Shipki passes in the north. Towards the east the eastern offshoots of the Himalayas are not much high but due to deep gorges and ravines and impenetrable forests ingress and outgress of people to and from Burma is quite impossible except through the recently made Ludo Road. On the southern extremity the Indian Ocean with its two arms—the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea—washes her eastern, southern and western shores. In the south, Ceylon represents itself as a lotus flower paying homage to mother India. Thus India is a geographical entity due to the separation from the rest of the continent of Asia by the Himalayas. This geographical isolation explains the uniqueness of Indian culture. Indian ideas and institutions, taken as a whole, resemble those of no other people. They have tended to transform and absorb any foreign elements that trickled into the region, for Indians though sometimes politically conquered by outsiders, were never—except possibly by the original Aryans—culturally conquered.

India has a coastline of 3,500 miles, which gives one mile of coast to every 400 sq. miles of area. India for its extent has one of the shortest coastlines of any important country bordering the ocean. Its outline is scarcely broken by a single inlet.⁶ Even this short stretch of coastline is remarkably uniform and straight and characterised by a general absence of deep indentations. The sea around the coasts is nowhere deep, the 100-fathom line running parallel to both the Arabian and the Coromandal Coasts; this combined with the flat and sandy nature of the seabottom makes navigation extremely difficult. The coast of India belongs mainly to the Atlantic type and are non-embayed, reefless and continental in nature.⁷ These coasts are practically devoid of natural harbours

and hence the great paucity of good ports. The whole is storm-swept and scoured by fierce currents; there are hundreds of miles of bare rock-walls in the western half and of mangrove-swamp in the eastern half; the river harbours are the most expensive and dangerous in the world, and the only sea-port that is natural and always firstclass is Bombay,⁸ while Madras, Vizagapatam, Calcutta, Okha, Kandla, etc., are artificial harbours made by the enterprise of man. The Gulf of Kutch, Cambay, the backwaters of Cochin and Malabar, the Palk Strait and the Gulf of Mannar, the Palicut, Kolar and Chilka lakes and the indentations on the mouths of the Ganga are the few inlets and straits found along the Indian coast. These are all shallow and permit navigation when they are made deep by dredging operations.

The coastline of a country plays an important part in promoting or retarding the economic development of an area. If the coastline is broken and easily accessible from the interior, as in the case of the Gujarat and Malabar Coasts, intercourse and trade with foreign countries by sea are facilitated, and the people not only become progressive and civilized, though ease- and peace-loving, but they also develop a broad cosmopolitan outlook instead of becoming sectarian or communal, while the nearness to the sea makes them adventurous and enterprising with a well-developed commercial instinct. If, however, the coastline is not easily accessible from the interior, as in the case of Konkan, the people tend to be intelligent, progressive and ease-loving, but, being isolated are simple and backward, though adventurous, and make good fisher-folk and seamen.

PHYSICAL FEATURES

There are very great differences in the physical conditions of India. In the north, there are magnificent snow-capped mountains. At their feet lie smooth wide spaces of depressed river basins—either dry or sun-scorched or cultivated and water-logged under a steamy, moisture-laden atmosphere. To the south spreads the Deccan Plateau. There the indigenous forests still hide the scattered classes of aboriginal tribes, flanked on the west by the broken crags and castellated outlines of ridges overlooking the Indian Ocean, and on the south by gentle, smooth, rounded slopes of green uplands. On the one hand, there is in Bengal a land of constant heat and damp, luxuriant vegetation, river banks, rice fields and cocoanut groves with a few cities and densely inhabited by a mild and unaggressive population. On the other, there lie East Punjab and Western U.P., scorched with winds like the blast of a furnace, with a cold and bracing winter climate, covered with wheat and barley and products of temperate zone, and the famous cities and splendid monuments containing a strong and virile population.

5. L. D. Stamp & S. C. Gilmour : *Chisholm's Handbook of Commercial Geography* (1954), p. 554.

6. Morrison : *Scottish Geographical Magazine*, Vol. XXI (1905), p. 457.

7. S. Krishnaswamy: "The Coasts of India" in the *Indian Geographical Journal*, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (1954), p. 18.

8. L. W. Lyde: *The Continent of Asia* (1938), p. 356.

On the basis of topography, India may be divided into four well-marked parts:⁹

1. The Himalayas,
2. The Indo-Gangetic Plain,
3. The Deccan Tableland,
4. The Coastal Plains.

1. The Himalayas extend over a distance of 1500 miles in a sword-like direction and are 150 to 250 miles in width. They are more steep towards the plains and are gentle towards the Tibetan Plateau. They consist of a series of parallel but converging ranges intersected by valleys and big plateaus. They are built of three parallel ranges¹⁰ and have the world's highest peaks, *viz.*, Mt. Everest (29,141 ft.), Mt. Godwin Austin (28,500 ft.) and Kinchinjanga (28,146 ft.). In addition to being the highest, they are also the newest mountain-fold range in the world, having been formed by a Gangetic upthrust from a former ocean-bed known as Tethys. As a result they are eroding rapidly and sending out rich loam to the plains below. The region contains the fertile Kashmir and Kulu Valleys (so famous for fruit cultivation), and in the east, the mountain ranges are much lower and are known as Patkoi; the Naga Hills are in the north-east and the Khasi and Garo Hills in the south-west of Assam.

The Himalayas have acted as a barrier to piercing cold winds of the north and have protected India from the foreign attacks from the north. Historically its importance lies in isolating India from the rest of northern and central Asiatic and other European countries. For ages natural barriers of high mountain walls and stormy tropical seas have largely protected India from the influence of the rest of Asia,¹¹ so that

9. The 1951 Census Report divides the country into four topographical categories: (i) Mountainous areas which rises over 7000 ft., contains 10.7 per cent of total area of the land; (ii) Hilly tracts, which are about 7000 ft. above sea level, comprise 18.6 per cent of all land in India; (iii) Plateau region, which lies between one and three thousand feet above sea level, measures 27.7 per cent of the total land area; and (iv) Plains region, which is below 1000 ft. above sea level, contains 43 per cent of the area. The following table gives the relevant figures for the country:

Zone	Total land area	Mts.	Hills	Plateaus	Plains
N. India	726	79	41	34	572
E. India	1,675	145	521	204	804
S. India	1,075	4	278	286	506
W. India	957	..	198	284	476
C. India	1,852	..	333	1,125	395
N.-W. India	1,226	97	88	300	742
India (including J. and K.)	8,126	873	1,506	2,248	3,498

(Census of India, 1951, Vol. I.A., p. 8)

10. The three ranges of Himalayas are: (i) Great Himalayas—1500 miles long with an average height of 20,000 ft.; (ii) Lesser Himalayas—South of Great Himalayas, average elevation of 15,000 ft.; and (iii) Outer Himalayas lying between Lesser Himalayas and the plains, average elevation 3000 to 4000 ft. above sea-level.

11. G. C. Clewell & H. T. Thompson: *Land and People*, Vol. IV, p. 82.

they have checked the flow of barbarians into the country developing its own art, industry and culture peacefully uninterrupted by the turmoil of the rest of the world. But at the same time they have made trade through the northern border difficult and tedious. The main Indo-Tibet trade routes pass through the Gelepla and Natulal Passes. There are also other Passes like Rohtag, Bara Lapcha and Jojla in the west and Shipki in the centre but they are not so important.

The Himalayas act as a barrier to the monsoon winds and prevent them from going across. This gives plenty of rains to the Himalayan region and a number of the big rivers—particularly the Jamuna, the Ganges, the Brahmaputra, the Sutlej, etc.—which receive their waters from the mountain snows and are fed by rain water in the rainy season, originate in this area. Like two great arms the Ganges and the Brahmaputra completely clasp themselves round the Himalayan ranges so that all the rain that falls and all the snow that melts (whether in their northern or southern flanks) is bound to come into India. Geographically, the Himalayas belong as much to Tibet as to India, but the river systems have lent all the benefits of these mountains to India alone.¹²

The main rivers of India together with their numerous tributaries have their sources in the Himalayas and all bring down water and silt that has made the Gangetic plain, covering the whole of north India, the most fertile area of its size in the world. In a way, this plain may be called the "Gift of the Himalayas and its rivers."

Varieties of climate on these mountains have facilitated the growth of natural fauna of various types. Owing to the heavy rainfall these mountains are clothed with dense forests containing from the silver spruce, deodar, fir on the very high altitude to neem and shesham of the lower slopes. The lesser and outer Himalayas are rich in animal and forest resources. There are extensive tea-plantations in the outer Himalayas from Assam to East Punjab. Physical difficulties do not permit cultivation excepting in the Lower Himalayas where rice, chilly, ginger, tea, wheat, potato and fruits are cultivated.

The scenery and mighty peaks of the Great Himalayas attract tourists and climbers from different parts of the world and this provides a source of income to many hill stations like Darjeeling, Simla, Nainital, Mussourie, etc. Because of such influx of people, many hill stations have developed hotel industry in India, although it is not comparable to what exists in such countries as Switzerland and Italy.

The mountains have also influenced the life and character of the people living in this region. A hard life, isolation in valleys, and difficulties of intercourse

12. C. Morrison: *A New Geography of India and Burma* (1926), p. 67.

are characteristic features of these regions, so that people in these regions are sturdy, brave and liberty loving, but often simple, backward and unprogressive, slow and stolid. They are essentially conservative and outside influences do not reach them. Being conservative, they are sensitive to criticism, suspicious of strangers, superstitious, religious and strangely attached to home and family. The struggle for existence is hard and this develops in them the qualities of frugality, providence, industry, honesty and indifference to luxury. These regions by isolation and retardation often preserve old customs and practices. Mountain people have to raise their food supplies from an unproductive soil and under the stimulus of hunger they often raid the fields and stores of their rich neighbours on the plains below and also indulge in the habit of cattle-lifting in the time of drought.

The Indo-Gangetic Plain lies between the fold mountains of the north and the stable tableland of the peninsula. It is a part of the great depression which is traceable across Northern Africa, Southern Europe and Southern Asia. It occupies an area of about 250,000 sq. miles and extends for nearly 1,500 miles from east to west with a width of 150 to 250 miles. This region is served by a number of rivers, viz., the Ganga and its tributaries—the Jamuna, the Gomti, the Gogra, the Gandak—and in the east the Brahmaputra and its tributaries. The Delhi Ridge divides it into two parts. This plain is wholly composed of the sediments deposited by three great rivers of northern India. It is literally the dust of the mountains.¹³ The great depth of the alluvium has made this plain very fertile. No rock-bed is disclosed by boring done from 500 to 1,000 ft. It is the region of the deepest soil. Geologist R. D. Oldham has concluded that the maximum depth of the soil is about 15,000 ft. near its southern edge. The deposits include a great thickness of clay, loam and silt. Every year new silt is laid by the rivers which make the soil very fertile for the growth of crops.

This plain contains nearly one-third of the land and two-third of her population and also has the highest density of population. Due to extensive irrigation facilities dry and desolate tracts have been turned into populous spots of smiling plenty. This region has always been known for its inexhaustible supply of people who wanted to enjoy its bounty either through the sword or through the scale.

Because of fertile alluvial soil, favourable climate, flat surface rendering possible the construction of roads and railways, navigable rivers and canals, agriculture is the chief occupation of the people in this plain. The chief crops raised are rice, wheat, sugarcane, tobacco, gram, barley, oilseeds, etc.

Although of great importance as the principal theatre of Indian history, geologically speaking this plain is the least interesting part of India. Geologically the history of this plain is only the annals of yester-years of being the alluvial deposits of the rivers brought down from the Himalayas and deposited at their foot.¹⁴

In plains, the characteristic feature is the facility of communication and intercourse, leading to the development of intelligence and the evolution of civilization and progress. It is the small and protected plains that have seen the rapid achievements of human progress. Easy life brings about a desire for ease and pleasure and peace; but the development of intellect breeds cunning or shrewdness and ambition. The people of the plains, therefore, tend to become politically minded and intriguing. They have a great diversity of occupations, commercial and industrial; they are amenable to discipline but are not martial.

The Deccan tableland is an elevated plateau separated from the Indo-Gangetic plain by a mass of hill ranges varying from 1,500 to 4,000 ft. in height. The more important of these being the Aravalli, Vindhya, Satpura, Maikal and Ajanta. On the west it is hemmed off from the Ocean by the Western Ghats and on the east by the Eastern Ghats. It is a part of the earth's outer shell that is composed in great part of generally horizontal rock-beds that stand upon a firm and immovable foundation and that have for an immense number of years remained so in a passive state amidst all cataclysm and revolutions that have again and again changed the face of the earth. The rocks composing this plateau are the various gneisses and other crystalline rocks and there is a great richness of wealth associated with them. Overlying these rocks is a great thickness of unfossiliferous rocks. The rift valley of the Narbada divides this plateau into two irregular parts—the Northern being known as the Central Indian (Malwa) Plateau and the Southern the Deccan Tableland. On the former are to be found large areas of ravines which are quite unfit for cultivation besides some fertile regions too which produce much wheat; while on the latter are found dark-coloured basalt rocks and the black cotton soil which represents one of the most fertile soils of India. This tableland is at places very rocky and uneven and extends to a number of hilly ranges in far south which are over 4000 ft. high. Of these, the Nilgiris, and the Cardamom hills are the more important. This plateau is traversed by the rivers Narbada and Tapti which fall into the Arabian Sea, and the rivers Mahanadi, Godavari, Krishna and Cauvery which drain into the Bay of Bengal. The plateau is poor in forest resources but it is rich in mineral resources and regarded as the 'store-house of minerals.' The principal

13. T. W. Holderness: *Peoples and Problems of India*, p. 94.

14. Wadia: *Geology of India*, pp. 8-4.

crops of the Deccan are cotton, coffee, tea and spices. Cinchona and cocoanut are also available.

The peninsula is flanked by coast ranges known as the Western Ghats and the Eastern Ghats. The former are much more considerable and form a gigantic and continuous sea-wall rising over 3,000 ft. above sea-level. They are pierced by no valley of any size and are unbroken except for a very curious gap (Pal Ghat) two hundred miles from its southern extremity on the Nilgiris. In the north also at two places the Narbada and the Tapti traverse these Ghats, *viz.*, at Thal Ghat and Bhor Ghat through which Central and Southern Railways pass. As these Ghats have steep slopes towards the sea, the rivers are swift-flowing and short and therefore give rise to waterfalls in their lower courses.

The Eastern Ghats (1,500 ft. high) are much less formidable and are broken, discontinuous and interrupted by many broad valleys of the rivers like the Mabanadi, the Godavari, the Krishna and the Cauvery—all flowing into the Bay of Bengal. These rivers are rain-fed and hence dry up during the summer. Their course is rapid and they abruptly descend from a higher level and are, therefore, little useful for irrigation but are favourable for the producing of hydro-electricity. The important products grown are rice, pulse, sugarcane, cotton, millets and oilseeds.

The coastal plains are the narrow strips of land on both sides of the plateau. These have been formed by the wearing down of the oldest tableland into coastal plains. The western plain is very narrow and is 40 miles wide in some places. It extends from Cambay Gulf to Cape Comorin. On this coast the monsoon floods bring enormous silts and help the growth of forests and plantations. Cocoanut, palm, cardamom, rubber and spices are largely grown. The shores of these plains have very few creeks and outlets. On the Malabar coast there are some lakes, lagoons and breakwaters, which are joined by canals. They serve for good coastal traffic by boats, rafts and canoes. These plains are thickly populated.

The Eastern Coast stretches from the delta of Ganga to Cape Comorin. It is wider and the beach is surf-beaten. This coast is intersected by numerous swift-flowing rivers. The lower section of the plain consists of the deltas of the rivers and is entirely alluvial while the upper section consists of plains in the upper courses of rivers and hence is partly alluvial and partly paneplain. These plains produce good crops of rice, sugarcane, jute, etc.

Geological Structure

According to Edward Suess, there was a hypothetical southern Palaeozoic continent known as the Gondwanaland, which included practically the whole of Africa, Madagascar, Peninsular India, Australia, Tasmania, Antarctica, the Falklands and all South America (except the extreme west and north-west)¹⁵

—these were all rigid masses of the south,¹⁶ while over the areas where now exist the regions of the Punjab, Rajasthan, U.P., Bihar and Bengal, the tides of a wide and shallow sea ebbed and flowed. This continent finally broke up during the late cretaceous period due to a series of volcanic cataclysms and violent earthquakes which entirely changed the natural features of this vast continent separating America, Africa, India and Australia—one from the other. Finally, as the result of a slow process of geological evolution extending over thousands of years, India acquired her present shape and physical characteristics.

Geologically, India comprises all the rock formations of all ages from the Archaen to the present day, covering a period of nearly 2,000 millions of years. The peninsula is a 'Shield' area geologically composed of very ancient rocks of diverse origin most of which have undergone crushing, recrystallisation and metamorphism. Over these ancient rocks lie a few basins of Pre-Cambrian and later sediments and extensive sheets of horizontally bedded lavas of the Deccan trap formation. The Mesozoic and Tertiary sediments are found mainly along the coastal regions. The extra-peninsula, though containing some very old rocks, is predominantly a region in which the sediments, laid down in vast geosyncline (Himalayan Geosyncline) continuously from the Cambrian to the early Tertiary periods, have been ridged up and folded into the Great Himalayan mountain chain. They thus show enormous thickness of sedimentary rocks, representing practically the whole of the geological column, which have been compressed and raised into dry lands only in geologically very recent times. The core of the mountains is composed of granitic intrusions of presumably Tertiary age. The southern fringe of the Himalayas bordering on the plains consists of fresh-water and estuarine deposits of Mio-Pliocene age derived largely from the rising Himalayas. The Gangetic plains are built of layers of sand, clay, etc., of geologically very recent date, filling up a deep depression between the Peninsula and the Extra-Peninsula.¹⁷ The depth of the alluvium in the Indo-Ganges depression is tremendous, estimated to be from 6,500 ft. to 15,000 ft. The trough is not of uniform depth along its whole length; it is probably at its maximum between Delhi and the Rajmahal Hills and shallowest in Rajasthan and Assam.¹⁸

The successive geological formations have left their marks on the physiography of India, and they may be had under six heads, *viz.*, (1) Archaen,

15. Quoted from an article in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Ed., p. 514.

16. Steers, J. A.: *Unstable Earth*, p. 12.

17. *Ibid.*

18. Dr. R. N. Dubey: *Economic Geography of India*, 7th Ed., 1952, p. 55; H. L. Chibber: *Physical Basis of Geography of India*, Pt. I, 1945, p. 199.

(2) Vindhyan, (3) Gondwana, (4) Basaltic, (5) Tertiary and Cretaceous and (6) Alluvial.¹⁹ As, however, a detailed examination of these formations is not necessary for our purpose, we shall content ourselves with a brief discussion of the various kinds of soils and minerals that owe their existence to them and which in turn determines to a great extent the distribution and activities of its population.

The Indian Council of Agricultural Research set up an All-India Soil Survey Committee, which submitted its report in 1953. According to this Committee, in India the following soil groups are found:²⁰

(1) Red soils, (2) Laterite soils, (3) Black soils including black cotton soil, (4) Alluvial soils, (5) Forests and Hill soils, (6) Saline and Alkaline soils, and (7) Peaty and Marshy soils.

Agriculturally the most important soils are the alluvial ones which occupy extensive tracts of land in the Northern, North-western and North-eastern parts and include greater parts of Gujarat, Rajasthan, East Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Delhi, Bihar and Assam (centre areas of Lokhimpore, Darang, Sivasagar, Kamrup, Goalpara and parts of Garo Hills), West Bengal, the Godavari, the Kistna and the Tanjore districts of Madras and the strips extending along the eastern and western coasts of the Peninsula. The depth of this soil exceeds 1600 ft. below the ground surface. These soils are derived mainly from the debris brought down from the Himalayas or from the silt left by the old sea which has not retreated. These soils differ in different parts of the country in physical texture and chemical composition. In North and North-west India, it is dry, porous and in some places sandy giving rise to crops not requiring the retention of a great deal of moisture about their roots. In Bengal, it becomes more compact, less coarse and moist where rice, sugarcane and jute are largely cultivated; while in the deltas of the Peninsular India, it is actually clayey, non-porous and of dark colour. The chief advantages of porous and light soils are that they are easily worked by the plough and easily permeated by water, leading to greater fertility of land where water supply is abundant; but their great defect is that they allow water to sink into the lower strata, and are unsuitable for the growth of those crops which require the retention of a great deal of moisture about their roots and thus they cause nonfertility in regions where showers are not frequent.

Alluvial soils are rich in chemical properties. Phosphoric acid, potash, lime and magnesium are found in sufficient quantities but are deficient in nitrates

and humus contents. These soils are of marvellous fertility producing under irrigation splendid crops of rice, sugarcane, tobacco, and jute. The regions of these soils are heavily populated.

The desert soils occur under arid and semi-arid conditions and occupy a large tract in Rajasthan and South Punjab. The Thar desert alone occupies an area of 40,000 sq. miles. These soils consist mostly of sands which have been derived from old sea-coasts. These soils contain a high percentage of soluble salts, varying degrees of calcium carbonates and are poor in organic matter. The limiting factor being mainly water, the soils may be reclaimed if proper facilities of irrigation are available. Very few crops specially millet, jowar and bajra are grown for want of water supply and hence the population supported by the regions is very small.

SALINE AND ALKALINE SOILS

Many parts of the arid and semi-arid regions of the north specially of Bihar, U.P., Punjab and Rajasthan give rise to saline and alkaline efflorescences. It is known under various names like *Reh*, *Kollar* or *Usar*. These efflorescences are mainly salts of sodium, calcium and magnesium. Soils impregnated with these salts are rendered unfertile and hence uncultivable. These salts are transported in solution by the Himalayan rivers, which later percolate in the sub-soils of the plains. This salt goes on accumulating in the areas of arid climate and insufficient surface drainage during the dry seasons; the soluble salts are sucked up in solution by capillary action to the surface and are deposited there in the form of white efflorescence. Similarly in places under irrigation by canal waters and in those in which the sub-soil water level is high as in the coastal tracts, this transference is facilitated. It is in this manner that saline and alkaline soils of the irrigated tracts of Bombay-Deccan, Madras and of those near the sea-coasts and in the Punjab and U.P. have originated. Such soils occupy over five million acres of land in Saharanpur, Mathura and Aligarh districts of U.P.;²¹ in Nira Valley of Bombay, Alkali land has arisen from canal irrigation and it has been recorded that 51,000 acres have been damaged in this way. The damage is enormous, the area representing more than 25 per cent of the actual area of irrigation.²² In the Punjab such area extends over 300 sq. miles.²³

Saline soils (*Solon chak*) containing free sodium and other salts are prevalent in the drier tracts as in Western Rajasthan; whereas alkaline soils (*Solonetz*) which do not contain any free salts are found in the irrigated tracts as in Bombay-Deccan. The degraded alkaline (*Solodi*) soil is rarely found in India due

19. For detailed information, see Wadia, D. N.: *Geology of India*, 1943, Chapters III, VI, IX, XVI and XXII and Dr. Chibber: *Op. Cit.*, pp. 171-188.

20. *I. C. A. R. Bulletin*, No. 73, on All-India Soil Survey Scheme (1953), p. 13.

21. Mamoria, C. B.: *Agricultural Problems of India*, 1953, p. 47.

22. *N. P. C. Report on River Training and Irrigation*, p. 51.

23. Mamoria: *Ibid.*, p. 296.

perhaps to the presence of calcium salts in the saline soils.²⁴ The alkaline soils are deficient in calcium and nitrogen and are highly impervious.

PEATY AND MASHY SOILS

Peaty soils originated in humid regions as a result of an accumulation of large amounts of organic matter in the soils. They may contain considerable soluble salts. Such typical peaty saline soils (*Kari*) have been observed in Travancore-Cochin. The depressions formed by dried river basins and lakes in alluvial and coastal areas sometimes give rise to peculiar waterlogged and anaerobic conditions of the soil. The soils of these places are generally blue-coloured due to the presence of iron and also contain varying amounts of organic matter. Marshy soils of this type are found in coastal tracts of Orissa, in the Sundarbans and other places in Bengal, in the central portions of North Bihar, in Almora districts of U.P. and in the South-east coast of Madras.²⁵

BLACK SOILS OR REGAR SOILS

Such soils are the products of the decomposition of lavas. These soils occupy greater parts of Bombay and Saurashtra, the western parts of Madhya Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Hyderabad and the districts of Bellary, Kurnool, Kuddapah, Coimbatore, Salem and Tennevelley in Madras. These soils are highly retentive of moisture and extremely compact and tenacious and rich in chemical properties. These soils are loamy to clayey in texture; vary in depth from 1 to 2 to several feet; and contain lime *kanhar* and free calcium carbonates, and contain heavy cracks in summer season. These soils are endowed with inexhaustible fertility and are useful for commercial crops. They are generally deficient in nitrogen, phosphoric acid and organic matter but potash, lime and iron are usually high. The kind of crops most suited to these areas is the *rabi*, but the *kharif* crops are also grown in many cases. Cotton, wheat, linseed and millet are the chief crops.

RED SOILS (TRAP SOILS)

The commonest form of red soils is sandy clay coloured by iron peroxide. It is either derived from the rock *in situ* or from its products of decomposition worked to a lower level by rain. The red soils comprise practically the whole of Madras, Mysore, South-east Bombay, East Hyderabad, and a strip of tract running along the eastern part of Madhya Pradesh to Chota Nagpur and Orissa. In the north, its area extends into and includes the greater part of the Santal Parganas in Bihar, the Birbhum district of Bengal, the Mirzapur, Jhansi and Hamirpur districts of U.P., the northern portion of Madhya Bharat, the Aravallis and the eastern half of Rajasthan. The red

soils differ greatly in consistency, depth and fertility. On the uplands they are thin, poor, gravelly, sandy or stony and porous light-coloured soils on which food crops like bajra can be grown. But on the lower plains they are rich, deep, dark-coloured fertile loam on which under irrigation can be produced excellent crops like cotton, wheat, millets and pulses. These soils are rich in potash and lime but are poor in nitrogen and phosphoric acid.

LATERITE OR LATERITIC SOILS

These soils are characterised by compact vesicular rocks composed essentially of a mixture of oxides of iron and aluminium. They are derived by the atmospheric weathering of several types of rocks under monsoon conditions of alternating dry and wet seasons. Such soils are specially well-developed on the summits of basaltic hills and plateaus of Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh, Deccan, Raj Mahal, the Eastern Ghat regions of Orissa, South Bombay, Malabar and parts of Assam. These soils vary in quality. On the higher levels, they are exceedingly thin, usually of a pale colour, shallow and gravelly with little power to retain moisture and poor in nutritive substances, producing millets and pulses. But on the lower plains and in the valleys they are dark, heavy loams and clay of finer texture, which readily retain moisture and produce good crops like cotton, wheat, millets and pulses. These soils are deficient in potash, phosphoric acid and lime but humus is present in quantities decidedly better than in most other Indian soils.

In the midst of these varying features one characteristic is found to be common to almost all soils, *viz.*, their comparative dryness. This absence of moisture in the land makes the supply of water an absolute necessity in Indian agriculture.

RIVERS AND RESOURCES

Such is the surface of the earth as we find it in India. It is needless to say that it is of the greatest importance in the economic life of her people, whose material and moral welfare is indissolubly bound up with the soil. But of equal importance is what lies beneath the surface. The wealth of a country and ultimately the prosperity of its people in modern times corresponds, in a large measure, to its output of economic minerals.

It was a common notion sometime ago that the Indian mineral deposits were too poor to be worked profitably by modern methods but more recent investigations have made it clear that if not unlimited they are at least enough to maintain the existing industries of India. V. Ball quotes the statement of Megasthenes that "India has numerous underground veins, of all sorts of minerals," and regards it as absolutely true. He goes on to say:

"Were India wholly isolated* from the rest of the world, or were her mineral productions pro-

24. I. C. A. R. Bulletin, No. 73, on All-India Soil Survey Scheme (1953), pp. 15-16.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 16.

tected from competition, there cannot be the least doubt that they would be able from within her own boundaries to supply very nearly all the requirements, in so far as the mineral world is concerned, of a highly civilized community."²⁶

It is true although India is not so much rich in mineral resources as U.S.A., U.S.S.R. or Germany, yet she is by no means deficient in them.

NATIONAL SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN MINERALS

The fact is that (i) India has an exportable surplus in respect of 5 minerals compared with 6 in U.S.A. and 5 in U.S.S.R. (ii) India is self-sufficient in four, whereas U.S.A. is so in 5 and Russia in 7 and Germany and Pakistan in 1 each. (iii) With respect to major minerals like iron ore, coal, manganese, magnesite, mica, chromite, bauxite, India is well provided. She is deficient in copper, zinc, tin, lead, sulphur and petroleum. U.S.A. and U.S.S.R. are well provided with petroleum, but are deficient in mica, and U.S.A. is also deficient in manganese; Germany and Pakistan are comparatively very deficient in mineral resources.

India has large supplies of mica and produces between 60 and 80 per cent of the world's output. Its supplies of manganese, illemenite, monazite and high grade iron ore (contain over 60 per cent iron) are amongst the largest in the world.²⁷ The reserves of the high grade manganese ore (49 per cent content) are of the order of 18 to 20 m. tons and those of lower grades will amount to about 3 times the above quantity. The reserves of iron ore are estimated to be over 10,000 m. tons.

REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF MINERAL RESOURCES

The mineral resources are widely distributed over the whole area. According to Dr. Dunn, on the west of a line drawn from Mangalore to Kanpur and to the Himalayas, mineral resources are not only sparsely distributed but are also perhaps unimportant with the exceptions of mica, lead, salt and some coal and perhaps copper in Rajasthan. Among individual States there is an unequal distribution of minerals.²⁸ Dr. D. N. Wadia says, "Nature has made a very unequal territorial distribution of minerals in the Indian region."

The vast alluvial plains tract of North India is devoid of mines of economic minerals. The Archaean terrain of Bihar and Orissa possesses the largest concentration of ore-deposits, such as iron, manganese, copper, aluminium, chromium, valuable industrial minerals like mica, illemenite, phosphates and over three-fourths of India's reserves of coal, including coking coal. The iron-ore reserves lying in one or two

districts of Bihar and the adjoining territories of Orissa are calculated to be over 8,000 million tons, surpassing in richness and extent those of any other known region. There are large reserves of manganese areas; over 50 per cent of world's best mica (Ruby mica) block, splittings and sheet are supplied by the mica mines of Kodarma and Gaya in Bihar. The second mineral-rich State is Madhya Pradesh, carrying good reserves of manganese, iron, limestone, coal and bauxite. Madras has workable deposits of iron, manganese, magnesite, mica, limestone and lignite coal. Mysore has yielded all the gold of India, besides producing appreciable quantities of iron, porcelain clay and chrome ores. Hyderabad has good reserves of second grade coal, besides being a potential source of several industrial minerals. Travancore possesses enormous concentrations of heavy-mineral sands of high strategic importance, calculated to contain some 250 million tons of illemenite, besides containing monazite, zircon, rutile, and garnet in workable quantities. Bombay (N.-W. districts) and East Punjab have been far less productive and have scarcely as yet figured in India's mineral statistics. Rajasthan for a long time absent from India's mineral returns is gradually becoming a productive centre, holding promise for a bright future in non-ferrous metals—copper, lead and zinc, mica, steatite, beryllium and precious stones like emerald and aquamarine, asbestos, lignite and gypsum, building stones, manganese. Assam supplies about 60 million gallons of much needed petroleum, besides carrying important reserves of tertiary coal. Of the vast extent of the Himalayan region, the only proved mineralised regions of importance is the territory of Kashmir, south of the Great Himalayan Axis, with its coal (some of it is anthracite), aluminium ore, sapphire and some minor industrial minerals. But for the partly-known copper deposits of Sikkim and Kumaon and some fairly widely-spread iron-ore bodies in these areas, the rest of the Himalayan region is a veritable *terra incognita* as regards economic minerals. West Bengal's mineral resources are confined to coal and iron ores. The Damodar Valley area is very rich in mineral resources, containing as it does the concentration of 100 per cent of India's total production of copper ore; 100 per cent of kyanite, 93 per cent of iron ore; 80 per cent of coal, 70 per cent of chromite, 70 per cent of mica, 50 per cent of fireclay, 45 per cent of asbestos, 45 per cent of china clay, 20 per cent of limestone, 10 per cent of manganese and 10 per cent of building materials.

It is generally known that no country in the world, not even the U.S.A. or U.S.S.R., is entirely self-sufficient in all the mineral resources necessary for its economic development. It is, therefore, an extremely hazardous task to venture on a final opinion about the mineral resources of India, as only a few

26. V. Ball: *Economic Geology*, p. xv.

27. C. N. Vakil: *Economic Consequences of Divided India*, p. 219.

28. *Proceedings of the Thirtieth Indian Science Congress (Calcutta)*, Pt. II, p. 80.

portions of the vast territories have been intensively surveyed. The mineral wealth of India as at present known, though by no means inexhaustible, comprises an adequate range of useful products that are necessary for industrial development; but at the same time India has certain important deficiencies. The following gives a good idea of the position of India's mineral resources, their adequacy and deficiency, etc.:³⁰

I. Minerals in which India has large exportable surplus to dominate world markets:

(i) Iron ore, (ii) Titanium, (iii) Thorium ores and (iv) Mica.

II. Minerals of which the exportable surplus forms an important part:

(i) Manganese ore, (ii) Magnesite, (iii) Refractory Minerals, (iv) Bauxite, (v) Granite, (vi) Silica, (vii) Beryllium, (viii) Steatite, (ix) Corundum, (x) Monazite, (xi) Natural abrasives.

III. Minerals in which India may be considered self-sufficient:

(i) Coal, (ii) Cement materials, (iii) Aluminium ore, (iv) Copper ore, (v) Chrome ore, (vi) Building stores, (vii) Marble, (viii) Slate, (ix) Limestone, (x) Dolomite, (xi) Mineral pigments, (xii) Industrial clays, (xiii) Sodium salts and alkalies, (xiv) Gypsum, (xv) Glass sand, (xvi) Pyrites, (xvii) Borax, (xviii) Nitrates, (xix) Felspar, (xx) Phosphates, (xxi) Zircon, (xxii) Balytes, (xxiii) Arsenic, (xxiv) Vanadium, (xxv) Antimony, (xxvi) Alum, and (xxvii) Precious and semi-precious stones.

IV. Minerals in which India has to depend largely or entirely on foreign imports:

(i) Silver, (ii) Nickel, (iii) Petroleum, (iv) Zinc, (v) Lead, (vi) Tin, (vii) Mércury, (viii) Tungsten, (ix) Molybdenum, (x) Platinum, (xi) Graphite, (xii) Asphalt, (xiii) Potash, (xiv) Fluorides, (xv) Sulphur.

The main features of our mineral industry might be enumerated as below:

(1) The mineral resources of India are vast and varied.

(2) The distribution is capricious in territorial sense, some parts of the country being poor, others being comparatively rich.

As inland waterways have not been well-developed in this country, the railways are the chief agencies of transport. Minerals are unequally distributed, they have often to be moved long distances to reach the consumer. The cost of transport, therefore, becomes high. The effect of the disproportionately high freight is to shut out some of our minerals from certain internal markets.

(3) Only a few small areas may be said to have been examined by geologists in a fairly detailed manner. There are large regions, the geology of which is not known, while in the case of some areas in Orissa and Assam even general information is lacking.

(4) In most cases the reserves, though known to be large enough, are not known in sufficient

detail, especially in regard to quality for purposes of development.

(5) Until recently, mineral exploration and their exploitation received little attention. Except coal, iron ore and petroleum required for internal use, the majority of the minerals especially mica, manganese, magnesite, kyanite, illemenite were raised for purposes of exports without any dressing, processing and fabrication. These exports brought but a small return to the country.

(6) The mineral industry also suffers from these defects:

Lack of policy and organised plans for prospecting, mining and utilisation of minerals and economical marketing of the minerals; lack of effective State control, assistance and encouragement; absence of basic industries; lack of trained men and technical skill; want of real estimates and reliable information regarding the reserves, the possibility of new sources and the industrial application of minerals; the haphazard mining of the ore bodies with an eye for immediate gains, leading to the rapid depletion and waste of the useful portions of the deposits, and inroads by foreign firms who have taken up concessions for most of the important Indian minerals; and mechanical methods are not common in the mining fields.³⁰

The mines and quarries coming under the Mines Act, employed over 471,761 persons in 1950 and if we include smaller quarries, the number of persons dependent on this type of employment may be well over 600,000. The many industries based primarily upon minerals probably employ over 2 million persons. The mineral industries not only support this large population but pay income-tax on their profits, customs duties on their imports of machinery, tools and appliances, and contribute to the State coffers in other indirect ways. Mining contributed to 0.7 abjas of rupees to the national income in 1950-51.

Minerals are wasting assets and unlike forests, once they are used up, they cannot be replenished. Hence, conservation of these resources is greatly emphasized. Besides the conservation and control of minerals, attempts must also be made to develop basic industries in India in such a way that our mineral resources can be utilised inside the country, and mining industry need not be dependent upon the economic uncertainties of other countries for its prosperity. Further research must also be conducted with respect to the best possible uses of the available minerals in India. Substitutes for some of the minerals for which we are entirely dependent on other countries must also be discovered. Attempts must also be made to diversify the mineral industry in India by trying to utilise resources available in different parts of the country.

(To be continued)

30. See (i) The Report of the Industrial Panel on Non-Ferrous Metals Industries and (ii) Dr. M. S. Krishnan's article "Mineral Resources and Development" in *Industrial Problems of India*, edited by P. C. Jain (1951), pp. 87-96.

VICTORY AT GENEVA

BY PROF. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

It is, indeed, gratifying to know that the Big-Four "Summit" Conference at Geneva was "a complete success." The heads of the U.S.S.R., the United States of America, Britain and France agreed on all points. It was agreed that the Foreign Ministers will now meet during autumn to study and discuss the subjects of German re-armament and European security. The recommendations of the Foreign Ministers on disarmament will be addressed to the U.N. Disarmament Sub-Committee. This is the first time that the Big-Four Powers have been able to discuss together in a cordial manner various difficult problems in international affairs. Although it was not possible for them to agree at this stage on certain specific proposals, the secret of their success lay in their manner of approach and in the spread of mutual goodwill and co-operation. As Shri Nehru observed at a recent meeting of the Congress Parliamentary Party, it was the "cordial spirit" in which the issues before the Conference were discussed, which was largely responsible for the success of Geneva. "For once views were expressed moderately and without rancour or bitterness." One of the important factors which was helpful in creating this atmosphere of goodwill was the recent visit of our Prime Minister to Soviet Union, Britain and some of the Eastern European countries. "Panch-Shila" or the Five Principles which formed the very basis of India's foreign policy have been amply vindicated. The Big Powers have now sincerely realised that lasting peace in the world ultimately depends on the principle of "live and let live." It is the fear-complex which creates a sense of insecurity and nervousness in the minds of the people. If all the nations, big and small, decide to live at peace within themselves and not interfere with the affairs of other nations, all will be well with the world. This does not mean isolationism. In this modern age no nation can afford to live in isolation, unaffected by the events that take place in other parts of the globe. But non-aggression and non-interference essentially mean that each nation tries to develop itself in accordance with its own genius without trying to impose its pattern on others. It is good to learn from one another. But imposition of once economic or political system on other nations or the imitation of the ideology of another nation is never a sound principle.

It must also be realised that peace is not an end in itself. It is only a means to an end. The ultimate objective of world peace is the social, economic, cultural and gradual development of humanity. It is impossible to give the highest priority to the develop-

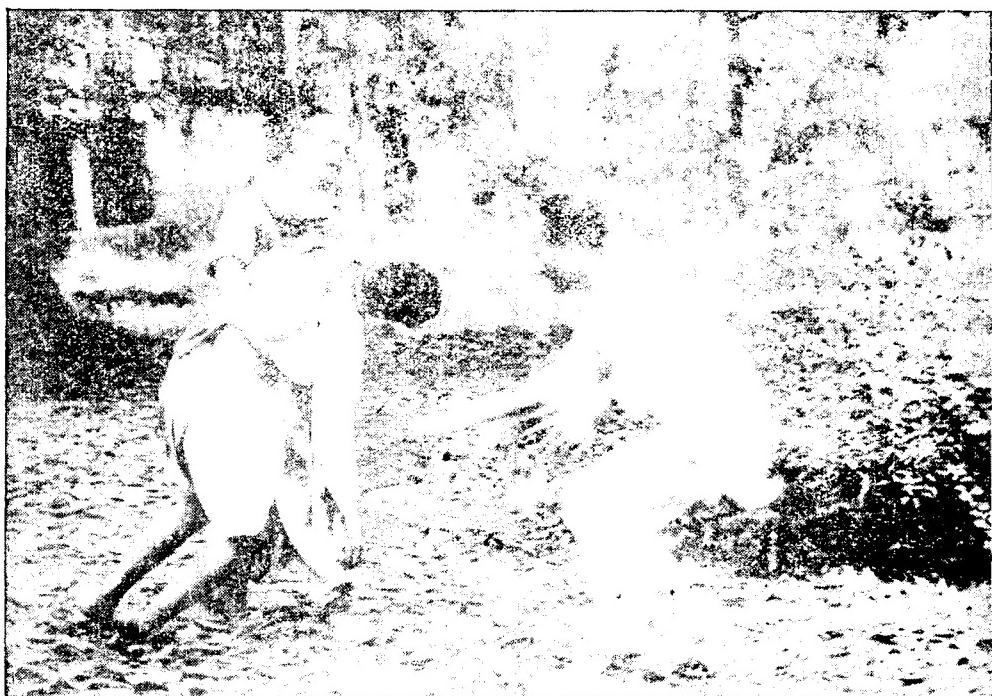
ment of human beings in a world which is torn with fears and suspicion. The Prime Minister of India has stated repeatedly that India has no time to think about wars and international conflict because she is primarily concerned with the social and economic development of the millions of her people. The same is the case with other nations as well. It is now being realised on all hands that wars do not solve any problems, economic or political. In fact, they only result in additional worries and difficulties.

In the course of his address to the A.I.C.C. Session at Berhampur Acharya Vinoba Bhave remarked that the international situation was like the case of a sick person about whom the doctors issue bulletins from time to time. Sometimes the condition improves and then again deteriorates. The ultimate solution of international conflict is, therefore, not to be found in mere "patchwork" or joint agreements on superficial issues. The fundamental problem to be tackled by different nations is the reorientation of the basic values of life. So long as money continues to play a vital role in our lives and material considerations remain predominant in social relations, there is not much hope for lasting peace and goodwill. As Gandhiji always told us, the ultimate solution of international conflict lay in the philosophy of decentralisation and the ideal of simple living and high thinking. So long as the motto of different nations continues to be a rise in the material standards of living, there was not much scope for the development of the moral and cultural values of life. It will, therefore, be necessary for all of us to effect radical changes in our lives by substituting mutual love and co-operation for mutual hatred and exploitation. The pattern of social and economic development of various nations will also have to undergo certain basic changes. A society or a State based on a highly centralised and regimented economy would necessarily engender violence and conflict. A society based on the philosophy of "bread-labour" and non-exploitation cannot defuse the climate of peace and brotherhood.

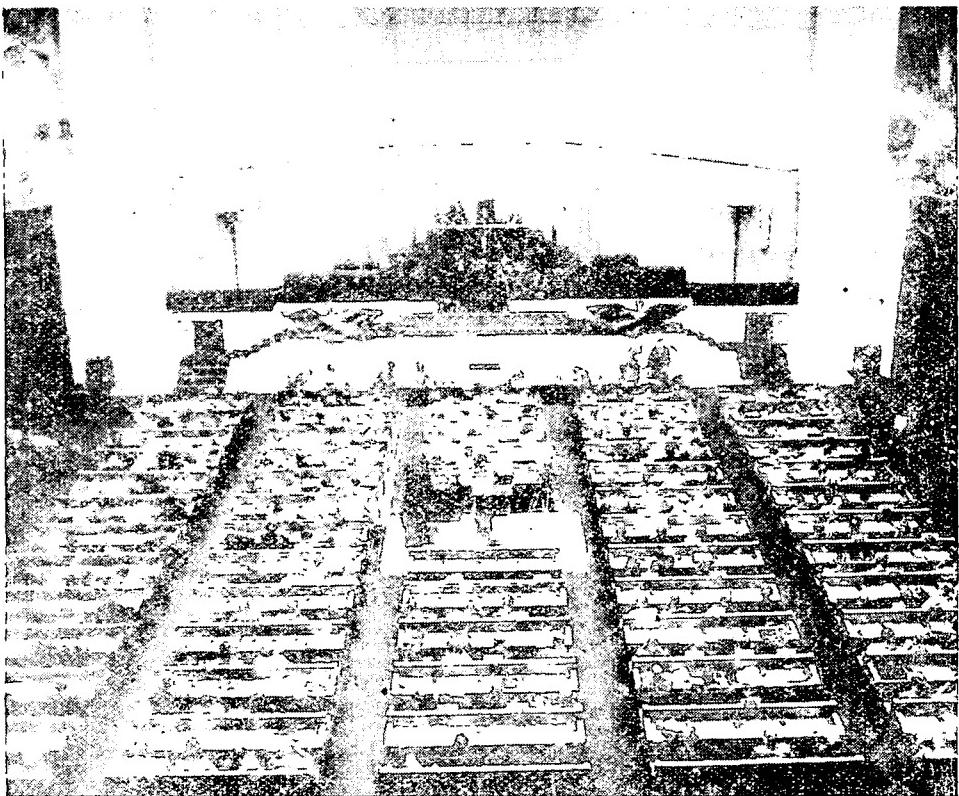
The problem of peace, therefore, is the problem of life itself. If individuals change the pattern of their lives, the social pattern changes. With the change in the social pattern, the pattern of international relations also undergoes a radical change. India has learnt these basic values of life from her great sons and leaders through the centuries. We are confident that the message of India would be helpful in recreating an atmosphere of peace and co-operation in this war-weary world.



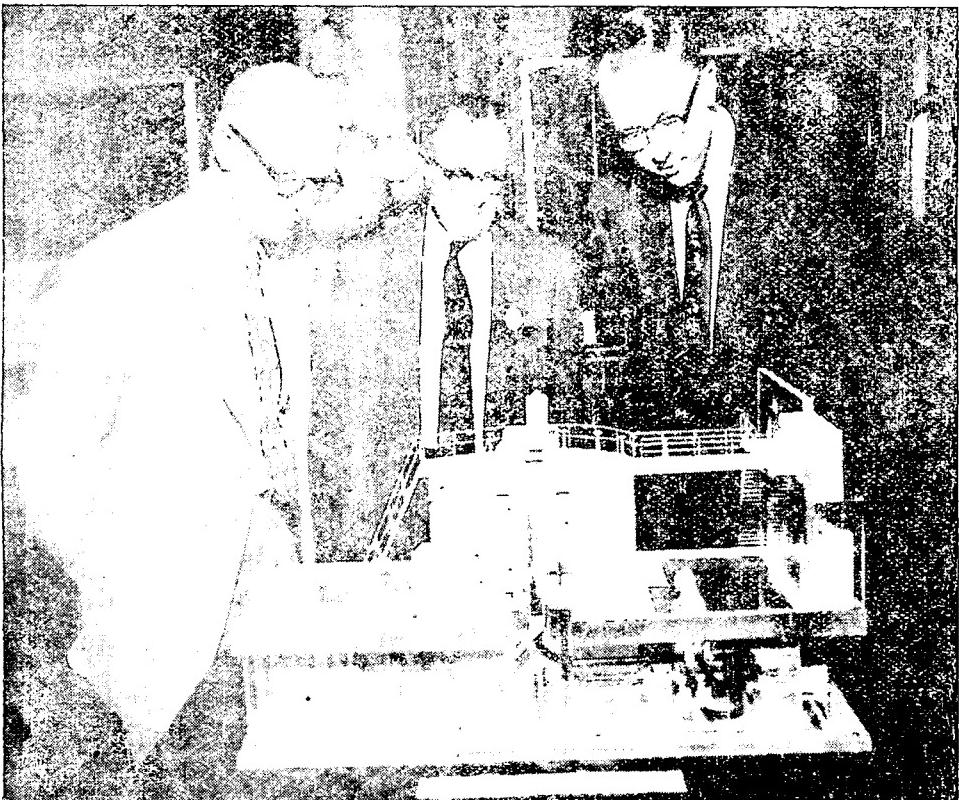
Satyagrahis boldly facing the bullets of Portuguese soldiers who can be seen on the verandah of the house on the right



Arthur Bonner, an American camera-man, brings to the Indian border the body of a Satyagrahi after he had been shot dead by Portuguese soldiers



The 12-day International Conference of the United Nations on the peaceful uses of atomic energy, which opened at the Palais des Nations in Geneva on August 3



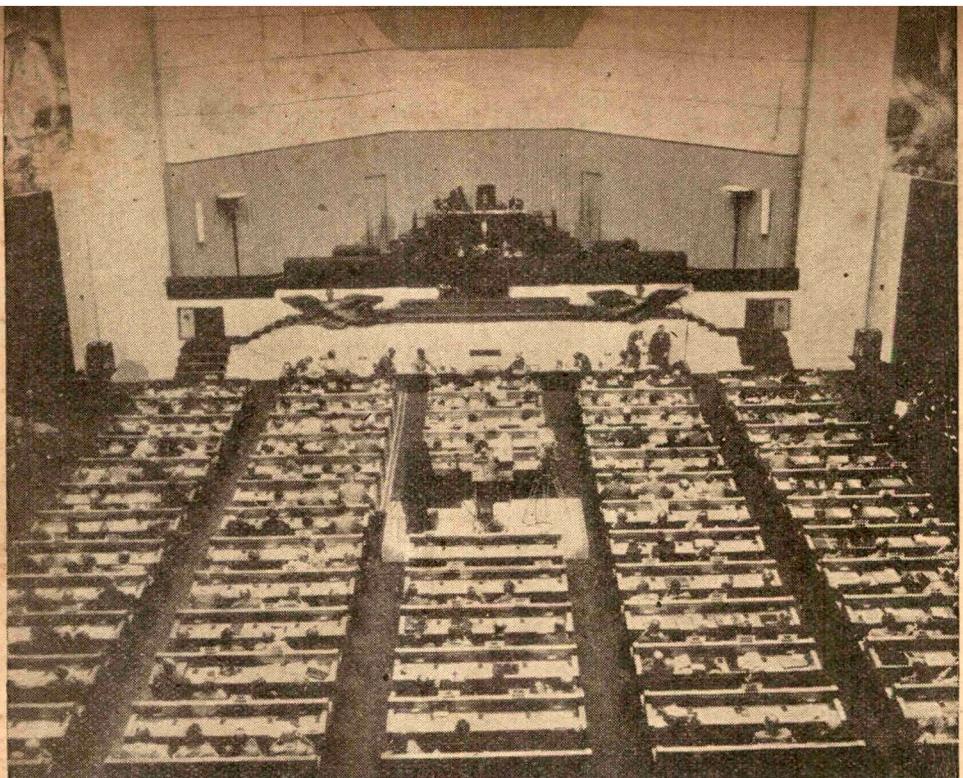
Three American scientists look over a model in the Soviet Union's atomic exhibit at the U.N. International Conference in Geneva



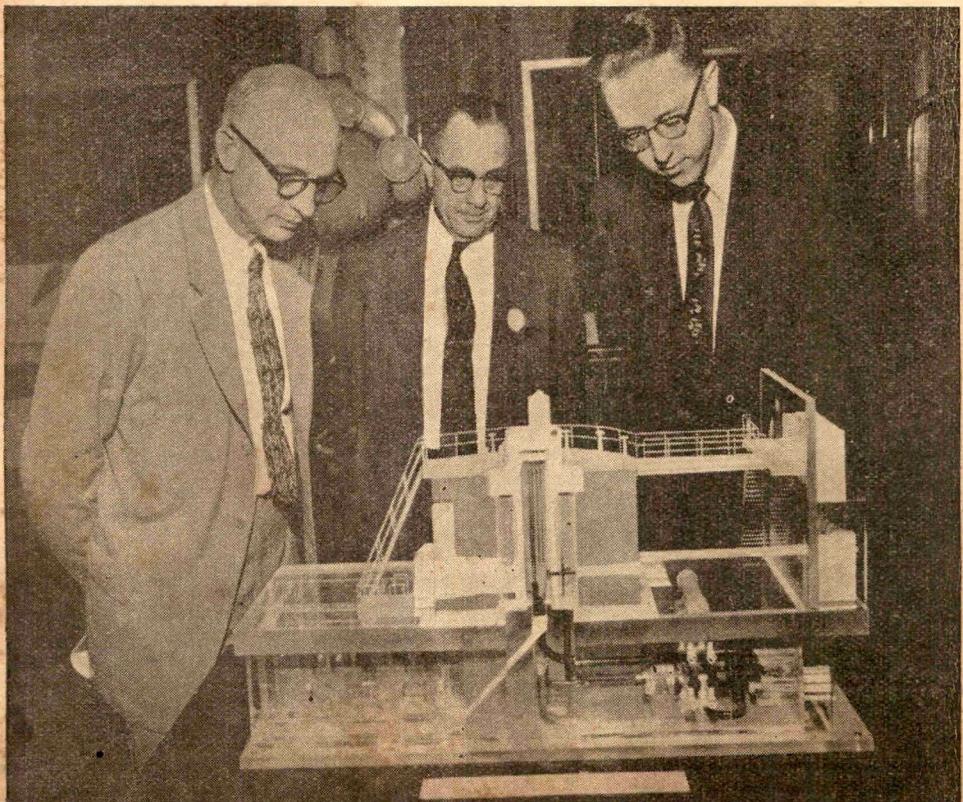
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Three American scientists look over a model in the Soviet Union's atom exhibit at the U.N. International Conference in Geneva

Pakistan trade. While the Pakistan Finance Minister believes that the trade between the two countries would be facilitated, certain circles in India believe that the devaluation would not have any great effect on Indo-Pakistan trade. It has to be confessed that devaluation has brought about immediate effect on Indian policy as regards jute. For the first time after World War I, Indian jute goods have been exempt from export duty. In 1949 immediately after devaluation India raised the export duty on hessian from Rs. 80 to Rs. 350 per ton and it reached Rs. 1500 per ton during Korean war. The present rate of export duties was Rs. 80 per ton on sacking and Rs. 120 per ton on hessian. Immediately within 24 hours of devaluation of Pakistan rupee an announcement was made by the Indian Ministry of Finance (Revenue Division) in a press communique on Monday, the 1st August, 1955 that "in accordance with their policy of keeping export duties under constant review, the Government of India have decided to exempt with effect from August 2, 1955 all types of jute manufactures from the export duty leviable thereon." It is correct that the Government of India might have granted this exemption even in the absence of devaluation of Pak-Rupee but the promptness with which it has been done clearly depicts the influence of Pakistan's decision to devalue her currency.

It should not be lost sight of that the devaluation of Pak-Rupee may confront India with competition from Pakistan as the latter has developed industries from a completely agricultural economy and can export goods at competitive prices. Pakistan can now export jute goods worth Rs. 7 crores as against an import of the same worth Rs. 4 crores a few years back. Pakistan has planned a target of 1.5 million bales for export. Devaluation would bring Pakistan jute prices nearer to Indian jute prices and India would benefit in respect of whatever quantity of jute she imports from East Pakistan. Since Pakistan and other European countries are also developing their jute mill industry with a view to competing with Indian jute goods in the American market, India's situation has become somewhat delicate. As Indian jute goods have just been able to stabilise, their exemption from export duty is most welcome at this hour to nullify the special advantage to other jute manufacturing and competing countries from the effect of Pak rupee devaluation on Pakistan jute prices.

As regards cotton the situation would not be much affected as Indian cotton prices are lower than those of Pakistan. The landed cost of Pakistan cotton in India is twice that of Indian cotton. Only to a limited extent Indian cotton mills may benefit

from purchasing some staples of cotton from Pakistan. Moreover, Pakistan also has at present 67 textile mills as against 6 at the time of partition and her internal demand of cotton is so high that it could not enable her to compete with India in this field for some years. As regards tea, Pakistan is not a large contributor to the world tea trade and would not affect India's position. Hides and skin and betelnuts would be available at cheaper rates to India.

CONCLUSION

The immediate effect of Pak-Rupee devaluation has been reflected in the immediate rise in the prices in Pakistan. Prices of consumer goods, textiles, medicine and chemical goods have risen by about 25 to 50%. Prices of jute has, however, slightly risen by about Rs. 3 per bale, the present price being Rs. 132 per bale. Cotton has also registered an increase. The unofficial rate of exchange has deteriorated and 65 Indian rupees have been quoted for 100 Pakistan rupees as against 85 Indian Rupees for 100 Pakistan rupees quoted prior to devaluation.

While on the one hand reaction in the business circle has been evidenced by the appreciation of this opportune decision by the Dacca-Narayanganj Chamber of Commerce and the Pakistan Jute Board, it is observed that certain circles in Pakistan are highly critical of the devaluation not only on economic grounds but political as well. Mr. Fazlul Huq, Leader of the United Front, is reported to have said :

"I cannot on any account agree to a decision being taken by the Central Government without any previous notice to the province concerned because, it gives me the impression that wise men at the centre think nothing of the provinces lying far away. The action taken by the Central Government resembles very much what a Bengali proverb says about rubbing oil on an oiled head. Devaluation of Rupee will fill the pockets of the millionaires with crores of rupees by profits they shall make on their foreign exports but a poor Bengali trader with a small capital whose transactions are limited within the province will incur heavy losses leading in some cases to utter ruin."

Whether there is any substance in this statement or not the main purpose of quoting it is to bring to light the grave discontentment and political rivalry that is in vogue in Pakistan and this state of affairs is bound to jeopardise the economic policy of the Government of Pakistan. Under such circumstances a clear and accurate assessment of the repercussion of devaluation of Pakistan Rupee on her economy will not be easy.

LABOUR TRAINING—AN INTEGRAL PART OF MAN-POWER PLANNING

By PROF. SANTI KUMAR GHOSH, M.A.

A steady flow of skilled and technically qualified personnel is a *sine qua non* of industrial progress. The importance and urgency of training and equipping rank-and-file workers to fill various positions in industry can hardly be overemphasized. Adequate job-training promotes job-efficiency and reduces labour turnover. To the individual worker, it means a possibility of increased earnings and the personal satisfaction and self-confidence derived from the ability to do a job well; a knowledge of several jobs is a protection against unemployment.

The facilities now available in this country for training in industry are woefully inadequate in relation to the number of trades and occupations and the number of persons employed therein. This lack of provision for comprehensive and systematic training has an important bearing on labour-efficiency. The level of an average Indian worker is far below that of his counterpart in other industrialized countries of the world. Possessing an agricultural background, the raw and illiterate recruit enters the factory and tries to pick up whatever knowledge he can from no qualified instructor but his senior operator and thus learns and perpetuates bad habits and slipshod methods.

In the initial stages, industrial training was considered as lying outside the sphere of the Government of India. But as early as 1888 the Government was forced to call the attention of the provincial governments to the need for extending industrial and vocational training. Already in 1877 the Victoria Jubilee Technical Institute was established in Bombay under private initiative. In 1901 an educational conference called by Lord Curzon resulted in making some improvements in the teaching of science at the universities and providing a number of scholarships in the provincial budgets for the higher technical training of students in foreign countries. But the trainees were not placed in suitable concerns.

During the First World War the question of industrial training received some consideration at the hands of the Industrial Commission of 1916 which recommended the establishment of a school of mines, a school of sugar technology and a few engineering colleges. Later, in 1936, the Government of India appointed a Committee of two experts (the Abbott-Wood Committee) to recommend measures for the provision of facilities for vocational education.

The shortage of skilled personnel within the country was brought into bold relief during the Second World War. In accordance with the recommendations of the Technical Training Enquiry Committee under the

Chairmanship of Sir Sargent, the Government of India launched the Technical Training Scheme for imparting technical training to suitable persons who were later to be employed for work as technicians in the Armed Forces or in factories engaged in war work. Training was imparted in over fifty engineering and building trades and its duration was about a year. During the five years of its existence the training scheme turned out more than a lakh of trained men. Provision was also made under the Bevin Training Scheme for higher technical training of some of the munition workers under modern factory conditions of England.

The wartime training schemes were not based on any firm foundation of theoretical knowledge and were confined only to mechanical engineering. But these schemes laid the foundation for building up a skilled labour force for India. The post-war training schemes of the Government of India had the object of providing facilities for training to demobilised servicemen and displaced persons in certain trades and particularly engineering and building trades, and vocations particularly non-engineering trades and occupations, i.e., mainly cottage and small-scale industries.

An increasing amount of attention has been given to technological education during the last five years. Facilities for undergraduate study have increased considerably, but similar facilities for post-graduate education and research are still inadequate. Also the provision of training for industrial workers, technical teachers and instructors has not kept pace with the needs of the country. The existing technical and vocational institutions have therefore to make up considerable leeway in point of efficiency, both with regard to equipment and the quality of teaching. Moreover, vocational schools are run on lines similar to those imparting purely liberal education, with short working hours and long vacation, rather than under ideal factory conditions. Again, most of the training institutions cater at present for the urban population. The establishment of rural training centres, each at the centre of a group of villages, will, therefore, go a long way towards improving techniques and skills of the villagers.

There is one important lacuna in our schemes of technical training. The facilities that now exist in this country for the training of technicians of the foreman class are extremely limited, with the result that in many lines of manufacture, India has still to depend for this type of technical ability on foreign sources of supply. In any scheme of technical training intended to promote the supply of this type of skilled labour it is essential that the training imparted should be of such a high

calibre as to enable them in due course to take independent charge of particular technical processes in the industries from which they were recruited.

Apart from technicians, there is acute shortage of persons trained in the principles and techniques of industrial engineering and organisation. The circumstances of industrial development in India during the last fifty years did not favour the rise of this technological class; the industries relied on foreign specialists or consultants for high-level technical advice. The measures recently taken to strengthen technological education through the activities of the All-India Council of Technical Education and its Boards of Studies have expanded the facilities for technological education in this country. The establishment of an Institute of Higher Technology at Hijli (West Bengal) is a notable step in the same direction, but clearly there is need for more institutes of this type.

In planning training of skilled personnel for industry we have to take into account three classes of personnel: managerial, supervisory, and skilled workmen. Efficient organisation demands that training should be imparted at all the three levels. The first stage in the training of the younger generation of factory workers should start with general compulsory basic education with an industrial bias, and should precede vocational training in any one of the specific trades. Schools imparting such liberal education should be equipped with workshops for different crafts, where boys and girls could receive manual training. Their object should be to prepare boys and girls for further specialised training in specific trades.

Vocational schools enable young persons to discover and try out their aptitudes, to learn to use some of the basic tools of their chosen trade and to acquire the fundamental disciplines of work—carefulness, precision and thoroughness. Individuals with such general preparation must learn the details of their particular jobs in the plant itself. Vocational education at its best can never take the place of training in the job. Job-training is essentially 'learning by doing.' At their jobs they learn by observing others and from instructions given by their foremen. However, an increasing number of employers consider that this "pick up" method of job-learning has deficiencies. The alternative to 'breaking in' on the job is short, intensive instruction by trained instructors away from the production line.

In the present stage of her industrial development, and considering the limited resources at the disposal of the Government, it may be advisable for India to adopt

a system of training more or less similar to the one obtaining in the U.S. with, of course, suitable modifications to suit local conditions. This system has two types. In the case of training in the jobs, a textile worker, for instance, may be started as a cleaner and by a process of upgrading finally becomes a spinner, having been trained by close contact with the job. Under the 'vestibule system,' a part of the machinery is set aside on which learners may practise under the guidance of special instructors without interfering with the normal course of production.

The problem thus is first, to train the necessary number of persons in appropriate trades, and second, to train them up to a high degree of skill. The existence of a considerable number of semi- and under-skilled persons who are unacceptable to employers is creating problems for government to solve. The way to check this growing evil is by providing adequate facilities for higher training of craftsmen. Training should be intimately wedded to the needs of industry so that there may be a correspondence between the demand and supply of available skills in specific trades. Since employment policy demands that labour should be steered towards the under-staffed occupations, there is need for a system of advisory service to provide guidance as to the most suitable trades in which they may be trained with advantage.

In respect of large-scale industries, technical institutes should be started and maintained by the large industrial concerns themselves for the benefit of their employers. The Central Government will have to take the initiative by offering liberal grants-in-aid. It should also maintain an inspectional staff for planning, supervising and co-ordinating the training activities all over the country.

Talent for future needs could be encouraged by legislation calling for foreign enterprises to train Indian staff for responsible positions. Practical training should be combined with the theoretical as well as industrial with commercial training. Competent administrators should also be trained in the fundamentals of business administration and in scientific methods of industrial management. Technical and managerial skills are, however, developed not merely by formal training but also by environment. This can best be done by promoting widely diversified small industries which will train a maximum number of people in new skills and will provide a wide technological climate favourable to the emergence of capable leaders. In this way an effective system of 'training within industry' may be evolved for turning out a highly skilled and efficient labour force.



THE ROLE OF DRAMA IN EDUCATION

By USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T.

THE role of drama in the education of children as well as adults should not be underrated, inasmuch as it constitutes an important means of self-expression. Education in the true sense of the term does not consist in mere theoretical instruction to be imparted in the class-room. Nor is it something imposed on the minds of children from outside. The object of true education should be the cultivation of their instincts as well as the proper development of their innate powers and potentialities. So their attempts at self-expression, however crude these may be, should be encouraged by all means, if the true aim of education is to be achieved. Drama provides one of the excellent media through which the imagination, emotions and sentiments of children can find an outlet. When acting a part, they have to attribute their own feelings and sentiments to the characters they are personating. They have thus to identify their own thoughts and ideas, joys and sorrows, passions and interests, with those of the characters whose part they are acting. The scenes to be enacted as well as the situations to be realised have to be visualised as vividly as possible for the purpose of reproducing those on the stage. All this calls for a good deal of powers of imagination and imitation on the part of the children. To ensure accurate reproduction and natural acting, the actors and actresses have to project their own mind, so to say, into that of the characters of the drama. None can prove good actors or actresses unless they can forget their own entity for the time being, and can merge their identity into that of the characters whose part they happen to be playing. Thus both children and adults derive immense pleasure from the pretence or make-believe called forth in dramas and stories. Hence the educational importance of the cinema and the theatre. Drama leads to the gratification of children's play-impulse and their innate love of play. The love of play is an instinctive urge of childhood as well as a vital need of it, as is indicated in the play activities of the young of the species—human and other than human. Apart from the biological utility of these activities, the educational value of play cannot be overestimated. The thrill of intense pleasure and the rapture of spontaneous joy, springing from the pretence or make-believe that is called into being in drama make for the happy and healthy development of the budding minds of children. Every opportunity should be provided in all the educational

institutions for promoting the development of their mind on the right lines during the formative period of childhood. We all know how fond children are of imitating their elders. Very often they are found to be playing at being adults. This is indicative of their innate urge to imitate the grown-ups by way of play. So the instinct of imitation as well as imagination can be appealed to in and through drama. In all the educational institutions ample scope should be afforded for the development of children's personality by encouraging their attempts at self-expression in both team and individual work. The present-day educational system of our country seems to be incomplete and defective, as it hardly meets the social and emotional needs of pupils. If the education of the 'whole man' is to be aimed at, these needs of children should not be overlooked.

If the emotional needs of children are to be satisfied, creative activities should form an important part of the school curriculum. These activities, in which the creative powers and energies of children are called into play are conducive to the development of their personality and individuality. Drama constitutes an important creative activity, the educational value of which should not be underestimated. Tagore with the unerring insight of a true educationist fully realised the importance of drama as a means of developing children's personality. With this end in view he assigned an important place to dramatics on the programme of education chalked out by him. He composed several dramas and playlets, suited to the needs of the occasions on which those were staged by the students of his educational institution. He as well as the pupils and teachers of his school took part in many of the dramatic performances, organised from time to time on various occasions. For this he was ridiculed and looked upon as a person, bent upon bringing about the ruin of the entire educational structure of his province. His educational theories were decried as being positively harmful and detrimental to the interests of the education of his country, as his ideas happened to have run counter to those obtaining in Bengal at the time. At the present moment the educationists of the day are gradually awakening to the necessity and importance of the activities that found a place in the curriculum evolved by the poet. There is no gainsaying the truth of his observation that "during the early period of education, children should come to their lessons of truth through

natural process—directly through persons and things." Rousseau and other pioneers of modern education also advocated the same theory. It is a commonplace of modern pedagogy that at the early stage of education, instruction should be made as concrete as possible, inasmuch as mere abstract teaching hardly appeals to small children. Tagore rightly hit upon the gravest defect of the average educational institution of his time, which was designated by him as 'a manufactory specially designed for grinding out uniform results.' According to him, the prevalent system of education was "a mere method of discipline which refuses to take into account the individual." Even at the present moment very little scope is provided for the development of children's personality or individuality at the average educational institution of our country. This constitutes one of the most serious defects of the present-day educational system of our country.

The cultural value of drama as a creative art, too, should not be ignored. It is an art by means of which the personality or individuality of children can be given its fullest expression. A person has to recreate himself in the character whose part he is playing and has to be fully oblivious of his own identity for the moment. Acting is an unrivalled art of reproducing the emotions and sentiments of the actor in an outward form, the beauty and perfection of which cannot but captivate and enthral the mind of his audience. Drama is, therefore, an important art in which the creative talents and energies of the actors can be in full play. If the education of the 'whole man' is the real objective to be achieved in the educational system of the day, the cultural side of education should not be overlooked. The aesthetic and cultural training given to children at an early and impressionable age is of an immense value. Those who are specially gifted are thus afforded ample opportunities of assessing their talent and laying the foundation of a future career.

Dramatisation serves the purpose of an important audio-visual aid in teaching also, and as such it can be turned into a valuable educational method. The necessity and importance of audio-visual aids in teaching are being borne in upon all the educationists of the day. What is taught by means of drama is likely to leave an indelible mark on the mind and character of children, inasmuch as they can thus be appealed to through more than one sense. They are afforded the opportunity of acquiring knowledge and information direct from persons and things and not through the medium of books. The boredom of dry, uninteresting theoretical instruction can be reduced to a minimum, if dramatisation is restored to in the class room. It helps to enliven the lessons and to make them both agreeable and

impressive. In this manner it serves to get the lessons fixed in children's memory. Drama as a method of school instruction, involves the psychological principle of "learning by doing." The acquisition of knowledge is thus motivated by children's innate urge to learn and solve the real problem they are faced with. Dramatisation may be taken recourse to for the purpose of playway methods too. All this is sure to mark an agreeable departure from the hackneyed and stereotyped methods of teaching and to make the process of learning a joyous pursuit. The atmosphere of make-believe or pretence created in drama does away with the boredom of drill and affords relief and diversion from the dullness and monotony of class routine.

Drama constitutes an important method of teaching literature, reading, and history. Good pieces of literature, if learnt by heart, help to enrich children's vocabulary and develop their powers of expression, both in speech and writing. The beauty of language, thus mastered, unconsciously affects their mode of expression and style of writing. But the mere memorising of 'set pieces' is likely to bore children, who fail to appreciate the need of it. So Bertrand Russell suggests that "learning by heart should be associated with acting, because then it is a necessary means to something which every child loves." From the age of three onwards children take immense pleasure in acting a part. When learning their own parts they get to learn those of others too. The beautiful forms of expression, thus learnt by heart, naturally find their way into their vocabulary and influence their style of speech and writing. In this manner, dramatisation may be of great help in teaching a foreign language also. Children may be taught how to read naturally and with proper information by means of acting. Drama admirably lends itself to the teaching of history too. Many of the deeds of valour, chivalry and bravery of the ancient heroes of different countries, enshrined in legends, myths and songs as well as in the annals of history provide excellent material for dramatisation. The glorious heritage of the past—its joys and sorrows, its manners, customs and conventions—its religious, moral and social ideals—its cultural traditions, crystallised in the literary and artistic achievements and aspirations of the country—can be recaptured by dramatists and play-wrights and can be represented on the stage and the screen. The historical events of bygone days, the history of religious, social, political and economic upheavals may serve as themes for dramas and plays. If historical stories are thus dramatised, the true significance as well as the emotional appeal of the past events of great moment can be vividly brought home to children, so as to enable them to reconstruct and to revive the past in a lifelike form. In that case,

history will cease to be a mere catalogue of dull events of the dead past and of dry facts to be memorised. In this manner the historical judgment of children can also be formed. The historical personages represented on the stage will appear to be real human beings of flesh and blood—men and women with hearts throbbing with life and emotions, whose deeds and actions can be assessed and appraised both by children and adults. The evil deeds of the historical figures enacted on the stage and screen serve to alienate the sympathies of the juvenile audience, who feel inclined to condemn those strongly, while their laudable acts are applauded by them. Dramatisation thus serves as an important method of teaching history to small children, to whom the lessons are thereby made both concrete and interesting. National and patriotic feelings may well be fostered by staging suitable historical dramas, by means of which children may be induced to imbibe the noble ideas and ideals of the past and the present. Whatever is noble, good and praiseworthy in our national ideals and traditions may well be upheld on the stage and the screen for the edification of both the young and the old. Drama may thus play an important part in the training of children's characters.

Drama may come to the aid of social reform as well as social education. In and through social dramas, the magnitude of many of the social problems may be brought to the fore, and the evil customs of society may be made a target for scorn and ridicule. The audience may be so carried away by the feelings roused by a play that they may forget for the time being that what is being enacted on the screen and the stage is not real but mere acting. The evil deeds of a villain on the stage are denounced and cried down by them, while the noble acts of the good characters meet with their applause and approbation. So a good deal of moral and ethical lessons can be inculcated on children and adults by means of drama. The audience may be impressed and enraptured by the scenes of a play staged in such a manner that they remain spell-bound for hours on end. Drama thus helps to ennoble their mind and sublimate their spirit for the time being at least, by purging it of all sordidness and grossness. The nobility and greatness of the lofty social, moral and religious ideals can be impressed on the audience through the medium of a drama. The impressions thus formed cannot but be deep and lasting. Drama can be an important instrument for social education too. Formerly, *jatras* and *kathakathas*, some crude forms of dramas, were in

great vogue in our country, and were of great help in propagating moral and religious truths among the masses. The ideas and ideals of abiding interest, embodied in the mythologies and religious scriptures of the country, which were once a perennial source of joy and inspiration to the people of our country furnished the material of these dramas. Unfortunately at the present moment these indigenous forms of art are dying out for want of sufficient encouragement. The Indian stage and the screen are being remodelled on Western lines. As a result of this, these crude and ancient forms of dramas, which once proved so helpful in educating the illiterate masses, have ceased to find favour in the eyes of the public at large. Now-a-days these are considered to be rather crude and vulgar, as in these, sometimes, attempts are really made to appeal to the vulgar taste of the audience. An all-out effort should be made to popularise these social institutions again in the rural areas of the State, inasmuch as these form an excellent medium through which moral and religious ideals can be brought home to the people of the country. Drama may thus prove of immense help in the task of national uplift and nation-building as well as in social reform. The masses may be taught the elementary principles of hygiene, sanitation and citizenship with the aid of suitable film-shows and dramas. They may be taught how to be useful citizens of the State too, by rousing their civic sense.

If possible, a dramatic club may be organised by the students in each school by way of extra-curricular activity. They may be called upon to compose dramas and plays suitable for different functions, to dramatise suitable stories, to improvise a stage and to take part in the dramatic performances organised by themselves. Such extra-curricular activities are sure to develop their initiative and organisational ability as well as a sense of responsibility. The need of such students' organisations cannot be stressed too strongly, the entrusting of self-government to pupils being essential for the maintenance of discipline in a school. Besides, such activities help to beget self-confidence and self-reliance on the part of children, who are thus able to get over shyness and nervousness. Drama can also serve as an important means of speech training and teaching elocution. The rehearsals will thus constitute the lessons in elocution. In dramatisation children will be required to enunciate distinctly each word spoken and to speak loudly enough to be heard by the whole audience. They can be trained in public speaking, too, by means of drama.



THE BODH-GAYA RAILING

BY R. N. SIRCAR, BAR-AT-LAW

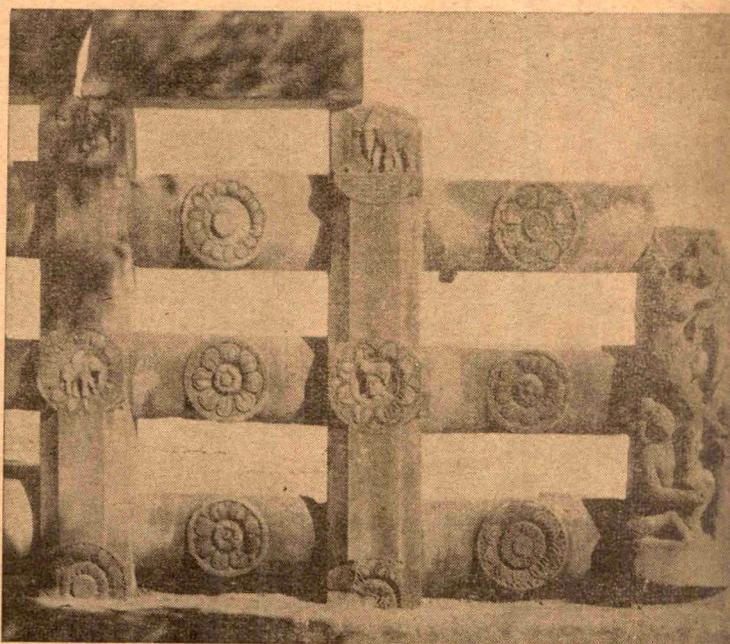
ONE of the most characteristic features of Buddhist architecture is the railing surrounding a *stupa* (a mound funerary or commemorative) or a *chaitya* (sacred memorial structure generally used as an assembly-hall). The railings such as survive today bear elaborate sculpture on them, and such sculpture has preserved for posterity a picture of the India of two thousand years ago in a manner which no other single medium of recording has done. The railing at Bodh-Gaya, quite apart from its artistic merits, and its importance for the history of Indian art, furnishes an invaluable "document" containing a record of the contemporary manners and customs of the people.

HISTORY

Buddhist ritual demanded circumambulation, that is, going round and round a monument or an object of worship which represented the creed symbolically, such as the Bodhi-tree (popularly, Bo-tree, which is the pipal or the *asvattha* tree) which stood for the Great Enlightenment, the Chakra (the Wheel of the Law) representing the Buddhist creed of the Stupa which was usually an emblem of the Mahaparinirvana (*i.e.*, the death of the Buddha). Actually, all such symbols represented the Buddha in a non-anthropomorphic form, for early Buddhism did not allow a graven image of its Founder. Circumambulation required that a path or a corridor for going round should be provided, which was done by erecting a fence (*vedika*) round the object of worship. The earliest enclosures were all wooden palisades. The space between the monument and the fence was used as the circumambulatory (*pradakshina patha*). In Bodh-Gaya the object of worship is the temple, known as the Mahabodhi Temple, and which is in fact a huge *chaitya* marking the spot where Siddhartha of the Sakyā clan attained Enlightenment and became the Buddha. It is not a temple in the sense in which the word is usually understood by Hindus. The railing was disposed round this monument with the processional path in-between. The original monument, however, was quite unpretentious. It was a simple *chaitya* with the enclosed space on which the sacred tree stood, open to the sky. The spot was visited by the Emperor Asoka (3rd. Cent. B.C.), and this visit is pictorially recorded on a stone panel of the Bharut railing. This *chaitya* was later replaced by the brick temple which we see today, and which has approximately the same shape as it originally had, sometime during

the Kushan period (1st.—3rd cent. A.D.). Hiuen Tsang, the great Chinese scholar and traveller, visited it in the 7th cent. A.D., and has left us a valuable record of his visit.

Besides the Bodh-Gaya railing, there are three other railings which we know, *viz.*, those at Sanchi, Bharut and Amaravati. Sanchi is situated in what was lately the Bhopal State in Central India, and Bharut also was in Central India (in the little State of Nagodh). Amaravati was situated near the mouth of the River Krishna in the Andhra country (near modern Vijayawada). Bodh-Gaya is about 7 miles to the south of the modern Hindu pilgrimage town of



Railing on South Eastern end, outer face
Shows Jataka scenes, winged elephant, and medallions. On
extreme right: A yakshi climbing a tree (Sunga period)

Gaya in Bihar. The existing rails of Bodh-Gaya and Sanchi are to be found mostly *in situ*. Those of the other two exist in museums only, and their sites are of interest solely to antiquarians. Of Amaravati, however, only a few sculptural fragments now remain. The exact dates of the commencements of the construction of these railings are not beyond controversy. However, it may be stated, without being too precise, that the railings of Bodh-Gaya, Bharut and Sanchi commence from the 2nd cent. B.C., while that of Amaravati from the 2nd. cent. A.D. The Bharut railing is supposed to be slightly older than the Bodh-Gaya railing.

STRUCTURE

The original railing at Bodh-Gaya, as elsewhere, was undoubtedly of wood. The wooden railing was re-

placed later on by the stone railing which we see today. The existing railing belongs to two distinct periods. The earlier part belongs to the Sunga period (2nd—1st cent. B.C.), and the later part to the latter half of the Gupta period (4th—7th cent. A.D.). The rails of the Sunga period are in grey sand-stone, while those of the Gupta period are in coarse-grain granite. The former are in a much better state of preservation than the latter which have suffered greatly from the ravages of the elements, and have a worn-out appearance. The railing of Bodh-Gaya is not tall; the pillars are about 6 ft. 8 in. high from the plinth.

The railing (*vedika*) consists of: the plinth (*ambana*), the upright posts (*stambha*), the horizontal cross-pieces (*suchi*), and the coping (*ushnisha*). The plinth is of brick; the others are of stone. The posts again are of two kinds: pillars and intermediate posts. The pillars are found at the corners (the railing being square to conform to the square design of the temple); they are also found flanking the open-

wooden structure which it replaced. As a matter of fact, it does look "wooden." The technique of construction is that of the carpenter, not that of the stone mason. The carving also has the appearance of the wood-carver's art not that of the sculptor's. Vincent Smith rightly says that these carvings "may be regarded as pictures executed in stone." Further, there is reason to believe that these "pictures" were painted over in vivid colours, exactly as their wooden originals were. The sculpture on the gateways at Amaravati was certainly painted. The reason usually suggested as to why the "wooden" technique was followed with stone (although stone was being regularly and increasingly used from Asoka's time) is that Indian stone-workers had not yet acquired sufficient skill in the working of the new medium. E. B. Havell, however, repudiates this suggestion and says:

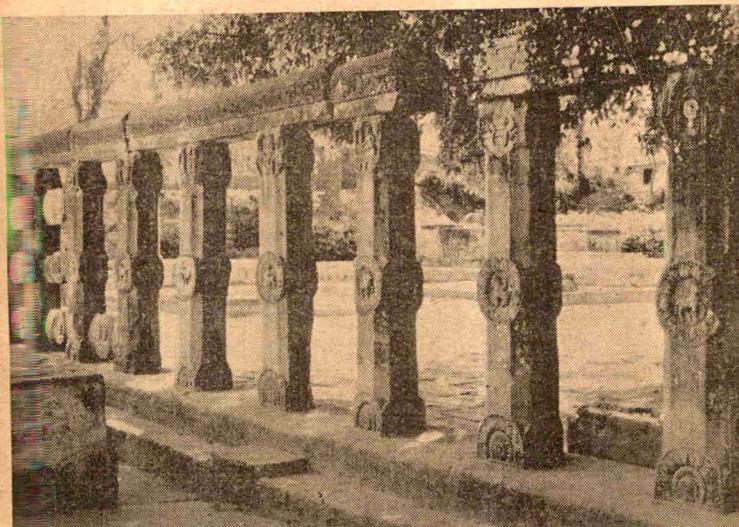
"It was not because they were unpractised in the use of stone, but because they wished to avoid a break in the railing, and to maintain the sacred associations of the old wooden work."

SCULPTURE

The carvings on the rails cover a varied and extensive range of subjects and motifs, and give a very vivid picture of the details of the life of the age. There are scenes from the Jatakas (stories of the Buddha's former births), the purpose of which was presumably to instruct the laity in matters of the Buddhist faith. There are scenes of religious life showing stupas, sacred trees, chakras and other symbols of the Buddhist faith, and also of devotees worshipping such symbols. There are representations of altars, vedikas, and chaityas. On some posts secular dwelling houses are represented, and the costume of the people is clearly shown in many of the carvings. Even non-Buddhist mythological personages are figured in the carvings, such as Lakshmi (the Hindu goddess of plenty) standing on a lotus springing from a vase.

This has been brilliantly interpreted by Mons. Fouche as symbolizing the Nativity of the Blessed One, Lakshmi being identified with Maya, the mother of the Buddha. A figure holding a trident is undoubtedly the Hindu god Siva. It occurs on a pillar of the late Gupta period. It has been conjectured that this figure was introduced by Sasanka, the Hindu King of Gaur (7th cent. A.D.), with the object of investing the temple with a Saivite character.

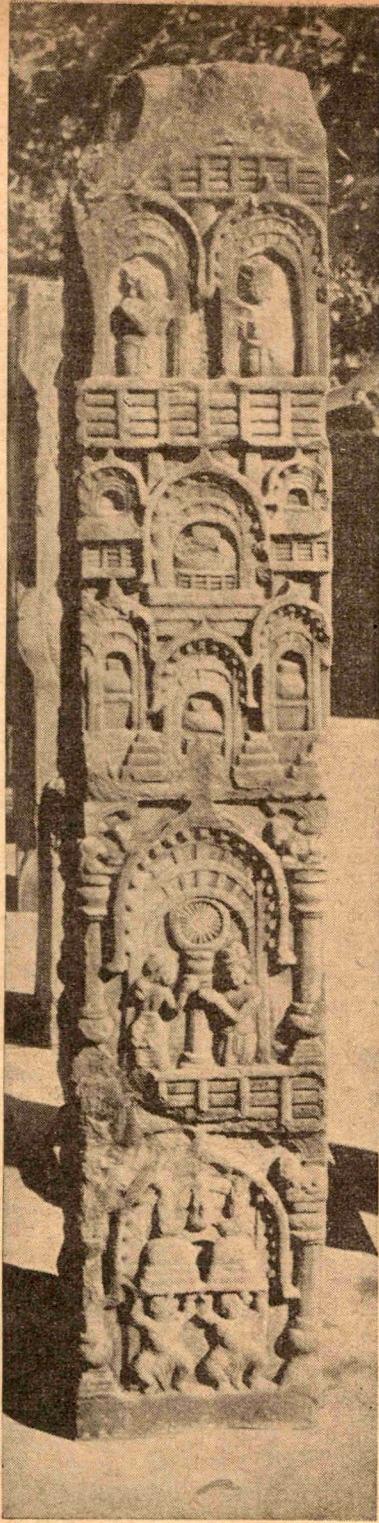
Tree and serpent worship in India is of high antiquity, being long anterior to Buddhism. Such worship has been a considerable ingredient of the popular Buddhist cult from the very inception of the latter. It is still extant in an active form in various



Railing on South inner face
Shows Jataka scenes, religious symbols, and animals. Carving
on coping (Sunga period)

ings in the railing. Actually, there were three such openings in the Bodh-Gaya railing—one each, on the south, the east, and the west sides. The pillars are carved on two, or even on three, consecutive faces. The intermediate posts occur in between the pillars, and are carved on two opposite faces, the outer and the inner. The horizontal crossbars are simply but tastefully decorated with carvings of lotus-shaped medallions in the middle, on both sides. The coping stones, however, are profusely carved on both sides. The outer faces have floral designs carved on them, while the inner faces are ornamented with long friezes of animals.

The railing which one now sees at Bodh-Gaya is supposed to be a replica, in shape and design, of the



Pillar on S.-W. corner, south face
Shows Chaityas. 2nd panel from top : Chaitya
with stupas. 3rd from top: Chaitya with a
'chakra' being worshipped by devotees. Bot-
tom: Dwarf yakshas with stupas on their
heads (Sunga period)



A post on S., inner face
Top: A sacred tree with railings; umbrellas
and garlands. Middle: A centaur (half man,
half horse (Sunga period)

parts of India. Trees were worshipped not for their own sake, but for the sake of the deities (*vriksha-devatas* or arboreal deities) whose abode they were supposed to be. In olden times they were known as *yakshas* (male) and *yakshis* (female). Their importance



A pillar on S., east face in sun
Top: Lakshmi standing on lotus. Middle:
A mithuna. Note the mortice-holes in the
pillars, showing "wooden" construction
(Sunga period)

and their characteristics varied a great deal, but all were supposed to have the power to control and direct the forces of Nature on which depended fertility, and

therefore prosperity and riches. Hence, it is that in epic and classical Sanskrit *yakshas* are the guardians of treasure. The dwarf *yakshas* are usually represented as supporting heavy loads. The bottom panel of the pillar on S. W. corner shows two gnomes or dwarf *yakshas* each supporting a stupa on his head. The *yakshis* are dryads or wood-nymphs. The almost headless and armless figure of a female climbing a tree (railing on S. eastern end) is that of a *yakshi*. On her person she bears the classical *mehkala* (hip-girdle) as also the classical *nishka* (breast-ornament), and is supported by a dwarf *yaksha*. This type of *yakshi* is known in Indian art as the *salabhanjika* (literally, a statue made of sal wood)—a tutelary deity of human fecundity. Many are the old Hindu temples which she adorns with her supple grace. The idea is derived from the ancient Indian festival of gathering flowers of the sal tree, which is essentially a fertility-rite. The connected literary motif that the Asoka tree does not bloom until kicked by a fair young damsel is familiar to readers of classical Sanskrit drama. Hence, Sir Edwin Arnold's:

"As pale Asoka buds
Wait for a woman's foot!"

A not inconsiderable portion of the sculpture has no religious significance, being entirely secular in character, and even includes scenes of such unspiritual activities as drinking, gambling and love-making.

Speaking of the sculpture of Bodh-Gaya and Bharut James Fergusson says :

"It is thoroughly original, almost without a trace of foreign influence, but quite capable of expressing its ideas, and of telling its story with a distinctness that never was surpassed—at least in India. Some animals, such as elephants, deer and monkeys, are better represented there than in any sculpture known in any part of the world; so, too, are some trees, and the architectural details are cut with an elegance and precision which are very admirable. The human figures, too, though very different from our standard of beauty and grace, are truthful to nature, and, where grouped together, combine to express the action intended with singular felicity. For an honest, purpose-like per-Reaphaelite kind of art, there is probably nothing much better to be found anywhere."



KANGRA : THE VALLEY OF THE GODS

BY PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

I

KANGRA with a population of about 10 lakhs is the largest district of the Punjab. Its 9,978 square miles are rather sparsely populated. Culturally and geographically, it has not much in common with the Punjab plains. It has been rightly pointed out that "it is not only the natural features of the country, but also the character of the people, their manners and their customs, which take one back to primitive conditions, and which make Kangra partake more of the characteristics of Hindustan than of the rest of the Punjab in which the District is for the purposes of administration included. As soon as one enters the valley, one is in an old world with its own problems with a beautiful scenery, with its old stone temples, slate-covered houses, running hill-torrents, snow-peaked hills one side, and a valley full of fertile lands below."—*Punjab District Gazetteers*, Vol, VII, Part—Kangra District, Introductory, pp. 7-8.

Kangra, in fact, seems to be a world by itself. It has nothing in common with the rest of the Punjab. Kangra's problems are peculiarly her own. Nature has showered her bounties upon Kangra.



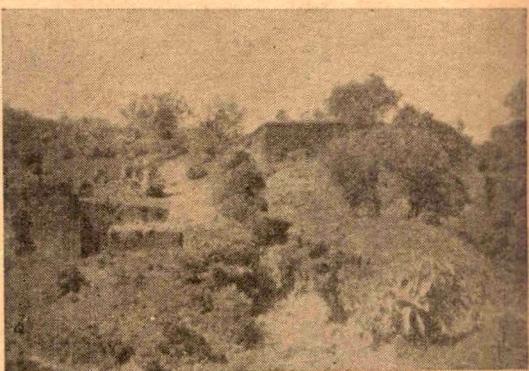
Dhavaladhar



Kangra Valley

Kangra Valley is only a part of the district of the same name. It is 30 miles long and 10 miles broad. The Valley lies at the foot of the Dhavaladhar Range of the Himalayas and is the only fertile region in the whole Kangra district. It is divided into five *tehsils* or revenue Sub-divisions. They are: Kangra, Nurpur, Palampur, Hamirpur and Dera.

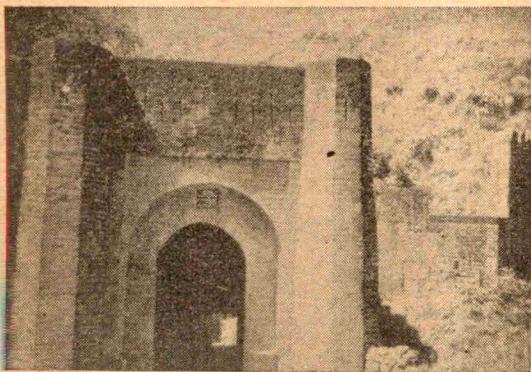
Hindu cultural influence and tradition are dominant everywhere in Kangra. As pointed out above, Kangra has little or no affinity with the Punjab plains. The geographical position, natural scenery and manners and customs of the people of the two are quite different. Consideration of administrative convenience and that alone is the only *raison d'être* of their amalgamation. If ethnic, linguistic and cultural affinities and common hopes, aspirations are any consideration for the amalgamation of adjoining regions, Kangra should have been included in the newly created State of Himachal.



General view of the ruins, Kangra Fort

Kangra's percentage of literacy is among the lowest in India. Economically Kangra is among the most undeveloped areas of the country. But if the honesty of the people, the mellowness of their temper

and their willingness to help others are any criteria of culture, Kangra does not culturally lag behind the rest of India. It is, on the contrary, well ahead of not a few regions.



Main Gate, Kangra Fort

Pre-historic Kangra Valley formed a part of the kingdom of Trigarta or Jalandhar, which once included the hill tract between the Sutlej and the Chenab, and the Jalandhar Doab (between the Sutlej and the Beas) and Sirhind in the plains. Trigarta literally means the "Land of three rivers." These rivers may be the Sutlej, the Beas and the Ravi or the three tributaries of the Beas—the Vana Ganga (Baner or Bander), the Nugle and the Kurli—that flow through Kangra Valley. Trigarta in the post-6th century era was however much smaller than before and was synonymous for Kangra Valley. It was split into eleven petty principalities. These were: Nurpur, Guler, Datarpur, Siba, Jaswan, Kangra, Kotlehr, Mandi, Suket, Kulu and Chamba. They were subdued and forced to pay homage to the Mauryas, the Kushans, the Guptas and the kings of Kashmir one after another. But their internal affairs were never interfered with.

A narrow gauge railway line from Pathankot on the Northern Railway connects Kangra and part of Himachal with the plains. There are motor services besides.

Nurpur, about 15 miles from Pathankot, is the gateway to Kangra Valley. The ruins of the once famous fort of Nurpur seem to stand guard over the Valley beyond. The Pathania kings of Nurpur once became a power to reckon with in the Punjab hills. They annexed a portion of the Punjab plains as well. The kingdom of Nurpur was founded about 1,000 A.D. by one Jhetpal, who claimed to be a Tomar Rajput. The Tomars, who once ruled over Delhi, are said to have descended from the Pandavas of the Mahabharata fame. Jhetpal had his capital at Pathankot. Nurpur submitted to Emperor Akbar in the latter half of the 16th century. The capital was later on transferred to Dhameri by Raja Vasu or Vasdev. Jehangir,

who paid a visit to Kangra Valley in 1622, returned to Agra by way of Nurpur. Dhameri was renamed Nurpur in honour of the Emperor, whose real name was Nooruddin.

Jagat Singh, the greatest of the Pathanias, was on the throne from 1619 to 1646. He fought on many a field for the Mughals. He helped Prince Khurram when the latter revolted against his father. Nur Jahan however saved him from the Emperor's revenge. Jagat Singh revolted against Emperor Shah Jahan in 1641. He was, however, reduced to submission within a short time. He died in 1646. Jagat Singh was a favourite of Nur Jahan and addressed the Empress as *beti* (daughter). His name has been immortalised by poets and wandering minstrels. One of the well-known doggerels about him says: Raja Jagat, son of Vasdeva (*i.e.*, Vasudeva), was a great devotee (of God). His conquest extended beyond the Indus. He pitched his tents on the snow-capped peak and aimed firearms at the sky. He is therefore called Jagat (*i.e.*, the world).*

The Pathanias submitted to the Sikhs after the disintegration of the Mughal Empire. Ranjit Singh dethroned Bir Singh, the last of the Pathanias, and annexed his kingdom. Bir Singh, however, refused to



Darshani Darwaza, Kangra Fort

be reconciled to his lot and made a bold bid to recover his lost kingdom once in 1826 and again in 1845. He died in the attempt and breathed his last at the foot of the walls of Nurpur. Bir Singh's sacrifice is no less noble than that of the great Tipu Sultan of Mysore. It is a tragedy however that history does not remember all its martyrs.

Nurpur passed into the hands of the East India Company in 1846 after the first Sikh War. Bir Singh's son was granted a pension by the Company. The

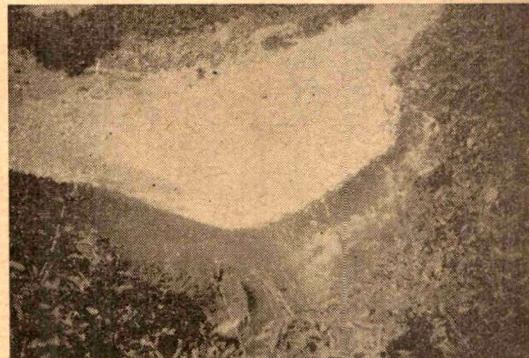
* "Jagta Raja, Bhagta Raja,
"Vasdev ka jay.
"Sindu mare, Sagar mare,
"Himachal dera pay.
"Akash ko arb kita,
"Tan Jagta kahay."

main branch of Pathanias still lives at Nurpur. The fort is a protected Monument under the supervision of the Archaeological Department to the Government of India.

A little above 30 miles from Nurpur lies the modern Kangra town, known locally as Tehsil Kangra. The old town called Town Kangra or Kot Kangra, lies about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles away. Tehsil Kangra is small rural town with a population of about 5,000. The district headquarters, Dharamshala, is 11 miles away from Tehsil Kangra. Dharamshala is famous for its scenic beauty, rainfall and slate industry.arring Cherapunji in Assam, it has the highest rainfall in India. The only college of Kangra district is situated at Dharamshala. It is a Government institution imparting instruction up to the degree standards of the Punjab University.

The ruins of the fort of Kangra occupy $3\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. The colossal ruins, the tragic grave of departed greatness, stand at one end of Kot Kangra, i.e., old Kangra. Narrow, stone-built paths full of ups and downs, shallow, open drains on the roadside and a

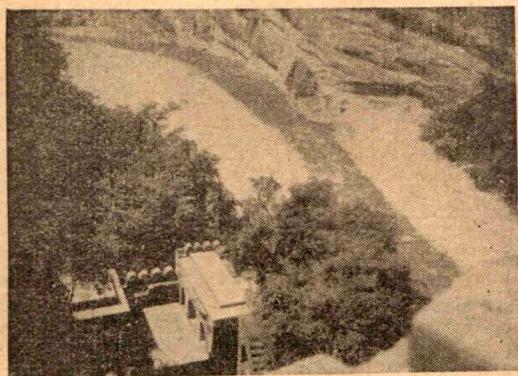
Muhammad Tughlak of Delhi conquered Kangra in the second quarter of the 14th century. He could not, however, keep it in his possession for a long time. Muhammad Tughlak's successor Firoz Tughlak reconquered Kangra. Again the Muslim rule was short-lived. Khawas Khan conquered Kangra during the



The mouth of the tunnel from the Palace to the Patal Ganga, Kangra Fort

reign of Sher Shah in 1540-41. The conqueror plundered the temple of Vajreshwari or Mata Devi, the family deity of the Katoch Kings. The stone image of the goddess was sent to Delhi where it was broken into pieces to be used as measures of weight by the butchers of the capital. The copper umbrella of the goddess was utilized to make water vessels for the use of Khawas Khan and his household.

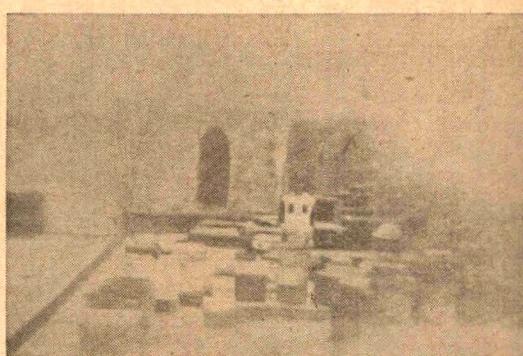
Kangra was the first among the hill States of the Punjab to submit to the Mughals. Jehangir deposed the ruling chief and annexed Kangra to his empire in 1620. Raja Ghamand Chand Katoch made futile attempts to recover the fort of Kangra in the late



Mahaton ki Darwaza, Kangra Fort

ew ancient temples are the only reminders of Kangra's antiquity. Everything else has been wiped out of existence by a terrible earthquake in 1905. About 200 refugee families from the West Punjab have been recently resettled here. It was the headquarters of Kangra district till 1905.

Kangra has been known as Susharmapur, Bhim Nagar, Bhimkot and Nagarkot in different ages. The present name gained currency from the Mughal period. The beginnings of and the earliest chapters of its history are lost in obscurity. A Kshatriya class with the surname of Katoch is found ruling in Kangra in the historical period. Bhum Chand (Bhumi Chand?), a Kshatriya of the lunar dynasty, is said to be the founder of Katoch royal line. Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni invaded Kangra in 1009 A.D. The garrison of the fort surrendered after a nominal resistance. The invader collected a huge booty from here. The Muslims were driven out of Kangra in 1043 A.D.



Lakshmi Narayan Temple, Kangra Fort

18th century. He, however, succeeded in retrieving much of the departed glories and fallen fortunes of his family. He founded a new capital at Sujanpur known today as Tira Sujanpur. Ghamand Chand's grandson Sansar Chand II, the greatest king of his line, ascended the throne in 1775. India had been passing through some of the darkest days in her

nnals at the time of Sansar Chand's accession at the age of ten. The once mighty Mughal Empire had fallen in all but name. Alien and indigenous soldiers of fortune had been fighting all over the country. Sansar Chand drove out the Mughals from Kangra fort 1783 and his Sikh ally Jay Singh Kahneya took possession of the fort. It came to Sansar Chand's hands only three years later when he surrendered all his conquests in the Punjab plains to Jay Singh in return for the fort and town of Kangra.



Gaddi man and wife

Sansar Chand reduced to submission the whole of the Kangra Valley. All the local chiefs promised to pay him tributes and to fight under his colours. A patron of fine arts, Sansar Chand appreciated talents and was tender-hearted. He dreamt of extending his sway over the Punjab plains. Desire makes man adventurous. Adventure invites dangers and disasters. Inordinate ambition brought Sansar Chand to grief. He invaded Hoshiarpur and Bazwara in the Punjab plains in 1803 and 1804. But the Sikhs of the Punjab had awakened to new life under Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The "Lion of the Punjab" had breathed new life into them and they were poised for action. The invader from the hills was pushed back on both occasions.

Ambition dies hard. Rebuff at the hands of Ranjit Singh only served to whet Sansar Chand's. He cast his eyes on the hills beyond Kangra Valley and grabbed a part of Kahlur (Bilaspur in Himachal) in 1805. This act of wanton aggression was the immediate cause of Sansar Chand's final discomfiture. The infuriated hill chiefs invited the Gurkha leader Amar Singh Thapa to invade Kangra. The sturdy Gurkhas of Nepal had long been dreaming of an empire from

Kashmir to Kathmandu. They had even invaded Kangra. Defeated, they had accepted the Katoch authority up to the Sutlej.

The hill chiefs promised to desert Sansar Chand as soon as the Gurkha army crossed the Sutlej. The Gurkhas invaded Kangra in 1806. The hill chiefs made a common cause with them. The Katoch army was defeated in the battle of Mohal Morian. Sansar Chand abandoned Tira Sujanpur and took shelter in the fort of Kangra. It was invested by the enemy. Four years passed away Kangra was still besieged. Sansar Chand appealed for help to Maharaja Ranjit Singh. The old rivals met in the tangle of Jwalamukhi, about 25 miles away from Kangra. The Katoch prince promised to hand over the fort of Kangra to the Sikh chief. The latter assured the former in return that no harm would be done to him. Sansar Chand is found plotting with the Gurkhas against Ranjit Singh even after this agreement. "All is fair in love and war!"

The Gurkhas beat a retreat on the approach of the Sikh army. The fort with the town of Kangra and 66 villages around was annexed to the growing kingdom of the Punjab. The newly annexed territory is known as Sandheta in Sikh records. Sansar Chand became a Vassal Prince under Ranjit Singh and lived at Tira Sujanpur as before. He ruled over almost the whole Kangra outside Sandheta. Kangra, annexed to the Sikh kingdom on the death of Sansar Chand in 1823 or 1824, passed into the hands of the East India Company in 1846 after the first Sikh War.

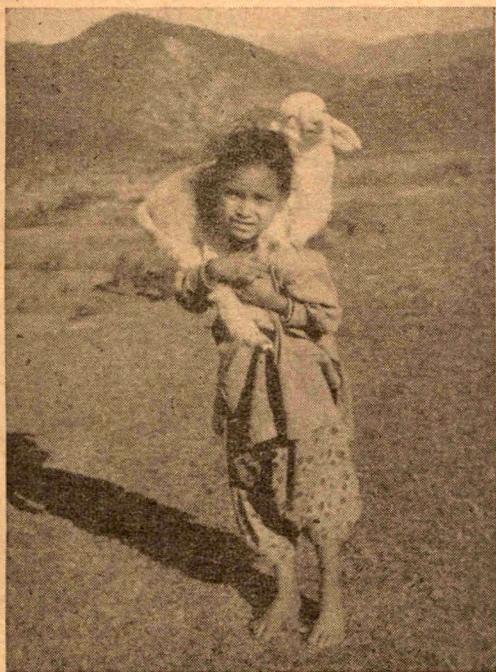


Gaddi women

Every visitor to Kangra Valley must pay a visit to the fort of Kangra, rather the ruins thereof. The earthquake of 1905 which destroyed Kot Kangra did not spare the fort. The ruins are under the supervision of the Archaeological Department to the Government of India. A small establishment of the Department near the ruins look after the protected Monuments of Kangra Valley.

The main gate lies at the northern end of the ruins. The gate, protected with thick wooden doors, was built by Maharaja Ranjit Singh. A second gate stands at the end of the yard immediately behind the first. The first is called *phatak* and the second *darwaza*.

is to be found in one of them. The inscription on the pedestal shows that the image belongs to the 15th century. The ruins of a gateway known as the Darshani Darwaza stand at the entrance of a yard by the side of the above group of temples. The visitor comes across another ruined gateway on the way from the Darshani Darwaza to the site of the palace. It is called Mahalon ki Darwaza. Not far off lies a paved yard. A few stone pillars without capitals stand on a side. The Katoch princes used to hold their court here. An elevation at one end of the yard was perhaps meant for the throne. There was a tunnel from the palace to the Patal Ganga which flows



A Gaddi child

A number of ruined gateways one after another lead into the heart of what was once regarded as an impregnable stronghold. They are called the Ahani Darwaza, the Amiri Darwaza, the Jehangiri Darwaza and the Andheri or Handeli Darwaza. Three huge mounds in the highest part of the ruins are all that remain of the Katoch palace.

Lower down stood the Laxminarayan temple. It was said to have been covered with gold plate. A few well-chiselled stone images and small fragments of stone pillars of fine workmanship are neatly arranged on one side of what was once the floor of the temple. Two small temples stand side by side not far from here. One of them was dedicated to goddess Ambika and the other, to Sitala. Two Jaina temples stand a little to the south of Ambika temple. They face west. A seated image of Adinath, the first Jaina Tirthankara,



A Gaddi bride's first journey to her husband's place

by the fort. Ladies of the harem used to come by this underground passage to the river for bath. A partially ruined mosque in the fort is said to have been built under orders of Emperor Jehangir.

Two tanks and five wells supplied drinking water to the fort. One of the tanks has dried up and is therefore called *Sukha Talao*. The other is known as *Karpur Sagar*.

The first builder of the fort of Kangra must have been a strategist of no mean order. Built on a ridge, at a height of 2494 ft. from the sea-level, fortified by a thick stone wall running around and surrounded by two swift-flowing hill streams, the fort of Kangra was admirably suitable for purposes of both offence and defence and struck terror in the stoutest heart.

II

Kangra is a land of temples par excellence and is rightly called the "Valley of the gods." Temples—big and small, well-known and otherwise—confront the visitor almost at every step.



Dhogris. They are among the untouchables of the Gaddi society

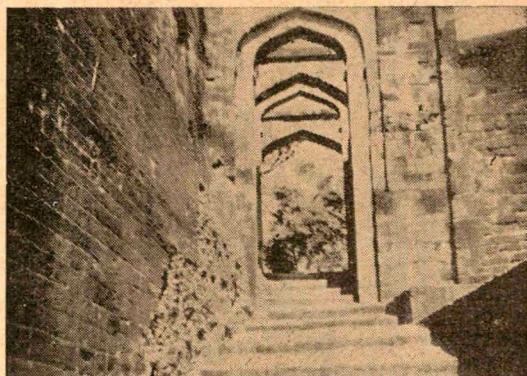
Jwalamukhi or the temple of Jwalamukhi is the most famous temple of Kangra Valley. To the local inhabitants it is, however, only second in importance to the Temple of Vajreshwari or Mata Devi at Bhawan midway between old and new Kangra.

The temple of Jwalamukhi is built in a natural niche of the Kalidhar ridge of the Shivalik hills. Standing at a height of 1,958 ft. from the sea-level, it faces the south. The roof and the domes of the temple were gold-plated by Maharaja Ranjit Singh and his son Kharak Singh, respectively. The silver doors of the temple are a present from the latter. Two gold-plated lions in the temple yard are the present of an unknown benefactor. The temple of Jwalamukhi does not seem to be very old. There is no image inside the temple. It is popularly believed that Bhagabati, i.e., the Supreme Mother of the universe, has manifested Herself at Jwalamukhi in a fiery form. Three flames in the crevices inside the temple are the objects of worship. None of the flames is very bright. None seems to be as hot as ordinary fire. The flames never go out. The one in a pit in the centre is the principal object of adoration. Scientists attribute these flames to some unknown natural gas. The temple of Jwalamukhi is believed to have been built upon some stratum of this gas. In all thirty-three

flames have been seen so far in the temple and its neighbourhood.

Tradition has it that Emperor Akbar sought to put out the flame in the centre of the temple by filling the pit with water. The attempt having failed, he covered the flame with an iron pan. The pan was burnt to ashes and the flame shot up higher and brighter than ever. The Emperor was convinced that it (the flame) was really a manifestation of the Divine Mother. He presented a golden umbrella to the Mother.

The priests of the temple of Jwalamukhi, who are also the proprietors, are known as Bhojaki Brahmins. The orthodox Brahmins say that the Bhojakis do not belong to the pure Brahminical stock. Inter-dining and inter-marriage with them are tabooed. Jwalamukhi attracts pilgrims from all parts of the country and is quite a lucrative property. The annual income is estimated to be well over a lakh of rupees. In the days of Kangra's independence, the income of the temple used to be pocketed by the Katoch chiefs. For many years during the Muslim rule in India, pilgrims to Jwalamukhi had to pay a tax of one anna each.

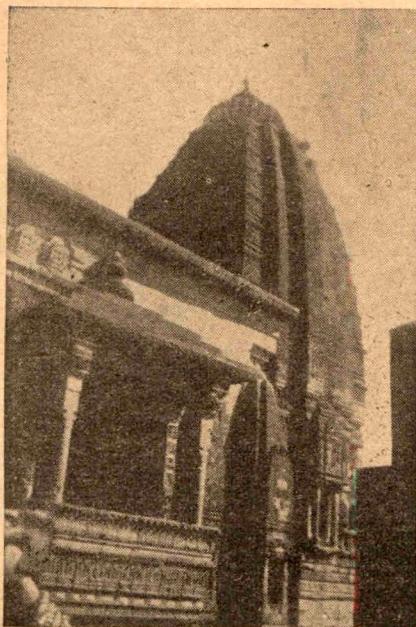


Jehangiri Darwaza, Kangra Fort

The temple of Mata Devi or Vajreshwari at Bhawan near Kangra, though little known outside, has a much greater local popularity than Jwalamukhi. Mata Devi or Vajreshwari was, as pointed out above, the family deity of the Katoch kings of Kangra. The old temple, built in the middle of the 15th century and repaired about 400 years later by the first Sikh Governor of Kangra, was razed to the ground by the great earthquake of 1905. Vajreshwari Devi is housed in a temple built after the earthquake. There is no image in the temple. A piece of black stone is worshipped as the goddess. The goddess and the temple are both the property of the Bhojaki priests.

The Vajreshwari temple may have been of Buddhist origin. Vajreshwari may be the Hinduisised form of the well-known Tantric goddess Vajra Tara.

Tantricism, by the way, is a later development of Buddhism. The Five Offerings (Pancha Vali)—the buffalo, the cock, the goat, the cocoanut and the pumpkin—are made to Vajreshwari on special occasions. Orthodox Hinduism regards the cock as unclean. Its sacrifice to Vajreshwari certainly points out to the non-Hindu, non-Aryan origin of the goddess herself. It is just possible that Vajreshwari had been first admitted to the Aryan fold by the Buddhists before her admission to the Hindu pantheon.

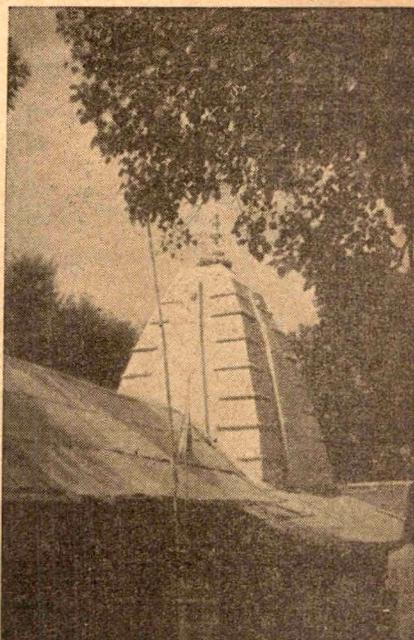


Shiva Temple, Vaijnath

Vaijnath on the Punjab-Himachal border is a much frequented place of pilgrimage in Kangra Valley. The famous Shiva temple here attracts pilgrims from far and near. Ornamental works and images of excellent workmanship decorate the walls of the temple. Two stone inscriptions in the temple say that it was built in the Saka era 1126 (1204 A.D.) in the days of Lakshman Chandra of Kiragrama, a vassal of King Jay Chandra of Trigarta. Kiragrama is the old name of Vaijnath. The temple was built by two merchant brothers, Ahuka and Manyuka by name. Cunningham and Fergusson believed that the temple of Vaijnath was repaired during the reign of King Sansar Chand II (1776—1823-24) of Kangra. Sir Aurel Stein, who visited the temple in 1892, does not, however, accept the view.

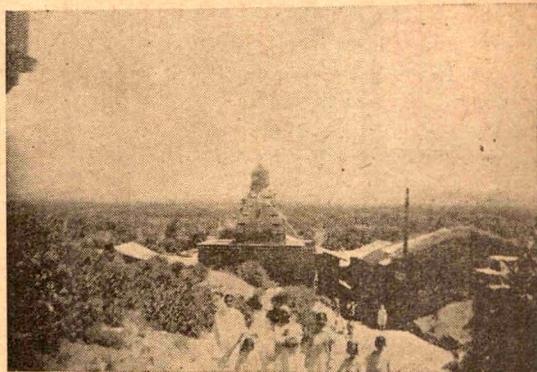
A Shiva Linga of black stone is the object of worship at Vaijnath. A fair on every Monday in the month of Shravana attracts crowds of pilgrims from the neighbourhood as also from places farther off. A dip in the Kshir Ganga or Binode Ganga (local name

Binua), which flows about 300 ft. below the temple, is an important part of the pilgrimage.



Chamunda Devi Temple

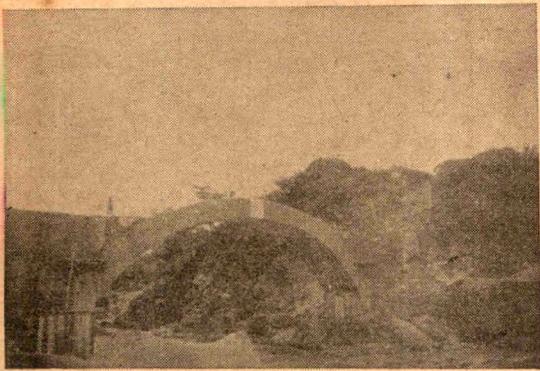
The temple of Vaijnath has rent-free properties worth Rs. 5,000 a year. The income from the offerings of the pilgrims runs to about Rs. 3,000 a year. Almost the whole of it is spent by the sevayet for his private purposes. Very little is left for the deity, whose servant the former claims to be. The temple of Vaijnath like that of Jwalamukhi and the fort of Kangra are protected under the Act for the preservation of Ancient Monuments.



Vajreshwari Temple, Kangra

Chamunda Devi about 3 miles from Malaun on Pathankot-Kulu road is another important place of pilgrimage of Kangra. The temple of goddess Chamunda at this place is not very old. Tradition has it

that in the day of one king Chandrabhan the temple of Chamunda was nearly 8 miles away from its present site. Human sacrifices used to be made to the goddess in those days.



District Board Bridge under construction on the Vana Ganga, Chamunda Devi

A stone image of the ten-handed goddess Chamunda in the temple inspires awe and terror rather than love and devotion. In one corner of the temple premises stands the temple of Nandikeshwara Shiva. As at Vajinath, a fair is held at Chamunda Devi on every Monday in the month of Shravana. The quiet of the temple and its surroundings are suitable for those with a spiritual and philosophical bent of mind. The Vana Ganga (Vaner or Vander) flows on two sides of the temple with a murmuring sound. The ceaseless murmur fills the temple and the temple precincts. On the other two sides lie meadows of wide expanse bordered by an undulating mountain range. All is green from the temple to the hill. The bewitching landscape with its all-pervading quiet barring the non-stop music of the Vana Ganga reminds one of the dreamland. Tagore must have some such place in view when he wrote: *E desh legechhe bhalo nayane* (This place has appealed to my eyes).

III

Tea and rice are the principal products of Kangra Valley. Tea is grown exclusively in Kangra and Palampur tehsils. Most of the tea-estates are, however, in Palampur. Tea and cinchona were introduced into Kangra by the English planters in the middle of the 19th century. Cinchona did not flourish in Kangra. Its cultivation was therefore discontinued before long. The tea industry, however, prospered. Kangra's soil and climate are both suitable to tea-cultivation.

Kangra's 2,580 tea-estates own 8,000 acres of land. The whole of it is not however under tea. Many of the estates are tiny and range from 1 to 4 acres in area. Kangra tea was once quite popular in the markets of Europe. But today, neither in popularity

nor in quality, does it come within miles of the Darjeeling, Nilgiri or even Assam tea. Kangra's tea industry was the monopoly of foreign capitalists till the Great War (1914-18). The position has since changed and the industry is today owned, managed and controlled exclusively by Indian capital. The average yield of the Kangra gardens is 250 lbs. of tea leaves per acre per year. The average yield of the gardens in Bengal and Assam, on the other hand, is 1,000 lbs. per acre per annum. Unscientific, outmoded methods of cultivation, inferiority of the soil and excessive rainfall are among the causes of this difference.

A Government Experimental Tea Estate at Palampur has succeeded in raising its output to 4,000 lbs. per annum per acre. Some of the local plantations have obtained encouraging results by following its methods. The quality is still very poor however.

An account of Kangra Valley is incomplete without at least a passing reference to the Gaddis, the most remarkable among the peoples of the Lower Himalayas from the historical and cultural points of view. The Gaddis build their homes as high as 7,000 ft. above the sea-level. Agriculture is almost impossible on higher altitudes.



Bath in the Vana Ganga at Chamunda Devi

Gaddi means a Shepherd, and Gadheran, the Gaddi homeland in Himachal, means the Land of the Sheep. The ancestors of the Gaddis once lived in the plains of the Punjab, mostly in and around Lahore. Persecution and the fear of forced conversion to Islam uprooted them from their homes in the days of Aurungzeb Alamgir in the 17th century. Not a few of us have a bitter, firsthand experience of the circumstances which drive people out of their homes. Historians wax eloquent over the Great Trek of the South African Boers (1836) and over the Long March of the Chinese Reds (1934). But who cares for the band of obscure Indians of the Punjab plains, who, in the 17th century left their earthly all for their honour, religion and culture? These migrants were a

heterogeneous group composed of Brahmins, Kshatriyas, Sudras and others. The Kshatriyas outnumbered the rest. Many swelled the ranks of the original migrants later on. The descendants of the former are the untouchables of the Gaddi society today. Inter-dining and inter-marriage with them are strictly forbidden.



On the way to Chamunda Devi

The Gaddis are an agricultural and pastoral people. The sheep and the goat constitute their principal wealth. Worship of the sheep on the full-moon day in the month of Ashadh is one of their most important religious festivals. With the approach of winter they temporarily migrate in large numbers from their homes in Chamba and Gadheran Valleys to warmer regions, such as, Mandi, Suket, Kangra and the like. They go back home in spring. A large number of Gaddis have, however, settled down permanently in Kangra Valley.

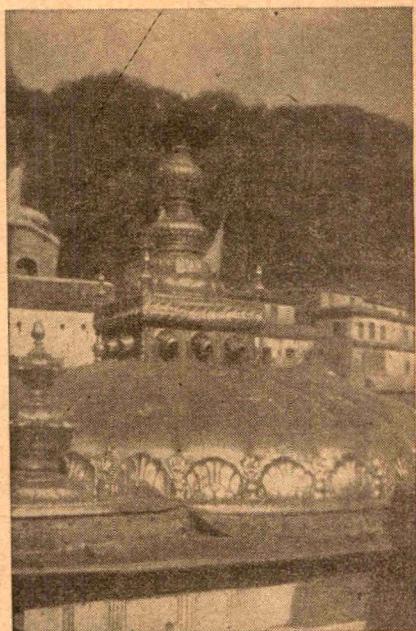


Temple yard, Jwalamukhi

The Gaddis are a sturdy and charmingly handsome folk. They are fairly well-to-do. Home-spun, home-woven woollen garments are their normal apparel. Cotton clothes are rarely used. The Gaddis have their own tailors. Men wear long trousers. A low skirt reaching the ankles, a blouse and a piece of cloth for the upper part of the body make up the woman's wear. Women's garments are tight-fitting

and in good taste. Men as well as women wear thick, black, woollen girdles. Women like their sisters all over the world have a weakness for ornaments. Shoes are not generally worn.

Caste system and untouchability prevail among the Gaddis, who are Hindus by religion. Re-marriage of widows, though permitted, is frowned upon by society. Nor is it widely practised. Marriages are almost always negotiated. Love-marriages are seldom heard of. Men generally marry at about 25, women at about 20. Extra-marital sexual relations are extremely rare. Adultery is punished by ex-communication. Those so punished are re-admitted into normal social life after pilgrimage and purificatory ceremonies. Village elders settle all minor disputes by arbitration. Priests are held in high esteem.



Jwalamukhi Temple

The Gaddis are a gay, truthful, open-hearted and religious-minded people. Seclusion of women is not practised. Nor is free mixing between men and women permitted. The Gaddi women are far-famed for their loyalty to wedded love. Drinking is one of the besetting vices of the Gaddis. They are an absolutely unlettered people and their percentage of literacy is hardly one.

Unlettered as they are, the Gaddis are a self-respecting people and look down upon service as a means of livelihood. They are quite intelligent too as would be evident from one of the Gaddi ditties. It says that if one husband dies, another may be sought for. But the lover's death makes life unbearable. Blanket, if torn, may be patched. But the rent sky cannot be sewn.

The Gaddis sing to the accompaniment of the *dhak* (a small drum). The present writer has had an opportunity of hearing the Gaddi music. Two lines of one of the songs he heard still linger in his memory:

"Bhadru mahine nehri rati han,
"Krishne han janam liya han."

i.e., Krishna was born in the dark night of the month of Bhadra.

How significant! When "pain and anguish wring the brow," when storm-clouds lower on all sides, when no silver lining is visible anywhere, when man loses all faith in himself, the Deliverer appears. He tells man that the good will prevail over the evil in the long run, that man is unconquerable and that obstacles, frustrations and set-backs notwithstanding, he is sure to reach the sanctuary of Immortality in the end.

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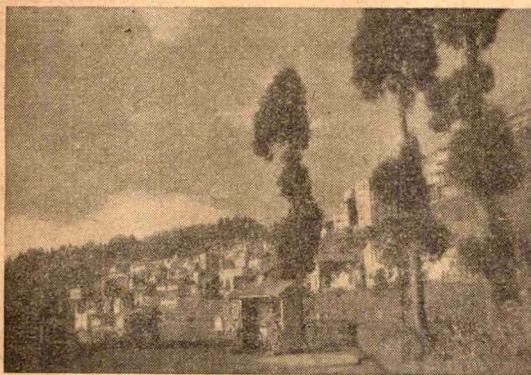
HEADMASTERS' SEMINAR IN THE LAND OF CLOUDS

BY NARAYAN C. CHANDA, M.A., B.T., W.B.E.S.

ON the morning of 13th May, 1955 I received an urgent telegram from the Director of Public Instruction, West Bengal, intimating that I was selected to attend Headmasters' Seminar at Darjeeling which was to continue for a month from 15th May, 1955 and that a first class reservation was available for me on 13th May, 1955. It was a pleasant surprise. The sun was pouring down molten rays relentlessly from the cloudless brazen sky; mercury in the barometer began to be whipped up in a steady progress day by day. The prospect of cool climate in the land of clouds appeared all the more covetable as an escape from the realm of fire to the dreamland of fog and moonlit mystery.

got one reservation on 17th. The train steamed off from the Sealdah Station. The fans in the compartment whizzed to the utmost capacity but the air had become warm and uncomfortable, the more so as the train approached the border of Bihar.

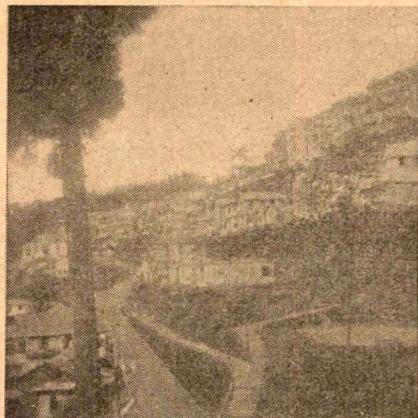
The pleasure of the journey from Siliguri to Darjeeling compensated for all the trouble and discomfort in the plains. The upward journey along the sides of the hills, through loops and zigzags, was thrilling and romantic. Relieved of intolerable heat, the body rejoiced and the eyes feasted on the lush green woods and charming foliages. The sombre majesty of the hills seated in deep meditation, as it were, brings the message



A view of the town from L. J. Sanatorium
Photo by Shri Nirmal Roy

THE JOURNEY

I hastily arranged things at office and at home and started on the morning of 14th May, 1955. The pitch on the Calcutta road was bubbling in sweltering heat; the barometer recorded 108. I contacted the Air India office for a passage to Bagdogra but was told that all seats up to 20th May had already been booked. I rang up Eastern Railway office and was at once informed that no reservation could be available up to 22nd May. I was in a fix. The Railway office, however, at last assured that one berth could possibly be allotted on the Assam Link on 17th May, 1955. The West Bengal Cabinet had already moved to Darjeeling; the rush for the cooler region was tremendous. Luckily, I



On the lap of the hills: a view of Darjeeling from L. J. Sanatorium
Photo by the writer

of quiet and peace in the worry-stricken mind. The language of the mountains is speechless but direct and effective. The hills are the symbol of patience, truth, beauty and unfathomable mystery.

THE SEMINAR: COMPOSITION

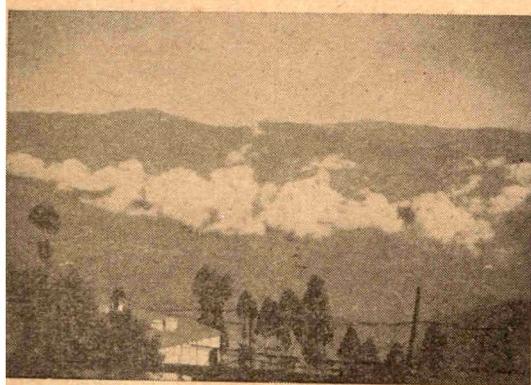
Under the auspices of the Ministry of Education, Government of India, the Headmasters' Seminar for the Eastern Zone comprising Assam, Manipur, Tripura and West Bengal was arranged at the Lewis Jubilee Sanatorium, Darjeeling. Sri A. K. Chanda, M.A. (Oxon), I.E.S. (Retired), was appointed Director of

he Seminar. The different regions were represented by education officers as stated below:

Assam : Headmasters	6
Inspectress of Schools	1
Manipur : Headmasters	2
Deputy Inspector of Schools	1
Tripura : Headmasters	3
West Bengal : Headmasters of Government High Schools	5
Headmasters of non-Government Schools	26
(including 5 Headmistresses).	
Inspecting Officers	3
Lecturer, Training College	1
Total	48

INAUGURAL ADDRESS

Prof. Humayun Kabir, Education Secretary to the Government of India, opened the Seminar on 15th May,



Clouds playfully approach from below

Photo by Shri Nirmal Roy

55 in charming surroundings. In an inspiring speech he dwelt on the needs of reorganisation of Secondary Education in the country and the socio-economic conditions under which the teachers have to work at present. Prof. Kabir suggested in bold outlines the measures to be adopted for remedy to the long-standing evils in the system of education in the land. A man of wide erudition and high ideals he has the gifts of head, heart and tongue combined in an abundant measure. He rightly diagnosed the malady when he said, "The efficacy of a system of education ultimately rests on the quality of teachers. It is, therefore, essential to attract the right type of men into the profession, give them the necessary training and create conditions in which their enthusiasm for the work is maintained throughout their professional life." The teacher is the pivot on which the edifice of education hinges. Contented, able and earnest teachers can change the face of the society in course of a generation. They are the real makers of a nation, but they must know the art and devote themselves to the high task.

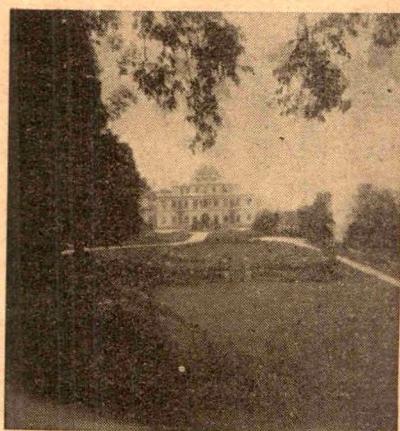
Dr. B. C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal, was pleased to visit the Seminar and meet the members in an open-air assembly. He spoke about reorganisation of Secondary Education in the State in the context of

the present conditions, status of teachers, financial assistance to schools and other matters relating to education in general.

AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE SEMINAR AND THE BACKGROUND

"Upon the education of the people the future of the people depends" is a trite saying of Lord Disraeli which has become a favourite motto with the enlightened people in the world. A Chinese proverb which beautifully portrays the place of education in human society says :

- If you are planning for one year plant seeds;
- If you are planning for ten years plant trees;
- If you are planning for hundred years plant men.



Shining pearl at dusk: Raj Bhavan, Darjeeling

Photo by the writer

"It is the human being that counts and it counts much more as a child than as an adult," says, Shri Nehru, the Master Architect of our Nation. Upon the teachers devolves the main responsibility of shaping and guiding the future generation through their present activities and efforts. The teacher has therefore an important and dignified role in the make-up of the society; as a maker of men his place is the most prominent, no matter how mighty and lustrous other men might be in other spheres of life.

The Secondary Education Commission under the chairmanship of Dr. A. Lakshmanswami Mudaliar submitted a detailed Report on the reorganisation of Secondary Education in India keeping in view the advance of science and the socio-economic background of the country.

With the financial assistance of the Ford Foundation an International Team of educationists was appointed by the Government of India to recommend measures for improving the quality of teachers and of the curricula in Secondary Schools. The Team travelled extensively in India and visited Denmark, a primarily agricultural

country, the U.S.A., a highly industrialised land and the U.K. which stands somewhere between the above two in spite of its industrialisation.

"It was felt," as says Prof. Kabir, "that a comparison of the methods and practices in these three countries would enable the Team to frame proposals relevant to the fast changing economy in India."

The Government of India very wisely decided to enlist the co-operation of the teachers by holding Seminars in different regions in the country and giving Headmasters opportunities of discussing the Report of the Secondary Education Commission and also the findings of the International Team in the light of their own experiences and local conditions and of drawing specific programmes of reform for their own schools.



Kurseong Forest School—a side view
Photo by the writer

THE SEMINAR AT WORK

The members of the Seminar met in earnest and set to work under the inspiring guidance of the Director. The day-long programme was strenuous but not boring. The morning sitting continued from 9 A.M. to 11 A.M. and the afternoon sitting from 2 P.M. to 4 P.M. on week days. After general discussions for the first 4 days the members divided themselves into 3 groups for detailed consideration of the recommendations and findings of the previous Committees in the light of their practical experience. The groups occasionally met in plenary session for discussion of important items of School curricula and School management. The discussions sometimes took the shape of intellectual fight in which the "fighters" brought to play their knowledge, experience, wisdom and foresight.

It was accepted that there should be an integrated elementary education (to be known as Basic Education) for 8 years from 6 to 14 years on free and compulsory basis; the Secondary School should consist of 6 classes from Class VI to Class XI with multi-lateral subjects in the last 3 years of the School period. Up to Class V there would be one single stream of pupils who will be examined and diverted to two different streams (e.g.,

Basic and Secondary) from Class VI, according to their merit and aptitude.

The question of language engaged the serious attention of the members. India is a multilingual country, and language is one of her vital problems. The Seminar accepted the view of the Secondary Education Commission that

"With two other languages (Hindi and English) besides the mother-tongue, the course in languages will be rather heavy. It is unavoidable in a country like ours which has a multiplicity of languages and we should be prepared to pay this price for the wealth of linguistic heritage."

The groups drew up and the Seminar approved after modifications, where necessary, the reports regarding status of teachers, organisation, method and contents and administration and control of Secondary Education. Besides, some individual members submitted projects on different aspects of school instruction and development of students' behaviour pattern which may be adopted without much initial expenditure. The Seminar probed the Educational Plan in a thorough and realistic way without detracting however from the high ideals of man-making education.

EDUCATIONAL FILM SHOW

As an exhibition of Audio-visual aid, arrangements were made for display of films on historical, geographical and scientific subjects on every evening during the continuance of the Seminar. The Film Librarian attached to the Education Directorate, West Bengal, went to Darjeeling with a projector and a number of films which were highly interesting and entertaining. The show became so popular, particularly with the school-going children, that the Seminar Hall would always be 'full' to capacity with the members of the seminar and others drawn to it by curiosity and pleasure. The Headmasters were convinced that teaching would be much effective and attractive if the school were provided with a 16 m.m. projector and educational films as in the U.S.A. and other advanced countries.

GRAMOPHONE RECORDS

Side by side with intellectual wrestling and technical jostling provisions were made for cultural entertainment. The Director took with him an excellent gramophone (HiFi) machine and a large number of choice records on Rabindra Sangit, Indian Classical music, English songs and orchestra, Shakespeare's plays, recitations from the works of Shakespeare and other English poets by noted English players. Music added to the zest of work during our sojourn.

TAPE RECORDER

A Tape Recorder is a quite handy and wonderful machine. It was used to record speeches, discourses, songs and recitations and to reproduce them whenever required. The recording was most faithful and natural. It caused a pleasant sensation to many. Songs by Shri Nirmal Kumar Roy and Srimati Radharani Chatterji and recitation by Miss Jogmaya Das when reproduced by the wonder-machine became objects of delight. With

the progress of science learning is going to be a joyous art. A Tape Recorder may be used in a school to teach correct reading and pronunciation. The same tape may be used over and over again for reproduction; it may also be used for fresh recording by wiping off the old impressions.

VISIT TO ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL AND ST. JOSEPH'S COLLEGE

In between work and amusement we visited St. Paul's Public School on Jalapahar and St. Joseph's College at North Point and had discussion with the chief member of the staff regarding management and instructional functions.

EXCURSIONS : BOGORA FOREST

Excursion formed an exciting and educative feature of this Seminar-cum-camp life in a Hill station. The first excursion was organised under the auspices of the Forest and Fisheries Departments, Government of West Bengal, with the kind assistance of Shri K. Sen, I.C.S., Secretary to the above Departments. A fleet of nine jeeps and a station wagon carrying the whole party proceeded along the narrow hill road at an altitude of over 7,500 ft. through the Reserved Forest. The road has numerous sharp bends, so much so that we had to cross one in every minute and it is the keen eye, agile hands and feet and strong nerve of the driver that could avert a headlong crash into a chasm. This clock-wise and anti-clock-wise whirling of the car in the upward move was too much for a lady who could not withstand giddiness and began to vomit.

Luckily for us, the weather was ideal. At places waterfalls were rushing down the hills with a continuous music on one side and on the other stood innumerable Cliptomaria trees vying with one another there to reach the blue dome overhead for a greater share of the golden sunshine. The deep green forests looked like silent and motionless waves of the ocean. Clusters of thin clouds were floating over the forest and playing hide and seek, sometimes entering the woods from one side and getting out from the other. Standing on the edge of the road at a sharp bend one could see that the sky had descended down the hills, as it were. It appeared that the spot where we stood was the only island in the limitless ocean of the blue firmament. The sight was bewitching. We were mad with joy.

We wanted to enter into the Reserved Forest and have a look inside. Mr. Rao, Divisional Forest Officer, who was accompanying us readily agreed and took us into the woods. Tall and handsome Cliptomaria trees planted in rows 6 ft. apart rose straight into the sky. The hill slope on which the trees stood was covered

with soft leaves which formed something like a cosy Dunlopillo cushion beneath our feet. We found ourselves in a wonder-land. There were no bushes or shrubs; there were only the straight pillar-like stems of the Cliptomarias as far as eye could go. Here also clouds were found meandering their courses and embracing the trees in a playful spirit.

We gathered from the Forest Officer that Cliptomaria (a kind of coniferous pine) was native to Japan and grew at an altitude of 4,000 to 8,000 ft. The tree matures in 90 years and yields very good wood. But in our soil the tree has begun to grow so quickly that its fibre has become soft unlike that of its



*Left to Right : Dr. J. G. Fowlkes, Shri R. Chatterji,
Shri E. J. Bellgard, and the writer*

Photo by Shri Nirmal Roy

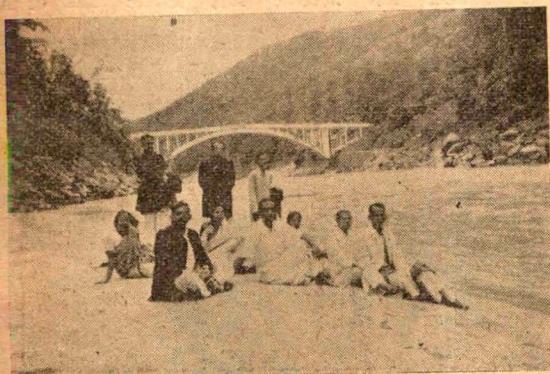
ancestors in Japan. According to Mr. Rao, the problem of the Conservator of Forests is to stop the quick growth of these trees, otherwise they could be used for no other purpose than pulp for paper. Wild bear and barking deer are occasionally found in these forests.

KURSEONG FOREST SCHOOL

The School is situated in beautiful environment surrounded by gardens with lovely flowers. The collection of specimen planks of various kinds of woods and the Natural History Museum there are a source of interest to the inquisitive mind. The Forest Officers were all attention to the guests and showed us round. The party was then treated to tea and the neat function in the School Hall ended with a fine speech by Shri K. Sen, I.C.S., Secretary, Forest and Fisheries Departments. On our way back via Kurseong we visited the Dow Hill Girls' School where the Principal took the party round the school rooms and dormitories. When we reached Darjeeling in the evening, moonlight and floating fogs had spread a spell of mystic charm over the town; sometimes the rows of electric lights gleamed as in a Diwali night and presently they would be obliterated by the rolling coulds. The town appeared like a fairyland.

MANIBHANJANG AND NEPAL BORDER

On 28-5-55 we started for Manibhanjang situated on the border of Nepal and the Rangit Valley. Eight jeeps were hired for the trip. The journey down from Ghoom to Sukhiapokri was difficult and thrilling. Fog was so dense that nothing could be visible beyond the length of a man's arm. Moreover, there are sharp bends and bridges over the road which passes along the side of the mountains with steep stone-wall on one side and deep gorges on the other. The Hill men driving the cars used their sixth sense, as it were; we passengers seemed to float blindfold through the clouds.



The Teesta rushes on under the bridge
Photo by Shri Subodh Roy

From Sukhiapokri one road leads to Simana Busti on the Nepal border and the other goes up to Manibhanjang through a Government Forest. The panoramic beauty is enthralling. On the left, on the mountain sides tall stately trees 100 to 200 ft. in height, mostly oaks and other varieties, stretched themselves in majestic grandeur. Thick fern covered the base; innumerable creepers wove round the trees and added to the thickness of the foliage. On the right along the slopes clouds floated over the tops of the trees sometimes vanishing in the green ocean and again coming out like masses of incense-smokes. There is a Youth Hostel (altitude 6,680 ft.) at Manibhanjang which stands just facing the Rangit Valley and the Mim Tea Estate.

We returned to Sukhiapokri and thence proceeded to Simana Busti which stands on the Nepal border. There are no definite demarcating lines except a few poles with white flaglike pieces of cloth fastened to them. Thick fog enveloped the place, nothing was visible beyond a distance of 5 ft. On the return journey we paid a visit to Ghoom Monastery where incense is being burnt day and night in front of a big bronze statue of Goutama Buddha about 10 ft. in height. Ghoom, as the name implies, is the land of slumber, almost always covered with fogs or saturated with drizzles.

TEESTA BRIDGE

With a fleet of eight Landrovers the party went up to Teesta Bridge some 22 miles from Darjeeling along

the famous Peshok Road which commands a grand long-range view of the hills and the forests. The Road slopes down rather sharply as it approaches the Teesta and reaches the Bridge by several steep loops. The Bridge known as Anderson Bridge, built in 1933, covers the river by a single span below which rushes the gushing stream frothing and whirling and splashing against the boulders strewn over the bed. Teesta appeared to be a flourishing business centre situated in a valley at an altitude of about 500 ft. It is moist and damp.

It was a market day and as we passed through the bazar we came across womenfolk dressed in colourful Tibetan garments and quacks advertising the efficacy of their medicinal *tuk-taks* through battery-operated microphones! They have improved upon their counterparts in the plains.

DISCUSSIONS WITH LEADERS OF THOUGHT

One of the chief gains of Seminar of this type is the ignition of intellect due to contact with leaders of thought in different spheres of activity. Dr. D. M. Sen, Education Secretary, Government of West Bengal addressed the Seminar and spoke in detail about the Secondary Education curriculum. He emphasised the fact that the aim of education was the development of the total human being and not a lop-sided growth of any individual qualities of the educand. Dr. P. Roy, Director of Public Instruction, West Bengal, met the members on 20th May, 1955 and gave an idea of the educational pattern envisaged in the Second Five-Year Plan. Shri S. K. Day, I.C.S., Development Commissioner, West Bengal, in an address before the Seminar dwelt in detail on the objectives of the Community Projects which according to him are an all-round progress and development of the people. Community Projects, said Shri Dey, should start from the village and grow from within and not be thrust upon the people by Government. Shri Bimal Chandra Sinha addressed the Seminar on 23rd May, 1955 and discussed the history of the present system of education in our country. He expressed the optimistic view that the future of the country lay in the hands of the educators of the future generation.

DR. JOHN GUY FOWLKES

Dr. Fowlkes, an eminent American educationist and Adviser to the Ministry of Education, Government of India, stayed at Darjeeling for about a week and took an active part in the discussion in the Seminar. His talks, his thorough and comprehensive replies to the volleys of questions on various aspects of education in India and the U.S.A. were illuminating. On the 9th evening Dr. Fowlkes delivered a lecture in the Sanatorium Hall on *Some Characteristics of Learning and Teaching*. The meeting was well attended by teachers of the local schools and colleges and others interested in education. The speech was as brilliant as could be expected of an educationist of Dr. Fowlkes' stature. Learning, as beautifully defined by Dr.

Fowlkes, is self-discovery through persistent efforts; a teacher's duty is to stimulate and direct pupils efforts for learning. The teacher should be an energetic student throughout life; he must have a sense of humour and realise how ridiculous he himself sometimes may be; he must be earnest and sympathetic; he must love children and must be soft and tender and at the same time firm and bold. A labourer works with his hand, an artisan with his hand and brain, an artist with his hand, brain and heart. A teacher is an artist par excellence. A gardener is delighted when his plants grow and bloom, a scientist is happy when his inventions work up to expectation but the teacher who is the greatest artist has the unique joy of dealing with the plastic, living and the most wonderful creation of God—the children, the hope and stay of the future. Dr. Fowlkes declared, amidst spontaneous applause, that "to act as a teacher is a blessing and a glorious privilege."

We felt ourselves stimulated and our job ennobled. Shri B. K. Neogi, Chief Inspector, Secondary Education, West Bengal, addressed the Seminar on the closing day and dwelt on the duties and responsibilities of the teachers who are the real makers of the nation and exhorted them to further the cause of education by devotion to duty, humility of mind and noble conduct in their walk of life.

* * * *

We met from different parts of the country—Assam, Manipur, Tripura and West Bengal districts. We felt oneness of purpose pervading our minds. It was a sort of educational pilgrimage where we took our dip in the confluence of heart and intellect and acquired new ideas, wider outlook, new energy for carrying on our work and new friends with intellectual affinity. After about a month's stay we bade adieu to Darjeeling, the charming land of clouds and flowers.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"First National Exhibition of Art"

Dear Sri "Kaundinya,"

I have gone through your article published in *The Modern Review* of July, 1955. The contents not only bear the thoughts of one who has spent considerable time in the pursuit of art but also are charged with that element of sincerity which provokes thoughts and demands respect.

There are some points about which I may not fully agree with you but there are some which cannot be lightly dismissed. Rather I should say that what has found place in your article vitally concerns the invasion manoeuvred by the unassimilated ultra-modern fashions into the cultural field generally, I mean, Graphic and Plastic Art. The followers carrying on this crusade have no other objective than to leave an impression of assertion without giving the least attention to the consequences. To me it appears that they feel quite happy in destroying the conventions which had contributed to the cause of culture of our concern.

I am not known to you. However I have discovered from your article that my works are not unfamiliar to you. Taking this advantage I am feeling inclined to know your views better by direct contact. As such it is but natural that there should be a desire from my side to meet you and discuss on such points as would help our mutual interest, particularly that of the Lalit Kala Akademi. I do not know how and when this would be possible. Perhaps you might be helpful in this respect.

With kindest regards,

Yours sincerely,

DEVI PROSAD ROY CHOWDHURY

To the Editor, *Modern Review*
Sir,

I have read with great pleasure the very frank and outspoken letter of Sri Devi Prosad Roy Chowdhury, President of Lalita Kala Akademi. My review of the National Art Exhibition has roused his conscience and he has felt that all is not well with the Delhi Akademi which he is destined (by reason of his great talent and long experience and practice of the Arts) to develop on proper lines so that our art of today may be worthy of our art of yesterday. As the worthy disciple of Acharya Abanindranath Tagore Sri Roy Chowdhury is charged with the sacred duty of guiding the destiny of Modern Art on the lines shown by Tagore, the Father of Modern Art, not by "reviving" ancient and outworn traditions or repeating mechanically the conventions of the Buddhist schools, the Moghul or the Rajput schools, but by pushing the basic tradition of Indian Art on new lines of development.

This has been very well demonstrated not only by Acharya Tagore, but by Sri D. P. Ray Chowdhury himself in his wonderful paintings which have magnificently upheld the claims of the old and of the new in the way the old has taken new forms without abandoning the essence and the spirit of the old. The poetry of Rabindranath Tagore has not abandoned the age-old Bengali language, but given it a brilliantly new form. The language of Indian Art should not be abandoned but given new forms as demonstrated in the paintings of Abanindranath, Dr. Nandalal Bose, and Sri Devi Prosad Roy Chowdhury.

To give the correct lead to our Modern, Sri Roy

Chowdhury, as President of the Delhi Akademi, must assert himself and be not misled by the dictations of incompetent persons from behind. It is an open secret that the Akademi is not functioning according to the guidance of Sri Roy Chowdhury, but according to the ciation of official wire-pullers and an incompetent Secretariat. We have before us a happy example of the Sangit Natak Akademi brilliantly guided by its distinguished President and sincerely served by a thoroughly competent and highly educated Secretary, Miss Nirmala Joshi. There is no hope for the Lalit Kala Akademi before its Secretariat and executive committee are thoroughly overhauled and replaced by competent experts. It may be useful to remember that Sri N. C. Mehta, Sri Mukundi Lal, Sri Arun Sen, and Prof. O. C. Ganguly, men of international reputation are still in the land of living and are highly qualified

by their brilliant services to Indian Art and their vast experience to help Sri Roy Chowdhury to run the Lalit Kala Akademi on proper and healthy lines. I have no personal knowledge of the inner working of this Akademi, but people who have personal knowledge have unanimously condemned it in unqualified terms. The Government has provided generous grants, but the money provided is not being used properly and conscientiously. One is entitled to expect Sri Roy Chowdhury to utilize the grant with meticulous care and responsibility, so that both the formulation of the policy and programmes and proper utilization of the funds now rest on Sri Roy Chowdhury if he asserts his rights to guide the Akademi independently. I wish him good luck in this great undertaking.

Yours faithfully,
KAUNDINYA

II

"Keshub Chandra Sen—An Artist"

THE article entitled "Keshub Chandra Sen—An Artist" by Sri Kajal Basu M.A., appearing in your February issue is not always very clear in its import and meaning. The main thesis has been very weakly worked out and there are confusions of thoughts at many places. We failed to understand all about Keshub Chandra's inspiration and Benedetto Croce's intuition being somehow identical. Even on an analogy of rare far-fetchedness, the author of the article could not convince his readers that there is any parallelism whatsoever between Keshub Chandra's religious inspiration and Croce's aesthetic intuition. Of course, both start with the letter 'i' and that is the only point of agreement that we could find. Again the author has unwillingly referred to Plato's notion of 'inspiration.' Plato condemned inspiration as something irrational and as such he started a crusade against all forms of fine arts (which are more or less inspired) and wanted them to be banished from his ideal Republic. Of course, a modern defence of Plato has been eked out by Collingwood and others and it has been contended that Plato only condemned the amusement arts to save a decaying nation from imminent ruin. So a comparison between the concepts of inspiration of Brahmananda Keshub Chandra Sen and Plato is not only misleading but betrays a staggering lack of understanding on the part of the author, of the fundamental concepts of these two great minds.

The author, as I have already pointed out, drew a futile analogy between Croce's 'intuition' and Keshub Chandra's 'inspiration.' Any student of Croce's aesthetics would be reluctant to accept the comparison to be

of any worth because Croce's intuition is below the logical level. Aesthetic activity is prior to logical activity and as such the notion of reality or unreality is not applicable to the level of art. These value-judgements, according to Croce, are devoid of all reference to reality. As for Sidgwick 'intuition' has a special meaning, so also for Croce and it can not be abstracted from 'expression' even in the thought-level. The two are identical. Such a concept of identity of intuition and expression is peculiar to Croce and it works only in his system as the Rasa-lila of Lord Krishna holds good only within the four walls of Brindavana. Croce's intuition has been placed below the logical level whereas inspiration of all saints and seers is taken to be supra-logical. Such supra-logical inspirations are out and out rational because the products of such inspiration are subsequently vindicated by reason. Anybody reading the passages quoted in the article from Croce and Keshub Chandra will fail to understand the points of agreement between the two worlds of ideas as represented by the passages. Certainly Croce's 'intuition' cannot be compared to a devotee's inspiration even on a very lenient estimate of the two. A rigorous survey would have given a rigid determination of the two ideas and that would have shown clearly that they could not be compared. We would like very much a clarification in your esteemed columns from the author on the issues raised and that will undoubtedly enable us to understand the significance and meaning of the comparison suggested.

DR. SUDHIR KUMAR NANDI, M.A., D.Phil.

THE HINDU COLLEGE

The First Phase

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

In the previous article* I gave the story of the foundation of the Hindu College. The school department was only opened at the time. During the first eight years or so, the College remained practically a school. Attempts were, however, made for starting the 'Academy' (the College section) from time to time. But this could not be realised till the Government allotted sufficient funds for the purpose in the late twenties.

The establishment of the Hindu College gave an impetus to fresh educational efforts in this part of the country. The School-Book Society was started in July 1817 to provide for suitable text-books, both English and Bengali. With a view to improve the indigenous system of instruction, the Calcutta School Society was formed in September 1818. They not only took steps to reform the existing *pathsalas*, but also started model schools, where English constituted a part of the curriculum. These latter served as a feeder to the Hindu College. Raja Rammohun Roy founded an English school almost simultaneously with the Hindu College where an improved system of instruction was followed. The movement set afoot by the Hindu College grew in volume as the years rolled on.

II

Work of the Hindu College in its school department commenced on 20th January 1817, with twenty scholars on its roll. The number increased to sixty-nine at the end of the session. The scholars belonged to two categories: (1) Free scholars were the nominees of the Governors and Managers according to rules. They numbered sixteen at the end of the year. (2) Others were paying scholars, the monthly fee being rupees five for each. Teaching in English and Persian started from the very beginning, teaching in Bengali and Byakaran on the 1st of March 1817. It appears that Pandit Gourmohan Vidyalankar and Pandit Ramjibon Nyayabhusan were appointed on this date to instruct the boys in Bengali and Sanskrit. Pandit Gourmohan subsequently joined the Calcutta School-Book Society as their *Pandit*, or literary assistant. He also served the School Society in another capacity.

The first annual general meeting of the subscribers to the Hindu College was held on 6th January 1818. The European Secretary, Frederick Irvine, read the annual report and the Native Secretary, Baidyanath Mukherjee, presented the accounts before the mem-

bers. Both of them referred to the progress of the College. Lines of improvement were also suggested in the European Secretary's report. We find in this report that all the sixty-nine scholars learnt English, twenty-six Persian and seventeen Byakaran. During the year many Indian gentlemen visited the institution and were pleased with the progress made by the scholars. Progress would have been greater, had the students been regular in their attendance. The Secretary, *inter alia*, asked the guardians of the scholars to see to it that their wards must not absent themselves without any pressing ground. The Managers sent a circular to the guardians and subscribers to this effect afterwards on January 13, 1818.

Much inconvenience was felt for want of proper text-books, and it was found necessary to write lessons for the boys. But this desideratum, says the report, would soon be met by the recently formed Calcutta School-Book Society. "By this means the Hindu College will be supplied with school books free of expense. Some have already been received from that Society." The Secretary further writes that 'the most respectable English gentlemen both here and at home are friends to the Hindu College and there are now great hopes that Government will assist it; its importance and progress will, it is hoped, be greater and greater every year.' The accounts showed that the funds of the College stood at a little over seventy-two thousand.

In obedience to the rules, election of Managers or Directors was held early in January 1818. Names of those elected were reported to the meeting of the Managing Committee on 28th January 1818. Besides those of the previous year, two new Directors were elected, namely, Radhakant Deb and Guruprasad Bose. Kasinath Mallik was added to the Committee in May. We find Gopeemohan Tagore deputised for the first time by his eldest son Suryakumar Tagore at the above meeting. It was then resolved to 'petition the Governor-General in Council to grant the aid of Government to the Institution.' During the session the College received a donation of Rs. 2,000 from Pandit Raghumanji Vidyabhusan. Of this sum only one hundred was to be given to the Calcutta School-Book Society. The College was removed to the house of Rupchand Ray in the Chitpore area in July 1818 on a monthly rental of Rs. 60 for one year. The owner was entitled to send two free scholars to the College. A portion of the College fund was advanced

* *The Modern Review* for July, 1955.

to a commercial firm as loan on handsome interest for two years from July 1818.

But it was soon found that the monthly expenditure of the College exceeded the income which accrued from pay of the scholars and interest of the fund. In September 1818, monthly expenditure was Rs. 950 and monthly income only Rs. 700. To meet the deficit the Committee proposed to dispense with the services of the Native Secretary on 10th September 1818. It was also resolved at the meeting to turn the institution into a free one from January 1819. Paying scholars could, however, be admitted on the approbation of one of the Managers. Two reasons can be adduced for this decision. One was the unpopularity of the 'pay' system. But the main reason was evidently to induce the opulent to subscribe to the Education Fund more liberally. At the next meeting, held on 24th November, the Managing Committee resolved that the services of the Secretaries would be gratuitous. Other retrenchments in the instructive establishment were also to be effected from that date. The Calcutta School Society intended to send some selected boys of their indigenous schools to the Hindu College for higher education. They would pay Rs. 5 per head per month. The Committee resolved that the number so sent should be 'equal or exceed twenty.'

III

The year 1819 saw the Hindu College as a full-fledged free institution. Its income was Rs. 100, being the pay of the twenty scholars sent by the Calcutta School Society as well as the interest from the College Fund. The establishment charges were considerably reduced, and in June 1819 these came down to Rs. 535. They varied between this amount and Rs. 550 for several years to come. It was perhaps from this month that the College was removed to the historic house of Feringhee Comul Bose in Chitpur. In May 1819, the Managers of the Hindoo College advanced the Company's papers amounting to sixty thousand *sicca* rupees to the house of Messrs. Joseph Barretto and Sons, the Treasurer of the Institution, at an increased interest thereon from 6 to 8 per cent for the term of six years . . .

On 16th April 1819, the Managing Committee entrusted the Head Teacher Mr. D'Aselme with preparing a plan for better administration of the College. He accordingly prepared a plan and got it circulated amongst the members. This was accepted with some amendments. The plan related to admission of scholars, hours of study, dispersal, holidays, etc. According to rule No. 1, 'no boy was to be admitted as a new scholar in the school after 14 years of age.' To keep constant vigilance specially on the study and progress of the scholars, the Committee asked H. D. Loring and David Hare, friends of Indian education, to act as 'Visitor' to the College, between May and June, 1819. David Hare had already been appointed

by the Calcutta School Society, Superintendent of the latter's scholars in the College. The Committee's letter (12th June 1819) to Hare deserves to be quoted:

"Your sound judgement in matters of education and friendly regard towards literary institutions induce us to request the favour of you to become a 'Visitor' to the College. We shall feel infinitely obliged by your inspecting it at your convenience and communicating such hints and observations as may occur to you for its improvement."

The Hindu College had soon to lose the services of its European Secretary Lt.-Col. Frederick Irvine. Irvine intimated the Managers on 18th June 1819 that he had received an order to join his battalion forthwith. Therefore he had no other alternative but to resign his situation in the College. The Managers accepted the resignation with regret. They, however, wrote to him acknowledging his useful services to the Institution.

We should now refer to some efforts in England by J. H. Harington who had already been there in early 1819. He acted as Agent to the Hindu College, the Calcutta School-Book Society and the Calcutta School Society. Harington prepared a paper on these institutions, got it printed, and circulated it amongst the intellectual and benevolent Britons. Harington had served the country in various capacities for previous thirty-eight years, and as a real friend of the people, assisted all the benevolent endeavours, particularly the educational institutions of his day. His views in support of the Hindu College carried considerable weight in England. The establishment of this institution had already been a known fact there. He now laid special emphasis on the usefulness of the institution and contacted the Rt. Hon'ble S. C. Villiers, brother of Lord Clarendon, who took special interest in Indian education. Harington suggested to him that a philosophical apparatus be presented to him; such as will enable a qualified professor to give, at an early period, a course of lectures upon Astronomy; and upon the several branches of Natural Philosophy. Harington further added that this was the most likely means of advancing the measure, without any great expense. Harington's efforts were reinforced with the arrival, in early 1820, of W. H. Grant, who had taken particular interest in the Hindu College while in Calcutta, and who had made some personal gifts to the institution at the time of his departure. We shall have to say more of their combined efforts in the subsequent section.

Since the departure of Irvine, the post of the European Secretary had remained vacant. It was filled by G. G. Money in May 1820. One month previously George Mollis was appointed assistant teacher on one hundred rupees per mensem. The Calcutta School Society sent to the College an additional number of ten boys selected from the indigenous schools from

July 1820 and to be paid for by it at the former rate. The number of Society's scholars in the Hindu College now stood at thirty.

IV

Harington's paper and his constant meetings with responsible and benevolent Britons excited particular interest in their minds with regard to the Hindu College and sister institutions. W. H. Grant joined Harington soon in these efforts. In a communication to the Governors and Managers of the Hindu College, dated 23rd July 1821, Harington, jointly with W. H. Grant and John Toyader, intimated that the British India Society was formed on 26th May 1821 in London "for the intellectual and moral improvement of the native inhabitants of British India and parts adjacent." A provisional committee was appointed. An address to the British public was circulated on its behalf, explaining the objects for which the Society was started. W. H. Grant was the Secretary of the Society. The object of the communication, they wrote, was

"To make you Governors and Managers of the H. C. acquainted with the formation of the British India Society; and to request you will transmit to it from time to time, besides your periodical reports, any information relative to your Institution, which may enable the Committee, now or hereafter, to aid your exertions in promoting the design above-mentioned, especially by the supply of books, or other articles, required from Europe."

"Any circumstantial details of facts, connected with local improvements in education, and with the desire of the Natives of India to obtain the means of advancement in useful knowledge and literature, will likewise be received with satisfaction in this country; and may eventually promote the success of every institution which has in view the same interesting and important object, as that of the British India Society."

During 1821 some changes were effected in the management of the College. Joykissen Singh, one of the foundation-members, died on 27th October 1820. His gap in the Committee was filled up by his younger brother Rajkissen Singh in July 1821. In the same month Ramcomul Sen was added to the management as Superintending Director. The object of appointing this additional Manager to the Committee is stated to be that he would 'frequently visit and superintend the duty of the school.' Ramcomul Sen, already a subscriber, was considered very competent for the purpose. New regulations were prepared and circulated amongst the members for the better management of the College.

Progress of the College was maintained as far as possible with its limited means during the year 1822. But it suffered some serious loss in the departure of one and death of another of its ardent friends. Sir Edward Hyde East left the country in

January 1822. Leaders of the Hindu and the Mahomedan community joined hands in giving him a farewell address. The students of the Hindu College, for which he did so much, presented him with an address on 18th January 1822. The address was read by Shibchandra Thakur, a prominent student of the College.

The College also suffered severely by the death of its Native Secretary, Baidyanath Mukherjee, on 10th November 1822. The efforts of Baidyanath at the foundation of the College will always be written in letters of gold. His place was taken up by his worthy son Lakshminarayan Mukherjee till death in 1839. Lakshminarayan was the father of Justice Anukul Chandra Mukherjee of the Calcutta High Court. In this session a sub-committee was formed to look into the administration of the College, of whom Radhakant Deb was appointed a member. It should be said in passing that Radhakant was taking keen interest in all matters relating to the institution since his election as Director in 1818.

V

Prospects of the Hindu College being a full-fledged Academy or College became bright in 1823. J. H. Harington returned to Calcutta early this year. He had persuaded the British India Society of London to make a gift of the philosophical apparatus, so necessary for science-institution, on certain conditions. The apparatus related to Mechanics, Chemistry, Astronomy, Optics, etc. It was already on the way. Managers of the Hindu College lost no time in requesting such a benefactor of the College to be its 'patron.' This they did in a letter dated 22nd February 1823. They also approached the Rev. W. Yates with the request of his being a 'visitor' to the College. Duties of the 'visitor' were stated to be: (1) to visit the College as often as possible; (2) to examine students occasionally; and (3) to recommend alterations and amendments on the regulations and management of the Institution. Yates gladly accepted the post of an honorary 'Visitor' to the College on 10th April 1823.

We find for the first time in the MSS. *Proceedings* a certificate given to its alumnus, Harimohan Dey. This was under the signatures of G. G. Money, European Secretary, J. J. D'Anselme and four Directors of the College, namely, Radhakant Deb, Radhamadhab Banerjea, Ramcomul Sen and Russomoy Dutt. Harimohan was a student of the College for a period of three years and a half, 'during which he conducted himself to the satisfaction of his teachers. He was assiduous and regular; and his improvement in the different branches of learning, viz., Geography, Astronomy, Natural History, Grammar and Arithmetic, has been comparatively great.'

Further development of the College required additional help and guidance. By the middle of 1823, the Government were inclined to help non-official agencies

instituted for the propagation of knowledge amongst the people. The managers and supporters of the Hindu College sent a petition to the Governor-General in Council on 19th June 1823 for pecuniary assistance. This petition is important for many reasons. While giving a short history of the College, it lays down that 'there never has been any system of instruction established in Calcutta that in the same length of time has been crowned with equal success in giving the Hindoo Natives a correct knowledge of the English language and accurate conception of some of the most useful branches of European sciences.' The number of students fluctuated between eighty and one hundred. "Some of those who have left it, have obtained high responsible situations, and brought great honour on the place of their education." As regards finance, the petition says that the Hindu College authorities invested sixty thousand rupees with Messrs. Barrnetto & Sons at the interest of 8 per cent per annum. The period would expire in 1825. They had an income of Rs. 150 per month as fee from the Calcutta School Society's thirty boys. The College instructed the boys in English, Persian and Sanskrit. But for want of adequate funds, the wider objects of the College could not be fulfilled. They were obliged to reject the applications of innumerable boys 'who, if educated, would hereafter prove most useful members of the Native population.' They, therefore, solicited aid from the Government funds. They further added:

"But we beg leave to say that independent of pecuniary assistance we are greatly in want of a suitable building for the Institution, and we cannot but think that if the College, for which we have now the honor to solicit the favourable consideration and assistance of the Governor-General in Council were removed to the vicinity of the Sanskrit College about to be formed under the immediate patronage of the Government that the two establishments by having the two extensive media of instruction, such as, philosophical apparatus, lectures, etc., etc., common to both, might greatly assist and benefit each other."

The petitioners requested the Governor-General in Council to be 'Patron' of the Institution. Meanwhile the letter of W. H. Grant, dated 8th January 1824, reached J. H. Harington. He wrote, amongst other things, that the philosophical apparatus 'should be placed at the disposal of the Hindu College, should the Committee of that Institution have the means of employing a competent lecturer.' A considerable number of books had been forwarded by the Secretary to the Calcutta School-Book Society. He also intimated that amongst them such books should be selected as might be 'useful as an accompaniment to the philosophical apparatus.' Grant's letter gave an additional importance to the above-mentioned petition.

The Governor-General in Council took a favourable view of the matter. Their decisions were communicated to the Managers in a letter dated 17th July 1823. The Governor-General in Council accepted the patronage of the Hindu College, and ordered to provide for a lecturer, and to build a suitable house for the Hindu College close to the Government Sanskrit College. The Sanskrit College was to be opened on 1st January 1824 in a rented house. Land had already been secured to the north of the College Square, Calcutta, where suitable permanent buildings were to be built. The Managers were further asked to communicate with Lt. Buxton, Assistant Superintendent of Public Buildings, with regard to the plan of a school-room near the intended Sanskrit College.

The philosophical apparatus reached Calcutta by July 1823. W. B. Bayley, Chief Secretary to the Government, informed the Managers of the College that the Governor-General in Council had authorized James Thomason of the Civil Service to have proper cases made for keeping the apparatus received from the British India Society for the use of the Hindu College, and also to incur any other trifling expenses that might be requisite for the care, etc., while it would remain under his custody.

VI

Meanwhile, the Governor-General in Council appointed the General Committee of Public Instruction on 31st July 1823, subject to the approval of the Court of Directors, to supervise and control the educational institutions and to disburse funds on their behalf. J. H. Harington was its first President and H. H. Wilson its junior member and Secretary. Both these gentlemen were well conversant with the needs and prospects of the Hindu College. Wilson had previously written to Harington (11th April 1823) in the following vein:

"The school decidedly merits support as it has done much in the dissemination of the English language in Calcutta."

The foundation-stone of the proposed building in the College Square was laid with great ceremony on 25th February 1824. It was decided to house both the Government Sanskrit College and the Hindu College in this building. But the building would require considerable time to finish. The Managing Committee of the Hindu College wrote to J. H. Harington, President of the General Committee on 30th January 1824, to appoint a teacher temporarily for science-instruction. They further prayed for a monthly sum to pay the rent of the hired house till their transfer to the new building. They also asked the General Committee to allow their Secretary and the Secretary to the Sanskrit College to lend their assistance, when both the institutions would be accommodated in the same building.

This solicitation on the part of the Managers led to considerable correspondence. The General Committee of Public Instruction, with concurrence of the Governor-General in Council, agreed to most of the proposals of the Managing Committee. H. H. Wilson intimated to them on behalf of the General Committee on 28th May 1824 that Mr. D. Ross was appointed Lecturer, Natural and Experimental Philosophy, by the Government, and he would begin lecture from 6th July 1824. The sum of Rs. 280 per month was granted 'to cover the rent of a house and lecture-room and expense of small establishments.' It is interesting to note that Rev. John Mack of the Serampore Baptist Mission was an applicant for the post. But the authorities preferred Ross to Mack. Pecuniary assistance by Government necessitates supervision by them or their deputy. On this point wrote Wilson (28th May 1824):

"With reference to the extent of the aid already given to the Funds of the Vidyalaya and other arrangements in contemplation for its improvement, such as the grant of a Library, Endowments of scholarships, and liberal provision for the most effective superintendence that can be obtained, the expense of which will probably be fully three times the amount now derived from the Funds of the College, Government conceive the proportional share of authority over that establishment should be vested in the General Committee of Public Instruction."

The managers took the hint. They prepared a detailed plan in which united management of the College was proposed, and communicated it to the General Committee on 1st July 1824. The General Committee were convinced of the Managers' sincere intentions and on their behalf Wilson wrote (6th August 1824) in part:

"In order to render this general supervision as practical as possible they propose to exercise it through the medium of such their members as they may from time to time appoint and on the present occasion they avail themselves of the services of the Junior Member and Secretary, Mr. Wilson, whom they request the Managers of the Native College, to regard as the organ and representative of the General Committee.

"It is expected that any recommendation proceeding from the General Committee relative to the conduct of the Institution as expressed through the Acting Visitor will meet with the concurrence of the Managers of the Vidyalaya, unless sufficient reasons can be submitted in writing for declining such concurrence."

The venue of the Hindu College was changed to 123, Chitpore Road in September 1824 at the monthly rental of Rs. 300. According to the previous arrangement, Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson became a member of the Hindu College Managing Committee. We find him designated as Vice-President and taking active part in the deliberations of the Committee for the

first time on 11th October 1824. The Hindu College had been a full-fledged free institution since January 1819. In 1824, paying scholars were being admitted. It was at the fag-end of this year that a controversy was started between the Hindu College Managing Committee and the Calcutta School Society over the dismissal of a Society's student for irregular attendance. This, however, was quickly set at rest, and David Hare, Superintendent of the Society's scholars, was taken on the Managing Committee.

VII

With Dr. H. H. Wilson in late 1824 and David Hare in the middle of 1825 on the Managing Committee, the Hindu College marched towards progress in spite of certain reverses and set-backs in the financial sphere. The first public examination of the Hindu College students, as far as it is on record, was held on 22nd January 1825. Besides J. H. Harrington and H. H. Wilson, many European and Indian friends of education attended the function. Meritorious students were given prizes. It was at this meeting that Kashikanta Ghosal, son of Kalikanta Ghosal of Bhukailash, donated twenty thousand rupees for the development of the College. The sum was placed in the hands of the General Committee.

Mr. D. Ross commenced his lectures on 6th July 1824. Senior students of the College attended them and gave proofs of their acquaintance with scientific subjects. In the two certificates awarded respectively on 8th March and 7th July 1825, this point was particularly noted. In the third it was specifically stated that 'he (Heramba Nath Thakoo) has acquired some knowledge of the rudiments of science; and that he attended the lectures on Experimental Philosophy delivered by Mr. Ross during the whole of the first period.'

By 1825, the Hindu College School, as it was sometimes called, was divided into ten classes, four upper and six lower. On the establishment were only four teachers who taught the upper classes. The lower six were placed in charge of monitors, students of the upper classes, who taught their younger brethren at certain intervals. Their studies were thereby not a little hampered. The Science-teacher was outside this establishment. The meeting of the Managing Committee, held on 6th June 1825, on which we find David Hare for the first time, discussed how the system of instruction could be improved, and thrashed out a detailed scheme. This would require some additional expenditure for which the Committee proposed to approach the General Committee. Improvement in instruction was specially mooted by Wilson in his report to the General Committee in January 1825. Wilson also took upon himself the task of carrying out reforms in the internal management of the College in his capacity as a 'Visitor.' Hours of study were increased from four to seven, regularity in attendance was enforced, and strict discipline introduced. The course of studies

was also widened within certain limits. He recommended for the appointment of a teacher of Mathematics, which subject was very much neglected in the College.

The Managing Committee resolved at the above meeting to appoint permanent monitors from amongst the proficient students of the College, because they thought it to be attended with many obvious advantages if it should be found possible to rear useful assistant teachers from amongst the natives themselves. By this new arrangement the College would be able to teach three hundred scholars, who belonged to three categories: Foundation (free) scholars, School Society's boys and paying students. These reforms effected a marked improvement in the education of the scholars, and Dr. Wilson, we find, report favourably on the subject in 1827.

There was also effected some radical change in the curriculum of studies in early 1826. At its meeting on 24th February 1826, the Managing Committee resolved:

"That the free boys and S. C. boys of the three first classes may learn Sanskrit instead of Persian if they wish."

"That the free boys and S. C. boys of all the classes below the 3rd as far as the 8th be obliged to study Bengali."

"That the attendance of the pay scholars on

either of the classes, Bengali, Persian or Sanskrit, be regulated by the wishes of their parents."

"That a Sanskrit class be formed of the following lads if they wish: Krishnamohun, Gangakant Patak, Badan Chandra Ghose, Nasiram Mitra."

"That the Bengali Grammar be substituted for the Mugdhabodha in the Bengali class."

Firances of the College stood at a very low ebb owing to the fall of Messrs. Joseph Barretto & Sons in early 1825, with whom the sum of sixty thousand rupees had been deposited. Some handsome donations had been made in favour of the College, to the amount of a lakh of rupees during this session, by Raja Bairyanath Ray, Kashikanta Ghosal and Raja Harinath Ray. But as these were endowment funds, placed in the hands of the Government, and earmarked for definite purposes, the Managing Committee of the College could not derive any benefit from this source to meet its day-to-day needs. The General Committee of Public Instruction came to its rescue, but with increasing supervision and control over its affairs. The Hindu College entered into a new career as it were when it occupied the new buildings along with the Government Sanskrit College on 1st May 1826.*

* Mainly based on the MSS. Proceedings of the H. C. Managing Committee.—J. C. B.

REFLECTIONS ON MODERN INDIAN PAINTING

By O. C. GANGOLY

To make even a short survey and summary appraisal of Modern Indian Painting it is necessary to indicate the chronological limits and the implications of the phrase Modern Art. It is when mediaeval art terminates and expires that modern art comes into existence by discarding all marks of mediaevalism, that is to say, by rejecting timeworn and traditional conventions of forms, by discarding old-world types and techniques which for centuries had dominated the ideals and methods of mediaeval art. The period of extension and continuity of the mediaeval manners has varied in different countries according to the peculiar circumstances and historical reasons governing each country. Thus in England, the mediaeval era was followed by the productions of the Victorian era more or less marked by modern tendencies and ideals. In India the mediaeval era and its older outlook and methods of art have continued to a much later time, almost touching the beginning of the 19th century. In Indian Painting the older era ended about the year 1830 with the death of Molaram, the last representative of the Kangra School (Gharwal Branch), which itself was the last phase of mediaeval era in pictorial art. By the

middle of the 19th century European ideas had begun to penetrate and influence Indian culture in its many phases. This contact with European ideas brought about a modern outlook in literature as well as in the visual arts. And the importation of large-size canvases painted in oil brought in a temptation to the Indian painters to try and imitate the realistic and naturalistic methods of European Painting and to discard the flat, shadowless, and disproportionate conventions of Indian methods of the mediaeval times which still lingered here and there in remote corners of India. The most successful imitator of the naturalistic manners of European technique was Raja Ravi Varma, who brought about a new era by illustrating the themes from the Indian epics by a vivid naturalism, correct and proportionate anatomy, and a new manner of treating lights and shadows borrowed from the paintings of the European studios. He never attempted to enrich Indian methods of painting by adapting or assimilating his elements from European manners of painting. He totally ignored the language of Indian pictorial art and totally adopted a foreign language with all its stylistic tricks and techniques. Bengal had also her European imitators

who came after the establishment of the Government School of Art in Calcutta, who took their lessons from the new School of Art in which the art of painting from living models, studies of actual costumes, and drawing live human types and natural contrasts of lights and shadows were taught. These Anglo-Bengali painters began to interpret the stories of Indian mythologies in the new realistic technique they learnt from their European teachers in the Government School of Art. Their productions, reproduced in crude colour lithographs, became famous as the pictures of the "Bow Bazar Art Studio" and decorated the rooms of prosperous Bengali Zemindars and merchants. The quality of these productions was somewhat equal to, but poor in colour values in comparison with, the work of Raja Ravi Varma. The superficially attractive pictures of Ravi Varma with their theatrical heroes and heroines in their artificial poses and gestures continued for a long time to govern the tastes of the Indian people in their popular and sentimental appeal. And his methods of realistic and incongruous representation of super-human types and supernatural episodes of our national epics were continued in Western India by the students of the Sir J. J. School of Art opened about the year 1865. The "School of Art" methods, following the paths of European naturalistic techniques, was typically illustrated in the later works of Visvanath Mahadev Dhurandhar, a talented Marathi artist who introduced many improvements in the illustrations of Indian mythological themes, particularly in the background sceneries and architectural framework, many details of which and of costumes and jewellery were borrowed from the wall-paintings of Ajanta. But in the meantime, people were getting tired of these realistic presentations of the ideal and romantic themes of Indian mythology and a new movement was ushered in by Dr. Abanindranath Tagore, a nephew of the Poet Rabindranath. Led by E. B. Havell, Abanindranath discovered the language of Indian art, the old pictorial native dialect of India. Having collected some masterpieces of Rajput and Moghul paintings, Abanindranath discovered the threads of the old idiom of Indian painting and he found that the old language was not dead, but was capable of being used as a living language of Indian painting to interpret the thoughts and ideas of modern times. His paintings were designed as an organised protest against foreign influences and as a passionate plea for artistic expression through indigenous forms, a plea for the use of the old vernacular Art of India as the medium of a truly National Art. He came as a rebel against the domination of the Western standards of art and as an able demonstrator and interpreter of the finest elements of indigenous Indian painting. As an artist, his reputation was built in a day when in 1914 his works were exhibited in Paris, where the famous critics and connoisseurs of Europe gathered to heap on the works of Tagore a unanimous verdict of warm and reverent tributes. It was not only a triumph of

Abanindranath but a triumph of the ideals and standards of Indian painting. Tagore soon brought up and trained a brilliant group of disciples and followers to help him develop the growth of this new movement of Indian painting with a new national and spiritual outlook absent in the works of Ravi Varma or Dhurandhar, and soon this new movement spread all over India and broke the back of European imitation in modern Indian painting. For the last few years some critics have attempted to discount the merits of the works of Tagore on the wrong charge that Tagore has been a 'revivalist' of old traditions ignoring the demands of the new age demanding new and fresh methods of expression and asking for representations of sights and happenings of daily life in which old mythology has no place. But it is a mistake to suppose that Tagore has been a revivalist or champion for a return to the past. He has gathered lessons not only from Indian, Japanese and Chinese masterpieces but in a free and eclectic spirit derived valuable lessons from the methods of European painting, and he introduced in his productions methods of European compositions of pictorial art and Western ways of space-compositions, perspective, and new uses of lights and shadows absent in Indian pictorial conventions. The modern protest against the illustrations of Old Indian mythologies is a fallacious and arbitrary protest. For if we realize that beyond the narrow circumference of about ten per cent of English-educated Indians the majority of the Indian populace has still passionately clung and adhered to their religious beliefs and are steadfast in their devotion to the legends of Radha and Krishna, Shiva and Parvati, which still continue to embody and stimulate the spiritual culture and religious beliefs of the ninety per cent of the Indian population. The spiritual needs of this major portion of the Indian people can only be met through the pictorial visualization of old mythological legends and the great systems of religious beliefs and doctrines. The second phase of modern Indian painting is represented by the works of another Bengali painter still living, Jamini Roy, who specialized in the exploitation and development of the language of the old Folk Art of Bengal. He studied carefully the surviving relics of Bengal *patu* paintings, the products of the Bengal *patuas*, the successors of the village painters of mediavel times, deriving his inspiration from the collection of old Bengali picture-scrolls made by the late Guru Saday Dutt. This new exponent of old Bengali folk art has succeeded in putting life and spirit into an obsolete language and to revive it in a newly rejuvenated form and a new power of expression which could appeal to the modern mind. But his stock-in-trade is very limited, being confined to a few types of Gopinis, Yashodas and cowherd boys copied and derived from the decorations of the old ritual and processional cars of Bengal folk religion.

An inherent defect and incapacity in this modern

endeavour to resusciate the forms and formulae of old folk painting is the sophisticated and artificial city-life of most of our modern practising artists who pretend to rejuvenate folk art by trying to recapture the elusive folk mind which most of our artists have left in their native villages many years back many miles behind. Indeed, it is one of the standing jokes of some of the artists in Calcutta that these new exponents of old Bengali folk art have been incessantly manufacturing "Folk Art" from their fertile factories in the heart and hubbub of the city of Calcutta.

The third phase of Modern Art in Bengal is the activities of a group of young artists in Calcutta, who grouped themselves under the label of the "Calcutta Group" and began to paint pictures in frankly European techniques, borrowing their methods and mannerisms from the Modernists of Paris and London repudiating not only the claims of native Indian pictorial traditions championed by Abanindranath, but also repudiating the cheap and literal naturalism of the academic painters of the Victorian Era. Their association did not survive long and they have now disbanded, each going on his own way without subscribing to any agreed doctrine of art. The late adherents of the Tagore movement are very few and are not worthy exponents of the principles of Indian Art discovered and demonstrated by Tagore.

We now come to the most active dynamic section of modern painting, the contemporary painters of Bombay and Delhi. The Bombay Group, though not knit together by the ties of an agreed creed of Art, consist of independent individuals all having their gaze fixed on the lessons to be derived from the post-Impressionists, Cubists and the Abstract Painters of Europe. They are united by a common and unqualified rejection of the native, indigenous language of Indian painting, which they believe are useless for interpreting modern ideas and modern thoughts cropping up from the dynamic life the modern Indians are living to-day. But, with a few exceptions, most of these contemporary Indian painters are not in direct touch with life, and rarely fraternize with the common people or even the cultured and educated groups of modern Indian society, so that they receive no social, intellectual or spiritual stimulation from the people around them and live a life in a "vacuum," shut up in their own studios, painfully copying the manners and mannerisms of the Modernists of Europe from reproductions in albums rather than from actual originals. Many of these contemporary painters pretend that they are utilizing and developing the best elements of Indian folk art. But the amusing joke is that except in a private collection in Calcutta, now locked up and

inaccessible to students, there is no collection of Indian folk painting in any museums in India, private or public. The early Guzerati paintings and the primitive Ragini masterpieces of Rajasthan could indeed provide valuable lessons to our contemporary experimentalists, but no example of Ragini "primitives" can be seen in any public museum in India, and of early Guzerati folk painting only a few stray copies are to be seen in one or two museums and are never studied by our living painters. Ever since Gauguin and Picasso began to call attention to the dynamic qualities of Primitive Art and of Negro Sculpture and Polynesian Art of the East, it has been the fashion with many of our imitators of European modernistic painters to talk glibly about the qualities of folk art and of the masterpieces of primitive art. But it is nothing but a hollow pretension; as our Modernists, excepting Jamini Roy, have never studied in originals the folk art of any culture-areas of India. There are greater opportunities to European artists to study the actual masterpieces of Negro and Polynesian Art in some of the European museums. But no such opportunity exists in any Indian museum to study at first-hand typical examples of the folk paintings of India. So that the claims of our contemporary artists that they are assimilating and developing the traditions of Indian folk art are, at best, naive and childish illusions. Any contemporary artist who attempts to free himself from the fetters of academic tradition in search for a spontaneous and sincere approach to the subject-matter of his studies must study at first-hand actual examples of folk painting, at one time current in various culture-areas of India. Their aim should be not to introduce another kind of "ism," but to get rid of certain modern brands of "isms," by recovering the spontaneity and the artlessness of folk art which academic artists of Europe have largely lost. But wise critics have pointed out that the artist of to-day can never capture or recover the original *nativete* of folk art and can never produce really "primitive" works of dynamic quality. Art is the expression of the artist's mentality, and is inseparably bound up with his whole life, surroundings and history. Civilized man cannot unlearn all that he has learnt, or rid himself of the centuries of science and technical knowledge which have become an inherent part of his nature. Imitating the mere "primitiveness" of primitive art or aping the forms of folk painting is like rejecting all modern comforts and modern spiritual and intellectual possessions, and going back to "caves" and to "skins." It is not only against all rules of logic, but utterly opposed to the brilliant lessons of human history.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

CATALOGUE OF THE GUPTA GOLD COINS
IN THE BAYANA HOARD : By Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt., Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, Patna University. Published by the Numismatic Society of India, Bombay, 1954. Foreword by Sawai Brajendra Singh, Maharaja of Bharatpur. Pp. clvii + 363. 48 plates. Price Rs. 60.

The accidental find of a hoard of Gupta gold coins by some villagers in the village of Nagla Chhela (seven miles south-east of Bayana in the former Bharatpur State of Rajasthan) in January, 1946, is, as the author of this scholarly work rightly observes, "the most sensational numismatic discovery so far made in the history of Indian archaeology." The hoard consists of 1821 coins (out of a total of nearly 2100 pieces) which were recovered from the vandalism of the villagers by the zealous efforts of H. H. the Maharaja of Bharatpur to whose enlightened generosity the publication of this work likewise is due. In this sumptuous volume the whole collection has been described by the author with such thoroughness and learning as to make it an indispensable book of reference for all students of the Gupta period of our history. The work consists of an Introduction (158 pages), the catalogue proper (314 pages), a short sketch of figures on the coins in illustration of the costumes, furniture and weapons (7 pages) and 8 Appendices (41 pages) including a Bibliography, a genealogical and chronological table of the Gupta Emperors, an Index of types and motifs, an Index of symbols and a general Index. Of the 48 plates enriching this work no less than 32 (illustrating 449 coins of the hoard) were prepared in England by the collotype process and the remaining 16 (illustrating the coin-legends, the costumes, furniture and weapons, and the symbols) were prepared from special drawings. The Introduction contains *inter alia* a general account of the history of the dynasty and a comprehensive as well as up-to-date study of Gupta numismatics (with a complete account of the different coin-types and their varieties as well as the metrology, palaeography and symbols of the coins). The catalogue is a well documented record of all the coins of this collection after their weight and size and the descriptions of their obverse and reverse. The selection of coins for the plates has been made carefully so as to illustrate fully the rare types as well as the coin-legends, the individual royal portraits, the peculiarities of dress, coiffure and so forth. The author's painstaking research has led to the discovery of some new Imperial Gupta coin-types and their varieties (including one type of Chandragupta II and five of Kumara-

gupta I) and some new poetical hemistiches on the coin-legends.

We propose to make a few remarks. In discussing the problem of Ramagupta (the alleged brother and predecessor of Chandragupta II according to the evidence of some surviving fragments of a lost Sanskrit drama) the author convincingly states the case against his historicity. Nevertheless the author ends by adjudging him to be such a historical figure as to deserve a place with an approximate reign-period (c. 370-75 A.D.) in his dynastic history of the Imperial Guptas. Among his arguments in support of the story of Chandragupta II's seizure of the throne after his brother's murder (to which reference is made in the fragments of the lost Sanskrit drama above-mentioned) there is one which is open to serious criticism. Marriage with an elder brother's widow, we are told (Introduction, pp. xxiv and xxvi), was permitted by Dharmashastra writers and was the current custom. Both these statements are unsupported by any reference and are in truth contrary to fact. Among minor slips we have noticed that the proper name Purugupta has been invariably transliterated with a short u attached to the letter p.

We cannot conclude without observing that this valuable work does as much credit to the author's scholarship as honour to his generous and enlightened princely patron.

U. N. GHOSHAL

BUDDHIST MEDITATION: By Miss G. Constant Lounsbury. With a foreword by Dr. W. Y. Evans-Wentz. Published by Luzac & Company Ltd., 46, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.I. Pp. 197. Price cloth-bound Rs. 6.

It is an excellent handbook on the Buddhist method of meditation current in the Southern School or Hinayana Buddhism. It contains in a nutshell the theory and practice of Buddhist meditation and is specially meant for Westerners. The authoress, who is the President of Les Amis Du Bouddhisme, Paris, is both a scholar and a follower of Buddhism. The first American edition of this interesting book appeared in 1936. Dr. Evans-Wentz, who is a celebrated authority on Buddhist mysticism, deals with the science of Buddhist meditation in a very valuable foreword and rightly remarks therein that meditation is the royal highway to man's understanding of himself—of the innumerable Karmic predilections resulting in mental impulses and actions both good and evil and of the whole of Sensuous being in the many worlds of the *Samsara* or Universe of Life's dominion.

The book under review is divided into two parts, the first part containing the theory of meditation and

the second part the practice of it. In the first part, general outline, essential ideas, concentration, character, classical subjects of meditation and other subjects of meditation suitable for occidental students and Janas are clearly dealt with. In the second part, practical instructions for posture, respiration, four divine states, four fundamentals of attentiveness and other pertinent matters are discussed. A bibliography of about twenty books on the subject and a glossary of Pali terms are appended. Buddhist postures and breathing exercises are very similar to those of Hindu Yoga found in the classical works of Patanjali and others. Southern Buddhism prescribes attentive observation of respiration called technically in Pali Anapana Sati. It is akin to preliminary practices of Hindu Pranayama and is considered of greatest importance in the practice of meditation. Most probably Buddhist and Hindu Yoga were parallelly developed.

A resume of the eight stages of Buddhist Yoga is also given. Any one can practise this method and experience its wonderful effect on mind and body. In the first stage of Anapana Sati, the inhaled and exhaled breaths are to be counted and in the second one has to be aware that breathing is taking place; but without paying particular attention to it. Thus one stage after another has to be gradually mastered till the mind becomes extremely one-pointed and trance is attained.

The chapter on meditation upon Self will appear strange to the Hindu readers. The Theravadi Buddhists do not believe in a Self or a God. Hence, their meditation is aimed at realizing that Self has no substance but is a constant flux like the stream of a river. Whatever their philosophical standpoint may be, profound meditation is sure to reveal the true nature of man and grant him lasting peace, that is not available anywhere in the phenomenal world.

The more such books are circulated in the Western hemisphere, the more peaceful will be their individual and collective life. Such a book is sure to serve as an antidote to the increasing war-craze of the Westerners and make room for peace in homes and society.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

THE YOGA OF SRI AUROBINDO (Part Seven) :
By Nolini Kanta Gupta. First Edition. March, 1955.
Published by the Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry.
Pages 192. D.C. 1/16. Rs. 2-8.

The writings included in this volume are based on talks given by the Mother to the young children of Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry. Yoga, according to Sri Aurobindo, enables the human being to attain to a consciousness higher than mind. From that standpoint these talks are simple and at the same time very elevating, awakening the spiritual consciousness in children. We recommend the book to the guardians and the teachers and also recommend that these talks may be repeated by them to the children under their care. The publishers should have named the book "The Yoga of Sri Aurobindo (for the spiritual education of children)."

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

THE TROJAN HORSE: Published by the Society of Defence of Freedom in Asia, 12, Chowinghee Square, Calcutta-1. Pp. 120. Price eight annas.

This is a study of the organisation, methods and objectives of the Communist parties. The book is divided into three parts and thirteen chapters giving

a description of the personnel and underground activities of the party and its new work throughout different countries of the world. At the present moment the party seems to have changed its tactics in India following the changed policy of Soviet Russia. It is still to be seen to what extent the "co-existence" principle is successful in modern diplomacy although it has allegiance of almost all Asian and African countries including Russia and Yugoslavia.

THE SOVIET PRISON HOUSE OF NATIONALITIES: Published from 12, Chowinghee Square, Calcutta-1. Pp. 226. Price Re. 1.

This is an exhaustive description of the Soviet experiments in solving the multinational, racial and language questions of U.S.S.R. The subjects discussed in the book are: Russian Revolution, Colonisation, Russification, Great Russian Chauvinism, Backgrounds—theoretical, historical and constitutional, and Oppressed Nations. Soviet treatment of minorities is described in detail in Central Asia, Trans-Caucasia, North Caucasia; Jews and Mongols and Muslim minorities are dealt with in an interesting manner. Eastern European States under the domination of Soviet Russia represent Russian Imperial expansion in the West. The expansion of the Soviet is a menace to the freedom of the world. It is the same as the expansion of European Imperialistic Colonisation in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world. In the hands of the Soviet, Imperialism has taken a new shape which all freedom-loving people should resist. The readers wishing to know about the minor working of the Russian administration will find this book informative.

A. B. DUTTA

CHANGE OF HEART: By Harold A. Ehrenspurger. Y. M. C. A. Publishing House, Calcutta. 1954. Pp. 153. Price Rs. 2.

This short, inconsequential novel is built around a callow youth from Bihar who comes down to Calcutta in search of a living. This he finds, but he is soon enmeshed in the tentacles of Communist conspirators and is almost on the point of being bowled over into the vortex of a vicious and putrid political system. At this juncture appears a friend, a Muslim, who is a follower of Vinoba Bhave (whom the author enthusiastically, but rather tactlessly calls "this new Gandhi"). This friend talks the bewildered youth from Bihar out of his halfbaked and fatuous dreams of a Communistic paradise and the boy ultimately accepts the ideology of Bhutan as the only panacea for India's various ills. There is also a slender romantic vein, but that has no bearing on the main story.

Even a casual glance through the book would show that Mr. Ehrenspurger's three years in India have stood him in good stead. His picture of life in Calcutta immediately before and after the first general election has an authentic ring, as also the well-known infiltration techniques of the Communist saboteurs, the anatomy of an Indian mob (pp. 10-11) or the scene at a busy railway station (p. 81).

But there is another, only more purposeful, side to all that Mr. Ehrenspurger has to tell us. He is anxious to praise Christianity as the only religion that is capable of delivering the goods. It was this anxiety and this mission that prompted Mr. Ehrenspurger to collect a Hindu, a Muslim, a Buddhist and a Christian for his principal characters. The inevi-

table moral is sought to be rubbed in rather crudely when the author makes the Muslim Bhudan worker to say: "I've felt for some time that Christianity was ideally the religion to give men the impetus for the (Bhudan) movement . . ." (p. 94). This zeal finds expression more conspicuously in what may be called "the Ram Singh incident" (pp. 47-52). Ram Singh is a big-time "caste carpenter" in the village, a craftsman of a rather superior order. Another carpenter—a Christian—comes to him to learn better methods for his trade but Ram Singh, not wishing to have any truck with a *sudra* (as Mr. Ehrenspurger puts it), works himself up into a rage and strikes the Christian carpenter with a plank, and a bleeding wound results. The poor, wronged carpenter does not retaliate, but gets hold of "a white man . . . a missionary Sahib" from another distant village to come over and give him "some ointment for the sore on the back where he had been struck by the plank" (p. 50). Ram Singh, however, is ultimately convinced of his mistake and "the final day of real triumph" comes when the erring Hindu asks all the Christian carpenters of his village (Are there many Christian carpenters in Indian villages?) to tea and donates some land for a school. The apotheosis is complete when, just before his death, Ram Singh makes a gift of his house for a church and gives us this parting message: "I like a religion that works because it believes in work. Keep it that way."

We have nothing against honest and straightforward proselytizing activities in this free and liberal country of ours, but Mr. Ehrenspurger is clearly on controversial ground when he speaks (p. 116) of what he thinks is "the usual kind of relationship so common between boys and girls of India that steals glances rather than gives them and carries an appearance of guilt that makes each look and gesture have a feeling of wrongness." There are also other pitfalls. The *tonga* which Mr. Ehrenspurger's hero rides at p. 110 is unknown in Calcutta of the 20th century; "Barnagora" at p. 112 is also a strange mistake for the suburban and well-known Barnagore.

RAMESH K. GHOSH

BENGALI

BANKIM RACHANABALI, Part II (Essays and other writings except novels): *Sahitya Samsad*, 32-A, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta-9. Price Rs. 12-8.

In the field of literary essays, no less than of novels, Bankim Chandra is at once a pioneer and a supreme artist. In his appreciation of poetry he evinces a rich sensitive soul; and in his dissertations on science, history, theology, philosophy and politics we get sure evidence of a highly intellectual mind. A wonderfully versatile genius he has not yet been surpassed by any other Bengali writer. In him, we find creative vision side by side with analytical faculty. His erudition too has hardly any parallel. Bepin Chandra Pal rightly said, "When we read the works of Bankim Chandra, we cannot conceive of a subject he did not know or of a writer—Indian or European—whose works he was not acquainted with." A combination of scholarship, intellect and imagination is, perhaps, best to be seen in his *Krishna Charitra* and to some extent *Dharma Tattva* and *Samya*. They illustrate a profound faith in *dharma*, tempered by scientific judgment and a sober attempt to synthesise the mundane and spiritual aspects of man. Easily responsive to all noble ideals and liberal enough to accept truth from

whatever corner of the earth it came, he was nevertheless keenly conscious of his country's culture and tradition and considered it his duty to uphold them in their full dignity and majesty.

The volume under review comprises all the works of Bankim Chandra except his novels. It is divided into five sections: the first includes his humorous and satirical works; the second, miscellaneous short essays; the third, rather comprehensive treatises on religion and philosophy; the fourth, introductions to others' works that he edited, along with his scattered writings hitherto unpublished in book-form and letters and school-text-books; and fifth, some sketches and verses, juvenile compositions and unfinished works. Handy, decent, nicely printed and bound it is sure to win the favour of the general reader, the more so on account of its comparatively moderate price. Of the two other editions available in the market, one is rather too costly for the average buyer and the other, though cheap, does not appear in such an attractive, durable form. It is time that we had various editions of our classics to suit the taste and the purse of every section of our reading public.

One particular attraction of this volume is certainly the carefully written introduction by its editor Sri Jogesh Chandra Bagal. As an honest, fastidious, hard-working historian, he is held in esteem by our scholars. By collecting all important informations even from hardly accessible sources and presenting them in a precise, compact form, he has fulfilled his task in a manner expected of him. Bankim Chandra's own references to his various works and contemporary opinions on them provide interesting study.

D. N. MOOKERJEA

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NEPALI

BHANUBHAKTAKO RAMAYANA: Annotated and Revised Second Edition : Edited by Surya Bikram Gewali. Published by Nepali Sahitya Sammelan, Darjeeling. Card-board bound. Pp. 360. Price Rs. 2.

It is a Nepali version of the great Sanskrit epic, the Ramayana, written in Nepali verse by Acharya Bhanubhakta. In the preface, Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Governor of West Bengal, writes, "Kavi Bhanubhakta Acharya's Ramayana in Nepali written about 1840 is regarded not only as the earliest, but, according to many, up to the present, the only high-class specimen of Nepali poetry. In addition, it is also valued as a scripture." At his request Sri S. B. Gewal, Headmaster of Government High School, Darjeeling, an old pupil of the Governor, carefully and diligently edited the present text from an old manuscript, noting down variations in different texts. In the Introduction, Sri K. M. Munshi, Governor of Uttar Pradesh, writes a brief sketch of the life and works of the author and shows skilfully the beauties and merits of the Nepali version of the Ramayana, written by the greatest poet of Nepal. The book is illustrated with fine pictures. The text is printed in clear large type. The book is sure to find a wide market among the Nepalis.

B. K. SEAL

HINDI

NEPAL KA PUNARJAGARAN: By Paripurnananda Panyuli. Garhwali Jan-Sahitya Parishad, Tehri. Pp. 154. Price Rs. 2.

It is a short history of Nepal up to the time of its recent reawakening after a sleep of centuries. The

geographical, cultural and political aspects of the country, all have been brought into the picture.

HAMARA RASHTRA-JEEVANA KI PARAM-PARA: By Umakant Keshav Apte. Bharat Prakashan, Nagpur. Pp. 149. Price Rs. 2.

This is a Hindi translation by Shri N. G. Waze of the author's original, in Marathi. It attempts to present a picture of Indian culture and polity from a point of view which savours, it would seem, more of the spirit of resurgence than of the spirit of re-orientation to the ever-expanding vision of Truth. For, does not culture imply an ever-enlarging, historical horizon?

G. M.

GUJARATI

NANDINI: Published by the Trustees of Govind Krishna Nidhi, Ahmedabad. 1950. Illustrated cover. Pp. 144. Unpriced.

Nandini, in whose memory, *Nandini Samsmarnika*, is published was the youngest daughter of Shriyut P. G. Shah, M.A., B.Sc., C.I.E., ex-Accountant-General, Bombay, and President of the Public Service Commission, Bombay, and died young (Samvat 1979-2006). Brought up in a cultured but orthodox family and married happily, she won the regard, by her services and co-operation, not only of her husband's family but of numerous other friends, who have all paid their meed of tribute and admiration to her dear departed soul. Prayers were offered after her death where well-known Swamis like Kedarnathji and other close friends prayed for rest to her soul in heaven. It is a touching record and contributes to a chastened mood.

K. M. J.

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ADVAITA ASHRAMA

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Educational Reform

A. S. writes in *Science and Culture*:

The Central Ministry of Education has sponsored a scheme of reform at the Secondary-cum-University stage of education throughout the country. Far-reaching in implications as it is, educationists and the general public, particularly in West Bengal where its impact is likely to be the heaviest, have naturally come to feel deep concern over the plan and the way it is being sought to be implemented. The changes visualised in it are almost sure to bring about a state of confusion in the entire field of higher education and, instead of effecting any appreciable improvement, are likely to create a series of difficult and complicated problems. It would appear rather strange that, despite well-grounded criticism of the proposal from different competent quarters, the authorities are apparently determined to push it through with what may legitimately be called unseemly haste.

The scheme proposes a three-year course of studies, after the completion of the Higher Secondary course, for the first Degree examination. Its main features are the abolition of the present Intermediate course, wherever it exists, and tagging its first-year class with Secondary schools and the second-year class with the Degree colleges. The new type of schools, thus to be formed, are to be known as higher secondary schools and students passing out of them will have to go in for a three-year course of studies in colleges before taking their first Degree examination. These structural changes are proposed to be introduced all over India in two or three years' time. During the transitional period, extending over five years or so arrangements will be made in certain selected upgraded secondary schools for opening higher secondary classes. These, together with the pre-university classes to be retained in colleges, will replace the existing first-year classes in the Intermediate course. Gradually, the pre-university classes in the colleges are to be taken over by the higher secondary schools. The Intermediate colleges and the Intermediate classes in the Degree colleges will thus altogether go out of existence and only the higher secondary schools and the Degree colleges will be left in the field to impart secondary and collegiate education respectively.

This plan of so-called reform is based on the recommendations of the Secondary Education Commission which submitted its report to the Government of India in August, 1953.

The memorandum prepared by the Central Education Ministry in this regard and circulated several months ago to different universities made some modifications of the original recommendations. The Inter-University Board as well as the Central Advisory Board of Education are reported to have endorsed the scheme. The conference of Vice-Chancellors, convened by the Central Ministry of Education at New Delhi in

January last, is also said to have approved of it with suggestions for some more changes in addition to those already made in the Central Education Ministry's memorandum. What is, however, curious in the whole affair is the hush-sush policy, the authorities have evidently been following in so vital a matter. The public have had no opportunity of knowing fully the scheme as originally set out in the Central Education Ministry's memorandum. What transpired at the Vice-Chancellor's conference was not also published in detail. The Senate, the Syndicate and the Academic Council of the University of Calcutta, too, were not taken into full confidence at least at the early stage of discussion of the proposal. Later on, of course the Vice-Chancellor called an informal meeting of the educationists of West Bengal to acquaint them with the official version of what had taken place at New Delhi. But that meeting was not open to the public or to the press. Representative organisations of teachers like the All-India Federation of Educational Associations and the West Bengal College and University Teachers' Association have never been consulted for opinion. Apart from the intrinsic merits of the scheme, the procedure followed so far cannot certainly be called democratic.

The main argument advanced by the sponsors of the plan in its favour is that it will give the much-needed practical bias to secondary education through diversification and bring about qualitative improvement both in the sphere of secondary and higher education. It has, moreover, been pointed out that in Great Britain there is no Intermediate course and its absence has prevented wastage of time without hampering the progress of higher education. There may be some substance in this contention but there are other weightier considerations which, on all showing, have been deliberately ignored by those who have fathered the scheme and are eager to foist it on the country. No sensible person denies the need for a thorough overhaul in the content and structure of education in independent India. It must, however, be done in a way that gives the least possible shock to and creates the minimum dislocation in the prevailing set-up and, at the same time, improves the standard of education at all stages. Nothing should be done in the name of reform that actually deforms the existing shape of things. And the primary condition for really progressive measures of reform is to make the beginning at the right point, for things well begun are things half done. The proper plan for educational reform in India should make the base rather than the apex of the structure of education the starting point. The Constitution, in one of its Directive Principles, envisages free and compulsory education for all children up to 14 years of age in course of ten years from its commencement. How that direction is being followed will be apparent from the fact that during half the prescribed period only about 5% of the total population of 36 crores were in primary schools at the beginning of the current year. The Government's intention in this regard is clear from the decision of a

recent conference of the State Directors of Public Instruction, convened by the Central Education Ministry, that primary education need not be made compulsory as the people have become sufficiently education-conscious to utilise all available opportunities for becoming literate. This is the picture of primary education. The state of higher education, quantitatively speaking, is even more disappointing. Only 0.3 per cent of the total population of India were holders of Degrees or Diplomas and 1.1 per cent had education up to the Intermediate standard, according to the 1951 census. The total number of students throughout the country under instruction in all types of recognised institutions were a little over 2.52 crores at the beginning of 1955. This being the condition of education in the country, after more than seven and a half years of independence, the Government should have concentrated its attention on speedy expansion of primary education instead of dabbling with higher education in a manner that is bound to cripple rather than strengthen and upgrade it.

The practical bias which the sponsors of the scheme propose to give to Secondary education through diversification is also a utopian idea in the existing situation in the country.

In the first place, the age at which students in secondary schools are proposed to make selections of diversified courses of studies is too immature for that purpose. The guardians, who are generally unfamiliar with the nature and prospect of the different courses of studies to be introduced, will practically be of no help in this matter. The present dearth of trained and experienced psychologists—the lacuna is not likely to be removed in course of many years to come—will make it impossible for the schools to test the bias and potential capabilities of the students for the diversified courses. Besides, the paucity of equipment and accessories, which cannot be made up within a short period, will continue to be a standing barrier in the way of proper instruction in the different courses of studies in schools as proposed in the scheme.

The proposed abolition of the Intermediate course (after tagging its first year class to Secondary schools and the introduction of a three-year course of studies for taking the first Degree examination) runs counter to the recommendations of different expert commissions, appointed in the past (to report on the Indian University Education and to enquire into and suggest extension and improvements of University Education in India). The Calcutta University Commission (1919) recommended the institution of Intermediate Colleges as "the very pivot" of their whole scheme of reform. Such Intermediate Colleges were expected to impart a sound and liberal training to the students. Opportunities would be provided there for adapting them to the needs of industry, commerce and agriculture as well as medicine and engineering in all its branches. The aim of the Intermediate Colleges would be to meet a variety of needs and requirements of our boys by giving a vocational bias to their courses while retaining at the same time their value in a system of sound general education as a preparation for University courses.

The following paragraph from the report of the Calcutta University Commission describes very admirably the essential qualities of a good education to be imparted at the Intermediate Colleges :

"Education should be given under conditions favourable to the health of the pupils. Their bodies should be developed and trained by systematic and vigorous exercise. Their eyes should be trained to see,

their ears to hear, with quick and sure discrimination. Their sense of beauty should be awakened, and they should be taught to express it by music and by movement, and through line and colour. Their hands should be trained to skilful use. Their will should be kindled by an ideal and hardened by a discipline enjoining self-control. They should learn to express themselves accurately and simply in their mother tongue, and, in India, in English also. Through mathematics, they should learn the relation of forms and of numbers. Through history and literature they should learn something of the records of the past; what the human race (and not least their fellow-countrymen) has achieved; and how the great poets and sages have interpreted the experience of life. Their education should further demand from them some study of Nature and should set them in the way of relating both the amount and the quality of evidence which a varied education requires. Besides this, it should open windows in their mind, so that they may see wide perspectives of history and of human thought. But it should also by the enforcement of accuracy and steady work, teach them by what toil and patience men have to make their way along the road to truth. Above all, the education should endeavour to give them, by such methods and influence as it is free to use, a sure hold upon the principles of right and wrong and should teach them to apply those principles in their conduct. Thus its chief work is to enlighten and practise the conscience, both the moral conscience and the intellectual. And, through the activities of corporate life in school, it should give the pupils experience in bearing responsibility, in organisation, and in working with others for public ends, whether in leadership or in submission to the common will."

It is admitted on all hands that teaching in our Intermediate Colleges has fallen considerably short of these ideals. But the remedy does not lie in the abolition of the Intermediate Colleges and classes, and in transferring the First Year class to the Secondary schools and introducing a three-year course of study for taking the first degree examination.

In the Secondary schools, lack of accommodation, equipment and competent teachers will present insurmountable obstacles and difficulties in the way of the realisation on the above-mentioned aims and objectives.

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Even if sufficient funds are made available to these schools for the employment of competent teachers and removal of other difficulties, it is bound to prove uneconomic, considering the possible number of pupils in the top-classes of a higher secondary school. What is needed at present is the raising of the standard of teaching in our Intermediate Colleges and classes so that the aims and objectives, so admirably set forth in the report of the Calcutta University Commission, may be attained. In this connection, we cannot do better than quote the following from the report of the University Education Commission (1950) :

"While we are definitely of opinion that no student should be admitted to a University until he has passed the Intermediate Examination, we are equally convinced that the mere raising of the standard of admission would not by itself improve the work of the Universities. We must at the same time make better provision for the training of students at the High School and Intermediate College level."

And again :

"While we do not insist on a uniform pattern of institution for the higher schools and the Intermediate Colleges and will even allow Intermediate classes to continue in the degree colleges as in South India, we think that there should be only one public examination *and that at the Intermediate stage*. This examination will mark the end of Secondary education and the beginning of University education which will extend over a period of three years for the first degree course."

It is interesting to note that what the Radhakrishnan Commission envisaged was a three-year degree course after passing the present Intermediate Examination after completion of a two-year course of study in separate institution, if possible; in Degree colleges if separate arrangements cannot be made.

The benefit which the Intermediate students now get from highly qualified college teachers will also be unavailable in the higher secondary classes where teachers of like qualification are not expected to be employed. The result will be only a deterioration in the standard of education maintained at present in the Intermediate classes attached to colleges.

So far as the proposed three-year Degree course is concerned, similar decline in standard will also certainly come about. In all the modern progressive countries the trend is not to reduce but to increase the period of University education. In the U.S.A., collegiate education extends over a period of four years. In France education in the higher grades is divided into three cycles covering a total period of six years. In the U.S.S.R. there is a five-year course ending in final examination and thesis for the Degree of candidates in Sciences. In Japan the School Education Law, passed by the Diet in March, 1947, provided for a four-year University course similar to that in the United States. In China the first Degree course extends over a period of four years. Even in the United Kingdom, the Association of University Teachers and other organisations have proposed that specialised study, particularly in sciences should be postponed until the third or fourth year of the Degree course. In Canada also the University course, in most of the English-language universities, leading to a Pass Bachelor's Degree is normally four years. In the background of this trend in educationally advanced countries, the scheme of curtailing the present four-year period of collegiate studies is highly irrational and is sure to result in the deterioration of the standard.

These are some of the major objections to the plan which has originated in the Central Secretariat and is being sought to be imposed upon the States. There are other equally strong grounds for opposing it. The Mudaliar Commission, which was appointed for investigating the condition of Secondary education in the country and for suggesting methods for its improvement, went beyond its jurisdiction by recommending reforms in higher education from which no competent spokesman was invited by it to give opinion. The recommendations of the Radhakrishnan Commission, which was asked to recommend ways of improving university education in the country, have for all practical purposes been shelved.

It is surprising that the Government, to whom the Radhakrishnan Commission submitted its report about three years earlier than the Mudaliar Commission, has sat tight over the former and is now eager to implement the suggestions of the latter in respect of University education.

Constitutionally also, Education is a State subject and the Central Education Ministry has nothing to do with it except general supervision, co-ordination and grant of financial assistance. In trying to introduce the present scheme on its own initiative the Central Ministry of Education has obviously over-stepped its constitutional limit. There is, again, the important consideration that the uniformity which the Centre is seeking to bring about in the field of education throughout the country by means of this scheme will be extremely harmful to the cause of education. It is not for nothing that the framers of the Constitution thought it wise to exclude Education from the Central List and put it in the State List. Different regions in the country have got different traditions, psychological background and objective conditions. Education in these different areas should, therefore, be planned keeping in view all these divergent factors. Otherwise, the steam-roller of uniformity will certainly stunt the free and normal growth of the mind of the students in the different areas of the country. Those who seem to be over-anxious to give effect to this new-fangled plan of educational reform should yet pause and ponder before it is too late. Instead, they should direct their attention to the improvement of "the curricula, methods, techniques and materials of education that have been for long, and still continue to be the butt of adverse criticism," as pointed out in the Five-Year Plan. Education is a continuous process and cannot be divided into watertight compartments like Primary, Secondary and University education. The essential requisite for an educational reform is, therefore, to devise a scientific syllabus of studies from the base to the top and then divide it into different stages according to the capacity for absorption of students of different age-groups to take up these studies at different strata. The next important point is improvement of the financial condition of the institution and the teachers who form the bed-rock of the educational structure. All these require money which has always been denied to education in this country. The First-Five-Year provided only Rs. 161 crores for education. Even this amount could not be spent during the period the Plan has been in operation. This is a deplorable state of affairs in all conscience. What the Second Five-Year Plan proposes to do for education still remains to be seen. If the Government has sufficient funds for expenditure on education—which

.. should have if real national development is to be secured—it should give up such unrealistic schemes and provide money to starving educational institutions so that the standard of education can be upgraded to the desired level.

Early Contact Between Indo-China and South India

K. V. Raman writes in *The Indian Review*:

The cultural expansion of India into the Far East in the early years of the Christian era forms a most fascinating chapter in history. In the momentous task of broadcasting Indian culture abroad both North India and South India played a notable part. If Bengal, Manipur and Assam spearheaded the waves of invasion that went through land to the Far East, South India, thanks to her close proximity to the sea and her long experience in navigation, exploited to the hilt the sea-routes to reach those far-off islands.

Scholars like Gerini once held that only the Indians of Malabar and the Coromandel Coast colonised Indo-China by the sea-routes. Though this view is no longer true (for Prof. R. C. Mazumdar has shown that Bengal also played a great part in the colonisation through the sea) it goes to show at least the importance of South India's stupendous role in the field. People from South India must have started from that coast of Coromandel which faced the East, the coast of ancient Kalinga, of ancient Telengana, particularly the country of the lower courses of the Krishna and the Godavari.

That South India from time immemorial had contact with Indo-China is easily gauged from the following facts: Pan-Kou, a Chinese writer, who lived not later than the second century A.D. gives the route and the duration of travel from Upper Annam (Je-nar) to the Coromandel coast and even to Kanchi. That Chinese writer also states that there was contact between China and Kanchi even at the time of the Chinese Emperor Wou (140 to 86 B.C.).

The Periplus also mentions the trade route from three harbours on the eastern coast near Masulipatam across the Bay of Bengal to the Eastern Peninsula.

Legends and traditions also reveal the ancient ties between Indo-China and South India. For example, Ligor, a province of Indo-China, is believed to have been founded by a certain Dandakumara who fled from Godavari District and got shipwrecked off the coast of Malaya Peninsula. (Gerini: *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography*).

Again, the story of the origin of the royal dynasty of the Kambuja bears a close resemblance to the story of the origin of the Pallava dynasty, the common factors being the marriage between the Indian Prince and a Naga woman, and the association of Asvathama.

According to the Chinese chronicles the first Hindu who went to Kambuja was a Brahmin, Kaundinya by name. A supernatural voice said to him, "You must go and reign in Funan" and he went to Funan where he was warmly welcomed by the people and crowned as their king. This Kaundinya, was a Brahmin from South India, perhaps from Mysore. (*Journal of Greater India Society*, Volume VI).

Leaving traditions and legends and coming down to historical facts, we find that the man who founded the first Hindu dynasty in Champa in the 2nd century

A.D. was Sri Mara, and it has been suggested that Mara was a title or name assumed by the Pandya Kings of South India, and so the title might well have been borrowed, from the Pandyas. Another significant fact is that the later Cambodian kings assumed the title of Varman. This reminds us of the Pallava kings who also invariably clubbed 'Varman' to their names. Not only that, the very names of the Pallava kings like Mahendravarman were adopted wholesale by the kings of Cambodia.

There is an inscriptional evidence to show that Sivasoma, the grandson of King Sri Jayendradhipati-varman came all the way from Indo-China to India to learn the Sastras from Bhagavat-Sankara the great expounder of the Advaita Philosophy, who hailed from South India. (R. C. Mazumdar: *Kambuja Desa*, Sir William Meyer Lectures.)

The very script of the inscriptions that are to be found in Indo-China bears unmistakable proof for the South Indian influence on Indo-China. Along with North Indian script Pallava script was also in vogue. Prof. K. A. Nilkanta Sastri says that the script of the oldest inscription in Indo-China (which dates from the 3rd century A.D.) is very much akin to the type of writing that was used in the East coast of South India by the Telugu dynasties like the Salankayanas. Prof. R. C. Mazumdar however thinks that it was derived from the script employed by the Kushanas in the Central regions of North India.

It is architecture that furnishes the most eloquent testimony to the influence of South India on Indo-China. The existence of the *gopuras* of the Dravidian style in Cambodia makes us think that the South Indian artists must have gone over to Cambodia to give a helping hand to the local artists. Again, the style of architecture found in Champa bears a striking resemblance to that found in Mamallapuram, Kanchi and Badami. But one should not however overlook the fact that the artists of Indo-China were not slavish imitators. They, on the other hand, effected vast improvement and showed their originality.

Not the least of all, the social customs and religious beliefs tell us much about the impact of South India on Indo-China. For example, the law of inheritance through the female line that was known in Malabar as Marumakkattayam was practised in Indo-China. The custom of Sati was also there. If we take religion, it is to Tamilnad that goes the credit of having introduced the Nataraja form of Siva in Indo-China. Even though Vaishnavism and Buddhism were also practised, it was Saivism that was most popular in Indo-China. Moreover, a number of Bhagavati images have been found in Indo-China which bear ample evidence to the fact that the Bhagavati cult, peculiar to Malabar, was prevalent there. Tradition has it that the cult was introduced by Bhargava Parasurama, with whose name Malabar is also connected. Malabar was, in fact, known as Parasuramikshetra. The name Sasta is also the name of one of the gods of Cambouja and according to Prof. S. V. Viswanatha, Sasta or Dharma Sasta is the name under which Harihara or Ayyappan appears in Malabar. (S. V. Viswanatha: *Racial Synthesis in Hindu Culture*).

Thus, it will be seen that the early contact between South India and Indo-China made its way into the cultural plane and led to a brilliant flowering of South Indian culture abroad.

FOREIGN PERIODICALS

An Imaginary Conversation with Karl Marx

Sidney Hook has been preparing for this dialogue with Marx for a quarter of a century. Chairman of the Graduate Department of Philosophy at New York University, Dr. Hook published his first book on Marx, *Towards the Understanding of Karl Marx*, in 1933, and followed it three years later with a collection of studies in the history of ideas entitled *From Hegel to Marx*. Another group of essays, *Reason, Social Myths and Democracy* (1940), included new studies to Marxism and Bolshevism. The reader will find the 'conversation' interesting reading:

It was not difficult to find the shade of Karl Marx in limbo. His spectral beard was trimmed, his monocle was gone and he seemed much more benign than his pictures show him—indeed, almost grandfatherly. Flanked by Engels and Kautsky, he was arguing a technical point with Keynes, Veblen and Schumpeter. Lenin was not in the circle. Later my guide told me he was waiting with brooding impatience for Stalin, who, although due, was still missing; there were rumors that limbo would not receive him.

Marx detached himself from his fellow shades when he learned that a visitor from earth had arrived. Instead of introducing myself as an author of several studies of his thought (I had heard that biographers and critics sometimes got an unspiritual reception when they met their subjects face to face), I announced at once that I had news for him.

"News?" he said. "I hope it's agreeable for a change. For the last twenty years or so, it has been uniformly unpleasant. Almost every new arrival prominently connected with public affairs has picked an argument with me, as if I were responsible for what's happening on Earth."

"My news is more personal," I replied. "The Marx-Engels-Lenin Institute at Moscow is issuing a new corrected edition of your works at the command of the Central Executive Committee of the Russian Communist party."

"Corrected edition, indeed!" he remarked bitterly. "They have been correcting me by word and deed ever since 1917. Every last outrage they commit is laid at my door—even by people who should know better."

"Well," I pointed out. "Isn't it natural? You called yourself a Communist at one time and they call themselves Communists."

"That, my dear Professor," Marx interrupted, "is known as the fallacy of the undistributed middle term, according to the logic you teach, whose laws, I gather from our cosmic news ticker, the Kremlin has just rediscovered. As well say that, because both sides in the Thirty Years War called themselves Christian,

they really were in agreement with each other. Soviet Communism and mine are quite different."

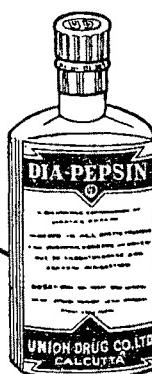
"In what respect?" I inquired.

Marx's retort surprised and alarmed me a little because it indicated either that his reading habits were still omnivorous or that the cosmic ticker paid attention to him. "You ought to know, since you've read the material. We called ourselves Communists in order to differentiate ourselves from sentimental socialists who had their eyes so fixed on a Utopia that they couldn't see what the necessary steps were in the process of realizing it. As you recall, when my friends and I were members of the Communist League we wrote that 'we were not among those Communists who were out to destroy liberty and who wished to turn the whole world into one huge barracks or into a gigantic warehouse. There certainly were some Communists who with easy conscience refused to countenance personal liberty.' But for me personal liberty was the very oxygen of any decent society. My criticism of capitalism was based on my desire to diffuse freedom among those who were suffering from lack of it."

"But if that's true," I objected, "why have the leaders of Communist Russia canonized you and

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built a cult around you? Surely, to use a favorite phrase of theirs, it is no accident that—”

“It’s a long story,” Marx interjected, “and there are accidents in history even if this isn’t one. The Russians were always difficult and different. More than once I had to say, ‘I am no Marxist.’ Bakunin, who also once called himself a Marxist, I disowned on Earth. The Communists are people of his kidney, and even Bakunin rages against them up here. I don’t recognize the present-day Communist brood as my legitimate offspring no matter what they call themselves.”

“I’ve heard other fathers say that,” I replied, “but saying it is not enough to disprove parentage. Legitimate or not, they claim to be inspired by your ideas and to have built a socialist society. You may not like how they got there, but they are there, are they not?”

“By no means,” Marx replied with a vehemence that seemed to make his beard-tip glow. “A Socialist society as I always conceived it is one in which ‘the development of each is the condition of the free development of all.’ That excludes the dictatorship of a party, and especially the rule of despots. A socialist society is based on equality, even if it cannot be absolute, and, in the beginning, on equality of wage payments for equal working time. The Communists have substituted a new and worse system of exploitation of the workers—through piecework, speed-up devices, and differences in earned income and living conditions greater than existed in the early days of capitalism. Why, they claim to be Marxists and socialists and yet they frankly admit that labor power is still a commodity subject to the law of value. The surplus value sweated out of them goes to their masters . . .”

Fearing that Marx was going to ride his ancient economic hobby horse, I interrupted. “Surely not all of it. Some of it goes into new plants, and they do have trade unions.”

By this time Marx’s whole beard was incandescent. “Trade unions!” he burst out. “Their trade unions are worse than company unions. They are auxiliaries of the secret police whose function is to intimidate the workers into producing more. I have always taught that the working class ‘regards its courage, self-confidence, independence and sense of personal dignity as more necessary than its daily bread.’ How is this possible under a regime of a ruthlessly censored press, regimented schools from kindergarten to universities, forced labor, juridical frame-ups, mass deportations and executions? No, the Soviet Union is not a socialist society.”

“Nor is it a capitalist society,” I added while he paused to draw a fresh breath, “since all the major instruments of production, distribution and exchange are collectivized. What kind of social system is it,

then? Your theory of social development seems unable to account for it.”

“This is a terminological matter,” Marx declared with a touch of asperity. “The main point is that Soviet society, wherever it exists, outrages all the democratic traditions for which the socialist movement fought as well as those of the great revolutionary movements of liberation whose heirs we always considered ourselves to be.”

“Very well,” I said hurriedly. “I grant your social philosophy is not theirs. But there is nothing in the notion of a completely collectivized economy which insures that *your* social philosophy will prevail rather than theirs. What I am asking you to explain, however, is the origin and development of the Soviet social system on the basis of your own theory of history. Didn’t you say over and over that ‘no social order ever perishes before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have developed?’ There was certainly plenty of room for the development of productive forces in Russia in 1917, even more than in the United States of 1917, which was decades ahead of Russia and which has enormously increased its productive capacities since then.”

“Quite right,” retorted Marx with a triumphant air. “I predicted that socialism would come first to England and the United States because those countries are ripe for it. And certainly not in a backward, undeveloped, semi-barbarous country like Russia. You see how presumptuous the Communists are in calling themselves Marxists.”

I wondered why he sounded so triumphant. “I see,” I exclaimed, “that the Communists are not Marxists as they claim to be and that, if you came to life again in Moscow, the Grand Inquisitors of the Kremlin would probably throw you into the cellars of the Lubianka as an agent of American imperialism. But it seems even clearer to me that the Communists have refuted the central doctrine of Marxism in the name of Marxism. According to that doctrine, the mode of economic production determines political events, not conversely. But the Communists seized political power, nationalized the economy, industrialized the country, collectivized agriculture. Their culture may not be democratic, but their economy is collectivist. It is quite apparent that it was not, as you proclaimed, historical laws working with iron necessity toward inevitable results which were the driving force of events in Russia but the driving will of the Communists. Doesn’t this show that men control economic forces, for good or evil, wisely or unwisely, and are not controlled by them to the extent that you taught? In other words, haven’t the Communists refuted the central proposition of the theory of historical materialism?”

“Not so fast, Professor,” Marx quietly replied. “If you take my words literally, you may be right.



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But let's look for the meaning behind the mere words. When I wrote about what was historically necessary or impossible, I assumed that there was a certain level of civilization which we could take for granted, certain basic human needs and values which would guide human action, or at least limit what human beings would do to other human beings. I was a humanist before I became a socialist, and therefore I believed it was impossible to build a socialist economy in a backward country like Russia except at a morally prohibitive cost. But if we are completely indifferent to questions of human cost and suffering, only physical and biological necessities limit our action and we are all reduced to the level of clever beasts of prey."

"Nothing can grow in a desert," he continued after a pause, "but we make even a desert bloom like a flower garden if we are prepared to fertilize it with human corpses and water it with rivers of blood. A country which doesn't grow into socialism on the basis of an already prepared economic foundation, a tradition of skill, management, democracy and culture, will defeat the very ends in behalf of which the socialist movement came into existence."

"It is a pity," I observed, "that you didn't spend more time in elaborating on these ends. By concentrating mainly on the economic conditions of achieving them, you gave the impression that collectivism was the be-all and end-all of socialism; that, once it was achieved, all the other virtues would be added to society. The fault is not completely attributable to those of your disciples who converted a necessary condition into a sufficient one. The sentimental socialists may have ignored the means, but you lost sight of the ends. It seems to me that your fault is graver."

"No," said Marx, "my Hegelian teachers had convinced me that means and ends are so intertwined that they couldn't be separated. It may be I took too much for granted. But, remember, I wasn't writing textbooks or manuals or recipe books for revolutions everywhere at any time."

"Then tradition becomes an important constraining force in what men can make of man," I pointed out, "and under some conditions as decisive in influencing the direction of social change as the mode of economic production."

"I have never denied it. On the contrary. Men make their own history, but not just as they please. They do not choose the circumstances as they find them. The legacy of the dead generations weighs like

a nightmare upon the brains of the living. At the very time when they seem to be creating something perfectly new, the past often creeps back." The Russian past could not be wiped out by any Commissar's decree; it still lives in the present. As of old, for the Russian rulers progress consists in extending the domain of their despotism. What I said at the time of the suppression of Poland by Tsarist Russia is even truer today: 'The policy of Russia is changeless. Its methods, its tactics, its maneuvers may change, but the popular star of its policy—world domination—is still a fixed star'."

Not wishing to discuss foreign policy in limbo, I shifted to another question.

"Well, now," I asked, "what about China. Sure,



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here is something you didn't foresee. Do you think China can build socialism, even with the help of the Soviet Union?"

"My analysis of the Soviet Union," Marx spoke scornfully, "is even more valid for China. I predict that the attempt to introduce socialism in China will fail even more badly than it has in the Soviet Union."

"Agreed," I replied, "but what you didn't predict is that the attempt would be made! Since the consequence of the attempt, whether it fails or succeeds, is bound to give rise to momentous historical changes—indeed! it already has—something important about history is left unexplained."

"My main interest, as you should know," Marx patiently explained, "has always been in the Western world, and the truth or falsity of my theories rests primarily upon developments there. I predicted the growth and centralization of large-scale industry, increasing mechanization, the concentration of capital and monopoly, the entanglement of all peoples in the net of the world market, and periodic crises of production. By and large, all these things have come to pass."

"Quite true," I rejoined, "but there are a number of other things you predicted which didn't come to pass. You predicted the pauperization of the working classes, the disappearance of the middle class, the atrophy of nationalism and patriotism. Large groups of workers in Western Europe, and especially in the United States, enjoy a standard of living higher than the privileged classes of some previous societies. Nationalism is as strong as ever. The middle class has not disappeared. And the plain fact is that the workers in non-collectivist economies have incomparably more freedom, political power, and a greater share of what they produce than the workers in presumably collectivist economies."

"I cheerfully admit it," Marx smilingly responded, "but I believe I can take some credit for it since I taught the necessity of political action and called attention to the influence of factory legislation."

"But, in addition to the predicted things which didn't happen," I objected, "there are other things which happened that you did not predict—the birth of new industries, the expansion of productive forces, the rise of fascism, the emergence of the welfare state."

"I underestimated the vitality of capitalism," said Marx, "and the extent to which the democratic process could be used to strengthen social control and responsibility. But this is a matter of detail and degree. I always argued that in countries like Great Britain, Holland and the United States the transition

from capitalism to socialism could be effected peacefully. Similarly with the development of the technological revolution. I believe I was the first to recognize the impact upon society of 'conscious technical application of science to industry and agriculture'."

"But you claimed that technology was always a subordinate instrument to war and industry," I protested. "Yet neither you nor anyone else guessed that some day the choices we would have to make concerning its dread uses might affect the very existence of civilization as such."

"The effects of certain discoveries," he agreed, "as well as their significance, cannot always be measured by their origins. Whatever the causes of technological change in the past, unless men today think and plan better than they have in the past, they may not even survive. Limbo will become rapidly overpopulated."

I turned to ask a last question. "Do you believe the basic issue of our time is still between capitalism and socialism?"

Marx spoke deliberately. "Capitalism and socialism as they were traditionally conceived are today irrelevant abstractions in understanding social reality. Wherever free institutions exist, they have been used to make capital more socially responsible and labor more powerful and prosperous. Aside from the defense of freedom itself, the great problems arise in the West not from a quest for new forms of property but for new modes of democratic human experience which will enrich human life and multiply the possibilities of creative fulfilment. The choice is not between either capitalism or socialism but of more or less insofar as they bear upon the possibility of maximizing in each specific situation the opportunities of freedom. Socialism must today be conceived as a principle of welfare and fraternity integral to the democratization of culture on every level—economic, educational and social. It is democracy as a way of life. It relies on creative intelligence to conceive, modify or transform any or all institutions with one goal in view: the development of a community of free persons—each one different from the other and yet enjoying or respecting one another's differences."

By this time, the space ship which was to take me back to Earth had arrived, and Marx escorted me to the ectoplasmic gangplank. I told him that it was not likely that credence would be given to my report of our conversation. His last words to me were the sentence from Dante with which he completed the preface to his chief work: "*Segui il tuo corso, e lascia dir le genti*—follow your own course and let people talk."—*The New Leader*, May, 2, 1955.





Sunset from Kutub Minar
Photo by P. C. Mukherjee



Beginning the day's work
Photo by Benoy Bhushan Das



CARRYING PLANTAINS

Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

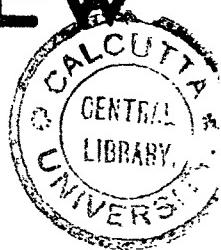
By Satindranath Laha

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NOTES

The A.-I.C.C. Meeting

The last meeting of the A.-I.C.C. at New Delhi was even more disappointing than the previous one. Indeed, to invert a *cliche*, one could say that the A.-I.C.C. is descending from weakness to weakness. We cannot claim that we possess any knowledge, beyond what is public, of what transpired behind closed doors. But judging by the fruits of those deliberations, so far as they have been made public, little was attempted and still less achieved that did not show marked signs of futility. As we can judge from press reports, the A.-I.C.C. seems to be functioning merely as an extension service of the Publicity Departments of the Government of India.

Take the Goa resolution. We are not concerned with the merits of the Government of India decision to prohibit the entry of Indian nationals into Goa, across the Indian frontiers. That is a question for the Lok Sabha and the Lok Sabha, in its wisdom or lack thereof, has tacitly decided in favour of that move, and that is the end of the question, until the next election.

But was the pronouncement of the A.-I.C.C., on that vital question discussed along the lines of the justifiability of *Satyagraha* at this juncture? The reasons put forward in support of the Goa Resolution were the most puerile ever in the records of that once august and autonomous body. Why was the question of the Government of India being embarrassed brought into the resolution at all? The Government of India is not under the control of the A.-I.C.C. Indeed on the contrary. The Lok Sabha is supposed to exercise that power. "Goa is not Indian territory" we are told. Granted, but is South Africa India? If not, then was Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi in the wrong when he first evoked the force of *Satyagraha*?

Is his worthy son, Manilal, also committing a sin in following in his father's footsteps?

The question of *Satyagraha* in Goa should have been examined purely on its moral and ethical merits and not from the legalistic point of view. As the Resolution stands, it means that however wrong the Government of India might be in any of its future decisions, on whatever question, the A.-I.C.C. shall not pass any resolution or come to any conclusion, that might embarrass it, that paramount principle having been established by this resolution. It means an absolute moral surrender of the last court of justice that the people of India had.

The fitness of the leaders of the Goa movement to initiate *Satyagraha*, the desire of the people of Goa, the intrinsic suitability of *Satyagraha* to the exigency, these are the questions that should have been discussed and weighed.

In the elections to the Working Committee, the same eager servility to the Powers-that-be has been observed.

The Working Committee had been a council of Elder-statesmen in the old days, composed of people ripe in years and experience and with an intimate knowledge of public affairs and current public opinion. And yet the maximum votes were given to a young lady who, though deserving of love and affection from all, is lacking in just these assets. The Government of India is rapidly becoming bureaucratic and has lost touch with its people. Does the A.-I.C.C. need to go the same way?

In the examination of the Second Five-Year Plan Frame, we had expected a better and closer analysis of ways and means, and a more expert assessment of the possibilities, in the terms of effective and efficient production. It seems we were mistaken in taking the A.-I.C.C. members to be more knowledgeable

than the framer of the much-publicized Frame. Cottage industry means skilled artisans. Any labourer, who is willing to undergo normal physical effort and has a minimum capacity to execute a few set movements, can be trained to work an automatic, power-driven machine or tool. The makers of mechanically perfect, fool-proof, automatic high-production machinery, lay their plans and devise their machines just that way. The prime-movers supply the power and the machine works efficiently with the minimum of skilled attention, at a high speed.

In cottage industries, on the other hand, the artisan has to execute all the moves and devote a skilled attention at every stage of production. He has to acquire a know-how over a prolonged period of apprenticeship and the personal factor of suitability of the man to the job, physically and psychologically, is of the highest import. Craftsmanship is not an easily acquired quality where hand-tools and cottage-industry methods of production are concerned. A cobbler cannot become a copper-smith overnight nor can a brawny smith become a fine weaver.

Then again, after skill and craftsmanship has been acquired through a long apprenticeship, there must be a capacity to undergo prolonged toil, else the production will be either highly costly and unmarketable or the artisan will have to starve. And under the best of circumstances a cottage-produced consumer article is likely to be at least 25 per cent more costly than the mechanically produced article. Khaddar cloth for example—yard for yard and without taking quality or durability into consideration—is even today 100 per cent more costly than mill-cloth, as Khaddar-wearing people like us know.

This means that even if everything goes along as planned, the cost of living will increase according as cottage-produced goods replace factory produced goods. And if the necessary skill, toil and efficiency is not attained by the 12 millions who will replace mechanisms, then production will drop far below expectations, in quantity, in quality and in usefulness.

The standard-of-living means nothing to the Olympians of New Delhi, neither does it matter to tame statisticians. Nor yet does it matter, so it seems, to the utopians of the A.I.C.C. But to the common man it will seem a swindle if his income goes up by 5 per cent and his living expenses go up by 25 per cent, which will either mean lowering

his standards of life below even the penury and want of today, or else extinction.

We are all for cottage-industry, let there be no mistake on that point. We have advocated it, spent time, money and effort, in the study and encouragement of it. But we have no patience either with the fanaticism of the 'damn-the-consequences' type of super-Brahmins, who would make it a cult, or with the colossal ignorance of those who believe that 12 million efficient artisans could be mass-produced in five years time, without mass instruction and without consideration of their adaptability, capacity for physical toil and endurance and psychological compatibility.

Restriction in production invariably has resulted in rising of costs and lowering of quality, in recent years, as all consumers know to their cost. What provision has there been made to counteract that reaction?

Rashtrabhasa

Some groups of over-zealous Hindi protagonists have aroused the suspicion and indignation of non-Hindi speaking peoples by their impatience and arrogance. The appended report indicates how deep that suspicion lies :

"The Home Minister Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant, assured the south that when Hindi became the official language of the Union, non-Hindi-speaking area would not be discriminated against in the matter of recruitment to the services.

"He was replying in the Lok Sabha to strong speeches made on an Opposition cut motion.

"Ignoring angry commen's by members from the Hindi-speaking areas, Mr. Gurupadaswamy characterised Government's attitude as 'madness' and said that the Commission was packed with representatives from the Hindi-speaking areas and one could not expect from it any equity, justice or fairplay.

"Pandit Pant said : 'If we want to accelerate the pace of Hindi in the country, we have to win over those who are not familiar with this language. We cannot march faster except with the fellowship, friendship and co-operation of these people.'

"The Home Minister said that there had been a certain amount of apprehension lingering in South about the examinations conducted by the U.P.S.C. for recruitment to Government services. 'I want to reiterate my assurance to the members in this House that we do not want anyone to be placed at a disadvantage on account of his being born in non-Hindi-speaking area. We want best of men to join Government services and it has been laid down that nobody who is otherwise competent to get the job should be left out because of his non-familiarity with Hindi.'

Government Machine Tool Works

In the present session of the Indian Parliament much criticism was made against the affairs of the Government Machine Tool factories at Jalahalli and Ambarnath. Much more unfortunate was the Government's defence in so far as they tried to impute motive to the British expert who described the factories as a "colossal financial failure." The machine tool factory at Jalahalli is a cent per cent Government concern. It is owned by the Hindusthan Machine Tools Ltd., with an issued and called-up capital of Rs. 3 crores. For starting the factory the Government of India entered into an agreement in 1949 with a Swiss firm, Oerlikon Machine Tool Works, Zurich. The production was started in 1954, and the manufacture of component parts of high speed lathes was undertaken. The Machine Tool Prototype Factory at Ambarnath was set up in 1953. It provides facilities for the development of prototypes to be utilised by technicians engaged in the production of defence industries in India. The services of Mr. Scaife, the British expert, were obtained by the Government of India under the Colombo Plan. Mr. Scaife was requested to assist the Engineering Capacity Survey Committee of the Ministry for Commerce and Industry and he submitted his report in 1954. In his report Mr. Scaife severely criticised the Swiss firm.

Mr. Scaife has several hard words to say about the Jalahalli factory. He says : "After some three and a half years of indecision, the final plan is to build twelve 8½-inch geared head lathes from parts made in Switzerland, on equipment designed and made in Switzerland and the only Indian experience will be the assembly and painting." He further says that it is true that some Indian experience will be obtained overseas but this is totally inadequate for the necessary technological training in machine tool making and the project will ultimately be left, as at Ambarnath, without the trained body of machine tool production engineers which is essential for the building up of a progressive industry. The heart and brains of the organisation are outside India and outside the control of the Indian management and, therefore, whilst the development of this project is outside, the responsibility for success is left with the Indian management. The line of least resistance is now being taken by concentrating on 8½-inch geared head lathes, the demand for which is covered by the enterprise, skill and courage of Mysore Kirloskar, Harihar, who are now, after ten years of persistent effort, making a first class lathe equal to meeting any possible

Indian requirements within its capacity. He then observes : "Whether the Jalahalli project proves a success or failure (and my opinion is that it will prove a colossal financial failure), it will be successful in putting Mysore Kirloskars out of business as this and other private machine tool firms will recognise the futility of trying to compete with a competitor who is subsidised with public funds." Mr. Scaife adds : "To my mind it is the most glaring case of commercial immorality I have met with in the whole of my experience and this should be the deliberate policy of a Government which claims to be building up a self-sufficient economy is beyond my comprehension."

About the Swiss consultants, Mr. Scaife remarks that what they have sold to India was in fact Swiss skill and which was not theirs to sell, since they had not the psychological ability to transport their skill to Indian minds. His main criticism against Government machine tool factories is that there were not enough Indian experts at the time when the machinery for the factories arrived and that even at present Indian staff is not sufficiently available.

Mr. Scaife has not only criticised the Government in the above matter, he has also offered constructive suggestions. In his view the machine tool industry must be allowed to grow naturally side by side with the general industrial development of the country. He claims that this is an indisputable historical fact and for rendering assistance, some initial technical and financial help should come from the Government. A machine tool factory calls for the production of goods of a specified quality at a minimum of cost in time and effort and this must be linked up with the demand in the market. To undertake the production of machine tool before ascertaining the specification covering productivity and quality performance is to risk the expenditure of capital on machine tool which will go abegging in the market, involving waste of skilled labour.

Mr. Scaife thinks that the Government departments have been wrongly advised in setting up the machine tool factories on the projected scale and this results in financial loss to the Government. The authorities have further erred by concentrating development through a single channel which has not had extensive background in machine tool practice, although well known in the restricted field of armament manufacture. He suggests that various standard types and sizes, with different grades of quality for different purposes, call for individual and separate technical and administrative approach and each unit should be directed towards producing one

or two related types and grades of machines. This will facilitate the employment of workers most suited for the purpose and their numbers will be gainfully determined. Mr. Scaife's main suggestion is that the production of machine tool in the country should be entrusted to the private sector which would, of course, collaborate with the authorities. The Government should take initiative in forming an association of national machine tool makers with branches in a number of industrial centres and through this association the national demand for tools should be channelled. Established firms which are already engaged in the production of machine tools of grade and quality should be assisted by the Government with loans at preferential rates and also with a loan of sufficient plant from Government stores in order to meet national demand in their respective class of machine tools. Firms engaged in the production of ungraded machine tools should also be helped by the Government with financial and technical assistance and adequate initial orders are to be placed with them through their trade association to meet Government requirements. Mr. Scaife suggests for the establishment of selling and servicing organisations by the association branches in their respective areas for servicing and demonstration purposes.

He also stresses for raising the technological level of management and supervision and this calls for the training of a sufficient number of production engineers who should have training specifically in the art of using modern production equipment in preference to general mechanical engineering science. In his opinion a trainee of matriculation standard may well become a good production engineer. For imparting training, he recommends the educational procedure of Dr. Schlesinger at Charlottenburg University, Germany, where engineers are trained at a central establishment on lines which would provide key personnel to prospective enterprises financed by private firms. Around this central educational organisation the nucleus of new projects would be set up.

The Government of India is evidently not impressed by the criticisms of Mr. Scaife. The Union Minister of Defence Organisation, Mr. Mahavir Tyagi, has brushed aside Mr. Scaife's criticisms by remarking that they "cannot bear close examination." In defence, he points out that the Engineering Survey Committee has not endorsed the views expressed by Mr. Scaife. It is further alleged by the Government that the British machine tool industry, with which Mr. Scaife is connected, is not favourably disposed

towards Government of India's venture in the field of machine tool production. In the opinion of the Government, Mr. Scaife's association with the British industry appears to have led him to taken an "unjustifiably unfavourable" view of the assistance obtained from the Swiss consultants. Mr. Tyagi deprecates Mr. Scaife's bias against State-owned undertakings.

Notwithstanding Mr. Tyagi's imputation of motives to Mr. Scaife's observations, the public in India are not very much impressed with the Government views in the matter nor is the progress in the Government machine tool factories is very convincing so as to support Mr. Tyagi's contentions. As regards the firm of Swiss consultants it is not perhaps unknown that it is they who supplied arms to the Egyptian army during the war of Palestine and the Egyptian army had to suffer disasters and debacles for old and faulty weapons.

International Monetary Fund

The latest annual report of the International Monetary Fund records satisfactory progress towards freer trade and multilateral payments arrangements. The report is for the year ended 30th April, 1955. The year under review witnessed a strong underlying trend towards world economic and payments equilibrium. In the field of international payments, three favourable trends are discernible. In the first place, the aggregate value of world trade during 1954 was higher by more than 4.5 per cent at about \$74,200 million as compared with \$71,000 million in the preceding year. Secondly, there were larger capital movements in 1954 than in 1953. And thirdly, with the increase in the volume of international transactions, the foreign exchange reserves of non-dollar countries rose considerably, with some significant exceptions. The reserves of the non-dollar areas as a whole were higher by no less than \$2,200 million. The following Table will reflect world gold and foreign exchange reserves:

(See Table on next page)

The world excludes the USSR and Mainland China and the countries associated with them. Japan, Indonesia and Egypt are among the countries in the group—"Rest of world." The remarkable improvement in the international payments position is attributed to the stability in the average price levels of primary products and this helped to maintain the supply of dollars to the rest of the world. The terms of trade in favour of the primary producing countries were sustained by stable price

*World Gold and Foreign Exchange Reserves
including net EPU and IMF positions
(In million U.S. dollars)*

Area	Reserves as per cent.						
	End of 1952	Change in		End of 1954	tage of 1953-54		average imports
		1953	1954		1953	1954	
World	47070	1330	1750	50150	60	64	
U. S.	24715	-1256	-479	22980	216	200	
Canada	1939	-38	128	2029	41	43	
Dollar Latin America	1635	66	-71	1630	46	46	
Non-dollar Latin America	1510	295	-95	1710	46	52	
Continental OEEC countries	8285	1370	1435	11090	37	49	
U. K.	1312	803	586	2701	14	29	
Independent sterling area overseas countries	4250	420	40	4710	58	64	
Rest of world	3424	-330	206	3300	22	21	

levels. The favourable trade balance was due largely to the higher output and real income in industrial countries outside North America. The rise in real income resulted in the higher demand for primary products.

The annual report points out regretfully that the use of the Fund's resources by member-countries is gradually declining. In its fiscal year ended April, 1955, member-countries drew only \$49 million and repaid \$276 million of previous drawings. On April 30, it apparently had only \$55 million of its own money in the hand of members. Of the total of \$1,197 million drawn from the Fund since it started operations in March 1947, a sum of \$807 has been repaid to it. Of the remaining \$390 million, \$335 million represents drawings by various countries of the equivalent of gold that the same countries had subscribed to the Fund. On April 30, the Fund held \$3,719 million of gold and convertible currencies, and the equivalent of \$4,325 million of other currencies.

The report discloses that the Fund has reached practical compromises on certain technical disputes with Canada, Peru and France regarding their currency parities. In the same sense, the Fund allowed a drawing by Indonesia which has not declared a currency parity. The report gives a heterogeneous list of countries which have no dollar discriminations, namely, Belgium, Ethiopia, Greece, Indonesia, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Peru, Thailand and the Union of South Africa.

The diversity of the experience of the

underdeveloped countries in 1954 again showed that the degree of success attained in maintaining monetary stability, while they are pressing forward with development, depends upon their economic policy as a whole rather than upon any single factor in it. The Fund remarks that some countries that faced balance of payments deficits, because their domestic income and price levels had not been adjusted to lower export earnings, attempted to maintain incomes in export industries by various kinds of subsidy, while imposing more stringent exchange restrictions to correct the balance of payments. Such efforts, however, cannot produce results that are satisfactory for the economy as a whole; they usually create inflationary pressure or intensify pressures already operating in the economy, while they also tend to become progressively more difficult to enforce.

Sales Tax Controversy

For some time past the issue of sales tax in India has become highly controversial in respect of the rights of the States to levy and collect it. The provisions of the Indian Constitution in this connection have been observed more in breach rather than in compliance. The Article 286 of the Indian Constitution, the villain of the piece, is most clumsily worded and leaves scope for controversy and divergence of interpretation. It reads:

"286. (1) No law of a State shall impose, or authorise the imposition of, a tax on the sale or purchase of goods where such sale or purchase takes place—(a) outside the State; or (b) in the course of the import of the goods into, or export of the goods out of, the territory of India.

Explanation.—For the purposes of sub-clause (a), a sale or purchase shall be deemed to have taken place in the State in which the goods have actually been delivered as a direct result of such sale or purchase for the purpose of consumption in that State, notwithstanding the fact that under the general law relating to sale of goods the property in the goods has by reason of such sale or purchase passed in another State.

(2) Except in so far as Parliament may by law otherwise provide, no law of a State shall impose, or authorise the imposition of, a tax on the sale or purchase of any goods where such sale or purchase takes place in the course of inter-State trade or commerce: Provided that the President may by order direct that any tax on the sale or purchase of goods which

was being lawfully levied by the Government of any State immediately before the commencement of this Constitution shall, notwithstanding that the imposition of such tax is contrary to the provisions of this clause, continue to be levied until the thirty-first day of March, 1951."

The sub-clause (2) specifically restricts the power of a State in imposing sales tax on goods where sale or purchase of such goods takes place in the course of inter-State trade or commerce. The Explanation to sub-clause (1) does not empower a State to levy sales tax on inter-State trade or commerce, it simply excludes where the sale or purchase takes place; that is, the sale or purchase will take place in that State where delivery has been given for consumption and not where title to ownership legally changes hands. Now the question is, whether Article 286 is governed by Article 304. If it is so governed, then the States in India can impose taxes on sales or purchases of commodities entering into inter-State trade or commerce. If, on the other hand, Article 286 governs Article 304, then the States have no right to impose taxes on commodities entering into inter-State commerce.

In the "State of Bombay v. The United Motors (India) Ltd.", (1953 S.C.R. 1069), the Supreme Court held that Article 286(1) (a) of the Constitution read with the Explanation thereto and construed in the light of Article 301 and Article 304 prohibits taxation of sales or purchases involving inter-State elements by all States except the State in which the goods are delivered for the purpose of consumption therein. The latter State is left free to tax such sales or purchases and it derives this power not by virtue of the Explanation to Article 286(1) but under Article 246(3) read with entry 54 of List II. The view that the Explanation does not deprive the State in which the property in the goods passed, of its taxing power and that consequently both the State in which the property in the goods passes and the State in which the goods are delivered for consumption have the power to tax, is not correct.

The Supreme Court further held that the expression "for the purpose of consumption in the State" in the Explanation to clause (1) of Article 286 must be understood as having reference not merely to the individual importer or purchaser but as contemplating distribution eventually to consumers in general within the State, and all buyers within the State of delivery from out-of-State sellers, except those buying for re-export out of the State, would be

liable to be taxed by the State. Clause (2) of Article 286 does not affect the power of the State in which delivery of goods is made to tax inter-State sales or purchases of the kind mentioned in the Explanation to clause (1). The effect of the Explanation is that such transactions are saved from the ban imposed by Article 286(2).

The above view of the Supreme Court has recently been over-ruled by a Bench of the same Court presided over by the Acting Chief Justice Mr. S. R. Das. The Courts in India generally follow the British principle of *stare decisis*, and this is perhaps the first time that a previous decision of its own has been overruled by the Supreme Court. This is rather a new precedence in legal history in this country. In a recent case, "The State of Bihar v. Bengal Immunity Co., Ltd.", the Supreme Court held that until Parliament by law provides otherwise, no State can impose or authorise the imposition of any tax on sales or purchases of goods when sales or purchases take place in course of inter-State trade or commerce. This means that the tax shall not go with consumption in respect of goods sold or purchased in course of inter-State trade or commerce. The Acting Chief Justice Mr. S. R. Das observed: "We are definitely of opinion that until Parliament by law made in exercise of the powers vested in it by clause (2) of Article 286, provides otherwise no State can impose or authorise the imposition of any tax on sales or purchases of goods when such sales or purchases take place in the course of inter-State trade or commerce, and the majority decision in the *State of Bombay v. the United Motors (India) Ltd.* in so far as it decides to the contrary cannot be accepted as well founded on principle or authority."

The appeal in the case of the Bengal Immunity Co. Ltd., raised a question of construction of Article 286 of the Constitution. In the judgment under appeal the High Court of Bihar took the view that sales or purchase in the course of inter-State trade or commerce referred to in Article 286(2) must be construed so as to exclude the particular class of sales or purchases described in the Explanation to Clause (a) of Article 286(1) and that therefore, the provisions of the Bihar Sales Tax Act, 1947, in so far as they purported to impose tax on such sales, were not in conflict with Article 282(2) as so construed.

After this decision of the Patna High Court the question came up for consideration before a Constitution Bench of the Supreme

Court in the "State of Bombay vs. the United Motors (India) Ltd." The majority of that Bench held that Article 286(1) (a), read with the Explanation thereto and construed in the light of Articles 301 and 304, prohibited the taxation of sales or purchases involving inter-State elements by all States except the State in which delivery of the goods was so made to tax the sales or purchases involving inter-State elements by all States except the State in which delivery of the goods was so made to tax the sales or purchases of the kind mentioned in the Explanation, the effect of which was to convert such inter-State transactions into intra-State transactions and to take them out of the operation of Clause (2) of that Article.

In the appeal preferred by the Bengal Immunity Co., the Supreme Court held that it is not bound by the majority decision in the appeal of the United Motors Ltd., and that it was still open to it to examine and ascertain the true meaning, import and scope of the article in question. This majority decision of the Supreme Court in the Bengal Immunity Co.'s appeal shall create a vacuum in the prevailing structure of sales tax in the various States of India in so far as it has overruled the majority decision in the appeal from Bombay of the United Motors Ltd.

The decision in the Bengal Immunity appeal shall render nugatory, *ipso facto*, Article 304 of the Constitution which empowers the Legislature of a State to "impose on goods imported from other States any tax to which similar goods manufactured or produced in that State are subject, so, however, as not to discriminate between goods so imported and goods so manufactured or produced." The earlier decision tried to reconcile between Article 286 and Article 304. The latter decision affirms that Article 286 is independent of Article 304.

World Bank in 1954-55

The year 1954-55 records an expansion in the activities of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. There were higher earnings, substantial accretions to reserves, record amount of lendings, prompt payment of interest and principal due. Another outstanding feature is the participation of private capital in the Bank's financing operations. In 1954-55, the Bank advanced loans totalling the equivalent of \$410 million as against \$323.7 million in 1953-54—this is the largest sum lent by the Bank in any

fiscal year. The twenty loans were made in fourteen currencies and territories. Lending since the Bank began operations now totals the equivalent of \$2,324 million (\$2,274 million net of cancellations and refundings) in 37 countries, as compared with \$1,914 million in the preceding year. The Bank's total disbursements now stand at \$1,680 million as against \$1,405.6 million in 1953-54. Net earnings of the Bank reached a new record figure of \$24.7 million and reserves rose to \$184 million. Borrowers met all payments of interest and principal due during 1954-55. During this period, India received two loans from the Bank. The Bank lent in India in November 1954, a sum of \$16.2 million to the Tata group for its thermal power station in Bombay. The thermal power plant will help to relieve the acute power shortage in Bombay and the surrounding area. In March, 1955, the Bank lent \$10 million to the new industrial Credit and Investment Corporation of India which has been established to assist the growth of private industry.

The Bank's source of funds available for lending operations to its member-countries is given below:

<i>(In million US dollars)</i>	
Two per cent portion of subscription of all members	177.8
Eighteen per cent portion of subscription made available by members	764.5
Total available capital subscriptions	942.3
From operations	128.6
Sale of Bonds	851.6
Principal of repayments and prepayments	139.3
From loans or funds agreed to be sold	200.1
Total	\$2,261.9

Of the total lendable funds of \$2,262 million, \$368 million represented additions made during 1954-55. Besides India, other countries that borrowed from the World Bank include Austria, Australia, Belgium, Ceylon, Colombia, East Africa, El Salvador, Finland, Italy, Mexico, Norway, Pakistan and Peru. In all 20 loans were made to 14 countries.

The A.I.C.C. Meeting

We append below a summary of the A.I.C.C. meeting from the *Statesman*. First of all is given Pandit Nehru's comments on the Goa Resolution :

"The A.I.C.C. met behind closed doors, but later a spokesman gave Pressmen a gist of the speeches made.

"Mr. Nehru said it was always good to say correct thing with courage and try to explain the position clearly to the people and take them into confidence.

"The Congress was so far very clear that there was no question of taking police or military action and that mass satyagraha was not proper. The door had, however, been left open for individual satyagrahis. The position had now been made clear beyond any doubt.

"It was not proper for them to condemn other parties in this matter, although they (other parties) had been criticizing the Congress in an unfair manner. There was no doubt that these people who had suffered with courage and had shown a sense of sacrifice should be shown respect and admiration.

"It was true that in international affairs they should have a national policy. But a national policy in international matters should not mean that it should be a mixed or confused one.

THE GOA RESOLUTION

"During the last nine years, the Congress has repeatedly expressed its views on the Portuguese possessions in India and pointed out the incongruity of a very small corner of India being under foreign colonial domination when India herself had achieved freedom. As recently as July 1955, the Working Committee passed a resolution on this subject affirming the right of the people of Goa to freedom. The committee reiterated that the struggle for the freedom of Goa must be carried on through peaceful methods. Further, the committee declared that it was not in favour of any attempts at mass entry into Goa from outside with a view to offering satyagraha.

"Since this resolution was passed, various developments have taken place in these areas, which have naturally moved the Indian people deeply, and the A.I.C.C. has given careful and anxious consideration to the situation in Goa and other Portuguese possessions in India.

"In the struggle for the liberation of Goa, many have suffered banishment and long imprisonment, faced bullets and died in resistance to colonialism. The committee deplores and condemns the violence and brutality adopted by the Portuguese Government in its attempts to suppress the Goan people and to retain its colonial rule on this part of the Indian mainland.

"More recently, on August 15, of this year, the Portuguese authorities fired upon unarmed people and killed numbers of them and inflicted serious injuries on many more. To those who have thus suffered, the committee pays its tribute, and to the families of the dead, it extends its

sympathy in their sad, though noble, bereavement.

"The A.I.C.C. places on record and proclaims its considered view that the shooting and killing of unarmed men and women by the Portuguese authorities is a violation of international law and a crime and is contrary to the well-established practice of civilized Governments.

"The committee has noted with appreciation and sympathy the continued endeavours of the Goan people, in spite of the fierce repression by the Portuguese authorities, to secure their freedom and the liberation of their territories from foreign rule, and conveys to them the goodwill and sympathy of their fellow countrymen in free India.

"The A.I.C.C. recalls the unanimous decision of the nations assembled in the first Asian-African conference at Bandung last April, against colonialism, and expresses the confident hope that all the participants in that conference will support the cause of the liberation of Goa and the other Portuguese possessions and the people therein and condemn the suppression of their freedom movement and the violence and brutality adopted by the Portuguese Government.

"The A.I.C.C. warmly supports the decision of the Government of India to withdraw and withhold co-operation in respect of the Portuguese Government and the other peaceful steps taken by the Government of India in this connexion. In particular, the A.I.C. appreciates the policy of the Government of India in adhering to and stating without reservation that it will seek a solution of this problem in accordance with their well-known and established principles and approach in regard to all international disputes, namely, those of peace and non-violence. This policy is not only in keeping with the national and international approach of India but, the A.I.C.C. is convinced, is in the best interests of the Goan people themselves and their liberation.

"The A.I.C.C. fully appreciates and is in sympathy with the strong feelings that have been aroused all over India in favour of the liberation of these Portuguese possessions in India and against the brutal suppression by the Portuguese authorities of the freedom movement there.

"The committee would, however, appeal to the people of India to view this problem in its national and international context and not on any party basis and to support the Government of India's policy in this matter. Any differing and conflicting policies will weaken the national resolve and also the efforts to secure the liberation of Goa.

"In their last resolution on Goa, the Work-

ing Committee issued warning against any attempts at mass entry into Goa from outside. This warning was unfortunately not fully heeded. The A.I.C.C. is strongly of opinion that any mass entry into Goa, in the name of satyagraha or otherwise, is undesirable. The Government of India, after the withdrawal of co-operation from the Portuguese Government, has closed and sealed the borders of Portuguese possessions in India and, in these circumstances, any entry into Goan territory by Indian nationals will be inappropriate.

"The A.I.C.C. is, therefore, of opinion that, in the present context, even individual satyagraha by Indian nationals should be avoided.

"The A.I.C.C. is confident that the people of Goa and Daman and Diu will regain their freedom and Portugal will be compelled to relinquish her authoritarian rule in her possessions in India. The committee sends its greetings to the Goan people and expresses its full sympathy with them in their legitimate and laudable aspirations and efforts for freedom."

The Second Five-Year Plan

The question of the Second Five-Year Plan was discussed as is given in the summary below of which the Recommendation portion is taken from the *Statesman*:

"New Delhi, Sept. 4.—Recommendations made by the A.I.C.C. today on the second Five-Year Plan involve a substantial increase in its size, if accepted.

"One of the main factors is the adherence to the employment target of 11 to 12 million jobs in the face of Mr. G. L. Nanda's note that a plan of the size recommended in the plan-frame was not likely to achieve full employment.

"The stress laid by the A.I.C.C. on transport, power and heavy industries indicates that it does not accept any reduction in expenditure on these items. In addition, it laid stress on social services as necessary for their own sake and to ensure better understanding and acceptance of the plan.

"Particular emphasis is also laid on flood control, programmes for educated unemployed, co-operative training programmes and development of village and small industries.

"Although it is felt that financial resources have been underestimated in the draft-frame, the expected increase is not likely to cover the increase in the plan's size.

"Among the expected sources of additional resources are loans and small savings, taxation and State operations in banking, insurance, finance and trade.

"It was stressed that it was necessary to

curb unsocial ways of spending. During the discussion, Mr. Deshmukh, Finance Minister, said he agreed with the suggestion that an 'expenditure tax' was necessary.

"Mr. Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Minister for Planning, suggested on Saturday that a block provision of about Rs. 150 to 200 crores should be made in the Second Five-Year Plan for being used solely for the relief of the educated unemployed.

"In a note on the problem of the educated unemployed, circulated among members of the A.I.C.C. now in session here, he said that the relief was not to be in the form of a dole, but would be used for increasing the production and the productive assets in the country.

"The educated unemployed presented a special problem to the planners. On the one hand, there was an irresistible demand to increase the number of schools and colleges thereby increasing the flow of such persons into the employment market. On the other, nothing much was done to remove from the minds of the educated the unrealistic conception 'that they had with regard to jobs for themselves.' The result, he said, had been that the pressure on employment exchanges for 'white collar' jobs had been increasing. As against the over-all increase of 75 per cent. on the live registers of the employment exchange in the last four years the increase in the numbers seeking clerical and other jobs had been more than 120 per cent.

"A very rough estimate of the employment opportunities likely to be created by the Second Plan shows that the situation in this regard will not alter materially. The existing frustration among the educated classes, which manifests itself in the form of indiscipline among students, will therefore, continue and constitute a major element of instability in our national life."

"The A.I.C.C., in a report referred to the Working Committees today, recommended that production of mill-made cloth should be limited to 5,000 million yards a year, leaving it to the handloom industry to meet the balance of the demand for cotton textiles."

Porkkala Agreement

The Soviet Union is evidently trying to create an atmosphere of peace all round. The following report of the agreement with Finland is taken from the *New York Times*:

"In the midst of a busy diplomatic week on large matters, the Russians last week managed to conclude an agreement with Finland for return of the Porkkala military base near Helsinki. The 152-square-mile enclave

on the Gulf of Finland was ceded to Russia on a fifty-year lease in the Soviet-Finnish armistice of 1944. Return of the base was one of the principal objectives of a mission to Moscow last week headed by Finnish President Juho K. Paasikivi and Premier Urho K. Kekkonen. The Soviet concession, it was believed, was motivated by a desire to clear the way for renewal of the Soviet-Finnish treaty of friendship, which was signed in 1945 and is about to expire, and to promote better trade relations. Return of Porkkala apparently insures that Premier Kekkonen will have no difficulty in obtaining approval of a treaty renewal."

French North Africa

France is still dallying with fate in persisting with a strange obsession regarding her colonial possessions in Morocco, Algeria and Tunis. Disregarding all the portents of the times, she is trying to stave off justice by force. The latest attempt at settlement in Morocco is described in the news-magazine *Time* as follows:

"Across the Mediterranean to troubled North Africa poured the greatest flow of reinforcements since the days when Rommel's *Afrika Korps* held sway. The French cruiser *Montcalm* landed a battalion of French infantrymen at Casablanca, and a steamer brought 400 more; nine battalions started moving to Algeria, following the six from Germany that had already arrived; transport aircraft brought naval commandos. Back in France, 100,000 conscripts had their period of service lengthened indefinitely; 50,000 reservists were recalled to the colors. All told, the rapid build-up brought French strength in colonial North Africa to some 200,000 men—more than there are on the Rhine.

"The politicians hoped that the French punitive expeditions had already broken the back of the Arab revolt; yet last week the killings went on. In Morocco, nationalist saboteurs burned French gasoline dumps; in Algeria, rebel bands fought a four-hour battle with the Foreign Legion, and 54 died. Even in relatively tranquil Tunisia, 23 rebels and eleven Frenchmen were killed in a sudden outbreak. Total casualties in North Africa since August 20: close to 3,000 dead, thousands more wounded."

"*Dynastic Desperation.* The 'solution' involved France in a desperate game of dynastic musical chairs. Premier Faure proposed to :

"Replace Sidi Mohammed ben Maulay Arafa, the puppet Sultan whom the French installed in Morocco two years ago, with a three-man regency council. Its senior member : El

Mokri, 108, Morocco's feeble old Grand Vizier.

"Replace Grandval, whom the French *colons* detest, with General Pierre Boyer de Latour du Moulin, the successful Resident General of Tunisia.

"Return the exiled Sultan ben Youssef from Madagascar to France.

"Set up a representative Moroccan government under Fatmi ben Slimane, onetime Pasha of Fez.

"A French general with eight police inspectors, 30 gendarmes and a section of paratroopers drew up in a hurry outside the Hotel des Thermes in Madagascar one day last week. They came not to try the golf course, to splash in the pool or to take the waters (which are said to be good for that old weakspot of Frenchmen, the liver). They came instead to see a splendidly installed prisoner, the exiled Sultan of Morocco, Sidi Mohammed ben Youssef. French General Georges Catroux, 78, found His Majesty waiting for him."

"Convincing the other Sultan, Moulay Arafa, was a task for another French general, Pierre Georges Boyer de Latour, the new French Resident-General in Morocco. Last week De Latour called on the old man in his dazzling white palace at Rabat and delicately indicated that the time had come to leave. From the French *colons* and their ally in intransigence, aged El Glaoui, the Pasha of Marrakech, came exactly the opposite advice: Stay where you are. Moulay Arafa uncomfortably announced that only Allah could recall him, but at the same time looked longingly at the sumptuous palace waiting for him across the border in Tangier.

"The next move was up to Premier Faure, who had promised a 'solution' by September 12. At week's end, he announced what he had in mind: once the old and new Sultans had been replaced by a three-man regency council, a Moroccan government with control over most of Morocco's internal affairs would be set up in Rabat. This new regime would negotiate a new political link with France, revising the obsolete protectorate treaty of 1912.

"The new arrangement would set Morocco on the way to what Paris called 'independence within interdependence.' It was not freedom, and it might not last, but it was an improvement."

Cambodian Elections

Democracy is slowly asserting itself in Indo-China, as the following comments taken from *Time* of September 26 would go to show :

"Clean Sweep. More than half a million, 60 per cent. of the electorate, also voted. Their ballots gave a clean sweep to the firmly anti-Communist Sangkum (Socialist People's Community) Party, organized only six months ago by popular, chubby 32-year-old ex-King Norodom Sihanouk. The neutralist Democratic Party, which controlled the last National Assembly before its dissolution in 1952, polled a mere 18 per cent. of the votes. The Communists got almost none except in their stronghold of Kampot, shared with other minor parties only some 12 per cent. Sangkum candidates won all 91 seats in the new Assembly, a victory of almost embarrassing proportions for Prince Sihanouk. Apologizing for success, he declared: 'If I wanted to fake the elections, I would never have the effrontery to scrounge all the seats'."

Exit Peron

Another dictator met with nemesis with the fall of the autocrat of Argentina, Juan Peron. The first report appeared in the *New York Times* as given below. This was followed by the victory of the rebel fighting forces units and the flight of Peron to a Paraguayan gun-boat in the estuary:

"Smoldering grievances burst into flame again in Argentina last week as military units rebelled in the nation's hottest blaze of violence since President Juan Peron seized power in 1945. As a tough dictator, a maker and user of violence, Juan Peron gave many Argentines cause for hatred and anger. Among the revolt's leaders were Roman Catholics outraged by Peron's attacks on the church, ardent nationalists opposed to his oil-exploitation contract with a Yanqui company, sincere patriots sick of the corrosion of liberty, dissident officers who lost their commands in his purges.

"As they did in the brief, bloody rebellion of June 16, the top army generals again rushed to Peron's rescue (or rather to the rescue of the offices, privileges and rackets they stood to lose if the rebels won). Peron's old crony and army minister, balding General Franklin Lucero, again took command of all loyalist military and police units—the 'forces of repression' as the government badly labeled them.

"After Lucero and other inner-circle generals propped Peron on his feet last June, they let him take control again, hoping that they could go back to privileged prosperity as usual. But during the post-revolt interlude of 'pacification,' Peron utterly failed to pacify his opponents: he offered too little freedom, too late. Three weeks ago, dropping the mask of pacification, he

summoned his hardcore of labor followers of the Plaza de Mayo, ferociously called for his enemies' annihilation; that may have triggered a revolt that showed signs of long planning."

At the time of writing these notes the whereabouts of the ex-President was not definitely known. The new regime's intentions are no clearer than they were when the following report came:

"Buenos Aires, Sept. 23.—New riots broke out in the southern working class suburb of Buenos Aires this afternoon. They coincided with the installation of General Eduardo Lonardi today as Provisional President of Argentina. He took the oath of office at two o'clock this afternoon.

"Earlier, the Uruguayan Government announced its official recognition of the new Argentine Revolutionary Government.

"There is a growing doubt in the minds of observers here whether the new Government will allow ex-President Peron to leave the country. Though the new regime is insisting that it will not act with rancour there is heavy pressure from one section of the Army which is afraid to allow Peron to become a rallying point abroad for disciples."

The Arab-Israeli Problem

The Gaza strip on the Egypt-Israel border was again the scene of a flare-up, about a month back. This perennial source of trouble has become such a headache to the United Nations, that the latest incumbent at the head of the peace-preservation and truce committee Major-General E. L. M. Burns, has finally asked for the establishment of a physical barrier between the two opposing forces. The international edition of the *New York Times* for September 11, gives the news in the following graphic form:

"I am now of the opinion that a repetition of the incidents of firing between Egyptian outposts and Israeli motor patrols * * * will only be avoided if the forces of the opposing sides are separated by an effective physical barrier * * * .

"This extraordinary proposal for keeping Arabs and Israelis from each other's throats was made last week by Maj. Gen. E. L. M. Burns, United Nations truce chief in Palestine. Behind it lay a long history of frustration in the effort to maintain the armistice signed between Israel and the Arab States in 1949. Repeatedly the two sides have renewed pledges to observe a cease-fire. Repeatedly raids across the border

and retaliatory assaults have reduced the agreements to scraps of paper.

"The latest such agreement was reached last Sunday. It came after a two-week period of clashes in which forty-seven Egyptians and sixteen Israelis were killed. Both sides pledged 'unconditional' acceptance of an urgent cease-fire appeal issued by the U. N. But this time General Burns was not relying on pledges alone. In a report made public by the U. N. last Wednesday, he made his proposal for a 'physical barrier' along the demarcation line of the Gaza strip, an Egyptian-held slice of territory which lies between Israel and the Mediterranean. Gaza has been the scene of most of the Arab-Israel clashes. General Burns also proposed a one-kilometer demilitarized zone along the Gaza frontier. On Thursday, the U. N. Security Council unanimously urged Israel and Egypt to accept the Burns proposal."

Discussing the Security Council's resolution on the situation in the Gaza strip, *The Times* (London, Sept. 9) says: 'If the United Nations could impose sanctions upon those who ignore its resolution, or if members of the United Nations wished to use their troops to enforce United Nations' wishes, matters might be easier. But no country wishes to send troops when collective security is not endangered.'

The Times adds: 'The resolution the Security Council will consider now for establishing a no-man's-land a thousand yards wide between Egyptian and Israeli forces is not new but can usefully be brought forward again. General Burns himself feels that he can make no progress towards agreement between the two local commanders until he has made a frontal assault upon the problem of separating the two armies.'

'In the past both sides have accepted the principle of a barbed-wire obstacle between them and in varying ways approved the no-man's-land.'

The psychological background to this long-standing tension between Israel and Egypt is discussed in the September 18 issue of the international edition of the *New York Times*. We append a few excerpts below:

"Geographical circumstances—control of the Suez Canal, the Gulf of Aqaba and responsibility for the Gaza Strip protectorate—oblige Egypt's rulers to bear the main burden of the boycott and 'technical state of war' against Israel. Furthermore, members of the Cairo military junta experienced Egypt's severe

defeat at the hands of the Israeli Army in 1948. That still rankles.

"The average Egyptian, however, rarely occupies himself with Israel or the Palestine problem. It is difficult to keep a conversation on Palestine going with most Egyptian businessmen, shopkeepers, professional men, land-owners, laborers or peasants. Before leaving Egypt this correspondent asked many such persons how they would feel about peace with Israel. A typical response was, 'Why not? Nobody wants a war.'

"In the Arab countries of Asia Minor, however, from the Gaza Strip to Jordan, Syria and even Iraq it is difficult to stop a conversation on Israel and the Palestine problem. It is in this region that Israel is most thoroughly thought about and most frequently misrepresented. Most of the misrepresentations are a result of a tendency to accept critical reports about Israel and to reject favorable ones, to absorb news of Israel's difficulties and to forget news of its successes.

"Israelis tend to do just the reverse with regard to their own country, often making equally great misrepresentations on the credit side, but their mental image of the Arabs is more balanced than the one the Arabs have of them.

"The Palestine Arabs of Jordan, for example, regard Israelis as clever and industrious barbarians, clad for the most part in khaki shorts, living in a semi-anarchic community compounded largely of former terrorists, engineers and Rumanian pawnbrokers who have been unable to make the grade as farmers. They regard Menahem Beigin, former leader of the terrorist Irgun Zvai Leumi as more representative than Premier Moshe Sharett. They picture the Premier designate, David Ben-Gurion, as a wolf in sheep's clothing who talks peace in New York but prefers to express himself with a sub-machine-gun in the Middle East. They believe Israel is determined some day to seize Old Jerusalem and the rest of former Palestine and regard Israeli professions of a desire for peace as a deliberate snare."

Meanwhile the Arab States, with Egypt at its head have decided to be prepared for all eventualities. Egypt has decided to purchase arms from Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, which will nullify the attempt to control arms supply to the Arab States by the Western Powers. Naturally this has upset British opinion.

Cyprus

Tension has become acute over the question of *Enosis* in Cyprus. The two parties at loggerheads, Greece and Turkey, are both members of the Western Powers' organisation called N.A.T.O. Britain is in possession and is bearing the brunt of the disorders let loose by the Greeks in that island led by the head of the local Greek churches, and is therefore vitally interested. A conference was called in London. The weekly news magazine *Time* on September 19, reported:

"For ten days the Foreign Ministers of Britain, Greece and Turkey met in London to discuss the burning topic that was disrupting their NATO friendship. The problem was Cyprus, a British colony and British bastion in the Mediterranean. Four-fifths of its 500,000 people speak Greek; most of the rest are Turks. The Greeks claim it (though they last possessed it in 323 B.C.); the Turks don't want the Greeks to have it; and the British are only willing to talk about gradual self-rule."

Serious disturbances broke out at Salonika in Greece and all over Turkey. Military forces had to be used to quell the riots. The position at present may be summarised by the following news extracts:

"London, Sept. 10—The failure of Britain, Greece and Turkey to agree here this week on the future of Cyprus now threatens to split the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Balkan Pact. Greek-Turkish hostility is rising and if unchecked may imperil the West's defense structure throughout the Middle East.

"Britain has offered a measure of home rule to the 400,000 Greeks and 100,000 Turks on the island. She has refused, however, to offer 'self-determination' to the islanders at some fixed date, such as Greece wants. Britain will retain indefinite control for strategic reasons.

"Greece, which has become emotionally aroused over the Cypriotes' desire for union with Greece, is now bitterly disappointed.

"Turkey, on the other hand, is pleased at the suspension of the talks here. She has achieved her main aim: to block any shift in the status quo that would weaken the British hold on Cyprus and thereby increase Greek influence.

"There are three main positions to be understood in the Cyprus question: the British views, the Turkish views and the views of the 400,000 Greek Cypriotes supported, with slight differences, by the Greek Government.

"Cyprus is the third biggest island in the Mediterranean. It lies forty miles off the Turkish

mainland athwart the sea approaches to the vital military port of Iskenderun.

"In the Christian Era, Cyprus has been ruled successively by Caliphate, Byzantine, Crusader, Venetian, Turkish and British proconsuls. Turkey granted Britain the right to administer Cyprus in 1878 and in 1923 ceded the island outright in the Treaty of Lausanne—to which Greece was a signatory.

"The shock of this conference, to both the Greeks and British, was the tough, intransigent line of the Turkish delegation. It was soon evident that the Greek Government had made no serious effort to compose its policies with Turkey before coming to London. Therefore, the Greeks and Turks appeared to be diametrically opposed, with the British in the position of mediator.

"The Turkish delegation, headed by Fatin Rustu Zorlu, refused to accept 'self-determination' in Cyprus.

"Moreover, the Turks declared that Turkey would demand 'equal' political rights for the 400,000 Greeks and the 100,000 Turks. Since Cyprus is a 'geographical extension' of the Anatolian Peninsula, Turkey would claim Cyprus herself before allowing Greece to acquire it, the Turkish delegates added."

Istanbul, Sept. 8.—Military commanders today imposed an 11 p.m. to 5 a.m. curfew on Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir, where martial law was declared last night. Tanks and troops are patrolling the streets following anti-Greek riots two days ago when crowds set fire to 54 buildings, including 19 Greek Orthodox churches, and 57 people were injured.

All meetings except religious gatherings and school examinations have been banned. Theatres and restaurants were ordered to close early.

Demonstrators arrested for their part in the "Cyprus is Turkish" riots will be tried by military courts. More than 200 people were arrested in Izmir and 2,000 questioned in Istanbul.

United Germany

The visit of the Western German Chancellor Adenauer to Russia has clarified issues somewhat, particularly to the question of the release of German prisoners of war still held in Russia. But one of the main problems remains untouched, indeed it is obviously being shelved.

The *Worldover Press* gave the following comment on this issue in its August 12 issue:

"Around one issue there has been, ever since Geneva, increasing propaganda and obscurantism. That issue is the unification of

Germany. The Germans themselves reveal an awareness of this by the dichotomy in their expressed views. Almost the entire German press, not excluding that section of it which takes its tips from Chancellor Adenauer's government, has been branding the Summit talks as a failure because the question of unification was postponed and tied to continental security. Yet Adenauer, as if to echo determinedly the Geneva theme song—"In the Good Old Summit Time"—hailed the stand of the West, described himself as "serene," and called the meeting a big success.

"The truth is, nobody but the Germans is in any hurry to see the country unified. The Russians are not completely opposed, as the U.S. press persistently portrays them, but they want a high price—either a guarantee against the use of German might in the east, or severe limits on German military strength. The French, off the record, are no more enthusiastic than ever. The British are lukewarm, to say the least. And Washington, knowing that a united Germany voting freely would mean the end of Adenauer and an almost certain triumph for the Social Democrats, is in no haste at all. Besides, it wants to get the German army under way before it has to bargain."

A slightly different viewpoint is exposed in the following comment:

"The German people have now been forcibly divided for over 10 years. The perpetuation of this division is a crime against nature.

"Three-quarters of the Germans are in the Federal Republic, and they are fortunate in having a great leader, Chancellor Adenauer. He stands for a united Germany that will be peaceful and that will find its mission in friendly co-operation with its neighbours. He is determined that Germany's legitimate needs for security and sovereign equality shall be met without a revival of German militarism.

"It would, however, be a tragic mistake to assure that because most of the Germans now have chosen that enlightened viewpoint, the injustice of dividing Germany can therefore be perpetuated without grave risk.

"There are many nations who feel that their own future security and world peace urgently require that Germany should be reunited, and enabled, if it so desires, to become a party to the Western European arrangements for limitation, control and integration of armed forces, so that they can never serve an aggressive purpose.

"There are others who profess to feel that a united Germany within NATO would endanger them even under these conditions."

A New European State?

The Austrian Treaty signed and ratified recently has caused a reaction in an unforeseen manner. The *Worldover Press* for August 12 gave the background in the following commentary:

"A crisis started in South Tyrol shortly before the signing of the Austrian Treaty. The Volkspartei saw the signing as the end of one of its last hopes. A delegation rushed to Vienna to persuade the Austrian Chancellor, Julius Raab, to include a clause to the effect that the question of South Tyrol should not be considered closed. But Raab, not wanting to give anybody an excuse to postpone the Treaty, was unmoved. Then the Volkspartei, like an Indian tribe being forced back into its reservation, decided to fight and put its faith in the gods.

"Perhaps one of these gods was Mr. James Conant, American Ambassador in Bonn, who came to Bolzano at the end of May. When the Volkspartei learned he was there, they thought he might be 'interested in their problem.' It was whispered he was looking around 'to see where the American troops would go.' Simultaneously, an Adenauer-inspired German paper demanded that 'Atlantic troops should be stationed in Italy.'

"The idea of a separate state is nothing new. At the end of the First World War, the victors had the idea of creating a neutral state by joining North Tyrol (Austrian) with South Tyrol (now Italian) as a buffer to Austria. The idea is now being resurrected in an inverse way. This time a part of neutralized Austria (North Tyrol) would be subtracted and joined to the province of Bolzano. Far from being neutral, this tiny Tyrolean state would provide the solution to the most important American strategical problem in Europe—the linking of the Mediterranean theatre (and the American base at Leghorn) with Western Germany. This link becomes 'necessary' because of the Austrian Treaty—so runs the scheme—and the consequent neutralization of Austria."

Problems of Free Austria

Some interesting side-lights on the Austrian Treaty are provided by the *Atlantic Monthly* in its August issue. These mainly relate to the status of Austria in between the two opposed power blocs. The following is a typical comment:

"The situation can be illustrated by a little episode that occurred in Moscow as the Soviet and Austrian delegations were complet-

ing the drafting of the new State Treaty. Nikita Khrushchev turned to the Austrian Chancellor, Julius Raab, and said: 'During the past few days, we have come to know you, Mr. Raab, as an honest, forthright man. I shall give you a good advice: follow my example and become a Communist . . . But if I am absolutely unable to persuade you, for God's sake, stay what you are. We shall not interfere. We know conditions in Austria. We shall let the Austrian people live the way they want.'

Free Austria has a great many problems, most of them generated by the long occupation. The *Atlantic* puts forward one of them in the following words:

"The end of the occupation brings up the politically as well as economically difficult question of what to do about the plants and stores which the Russians took over in 1945 as war booty. There are 296 such plants, with a total of 63,000 employees. These factories comprise one-third of all Austrian steel mills and practically all the oil industry. For the last ten years they have been operated not as part of the Austrian but as part of the Soviet economy. They have paid no duties for exports or imports, nor taxes on profits. Their output has gone either to Russia or to the Russian satellites, being exchanged on a barter principle.

"The condition of the plants is poor, and they lack raw material stocks, fuel, and capital. It has been estimated that about half a billion dollars will be needed in new capital to replace worn-out machinery, a colossal amount of money in Austria."

President Eisenhower

Last week came the following news about President Eisenhower's illness and its possible ill-effect on the *pour-parlers* on the Far Eastern question. We hope the U.S. President will make an early recovery as his genial and strong personality is of illimitable value at the present juncture:

"Denver (Colorado), Sept. 25.—Doctors attending President Eisenhower, in hospital here after a heart attack, today reported that the President spent a 'very satisfactory night' on Saturday and that there were 'no complications.'

"The President was taken to the Fitzsimmons Army Hospital here after he had a slight heart attack on Saturday. Throughout Saturday night he rested quietly in an oxygen tent while Mrs. Mamie Eisenhower, his wife,

stayed overnight in the President's suite at the hospital."

"Washington, Sept. 28.—President Eisenhower's heart attack and his long convalescence will have a profound effect on prospects for a general Far East settlement between the U.S.A. and Communist China, in the opinion of competent observers here.

"The first direct result of the President's illness on the Far East situation is expected to be a definite slackening in the already slow progress by American and Chinese representatives in negotiations at Geneva.

"The Big Two talks have reached a stage of uncertainty because of U.S. refusal to take up broad political, diplomatic and trade disputes until all American civilians have been released from China."

Far-East U.S. Viewpoint

We give below a summary of the U. S. Secretary's speech on the Far-Eastern situation. This clearly illustrates the U. S. viewpoint:

"In the China area the situation is somewhat less ominous than it was. We hope that the Chinese People's Republic will respond to the manifest will of the world community that armed force should not be used to achieve national objectives.

"The record of this Communist regime has been an evil one. It fought the United Nations in Korea, for which it stands here branded as an aggressor. It took over Tibet by armed force. It became allied with the Communist Viet Minh in their effort to take over Indo-China by armed force. Then, following the Indo-China armistice, it turned its military attention to the Taiwan (Formosa) area. It threatened to take this area by force, and began active military assaults on its approaches, which assaults, it claimed, were a first step in its new programme of military conquest.

"This constituted a major challenge to principles to which the United States is committed by our Charter. It was also a direct and special challenge to the United States itself. We have a distinctive relationship to these islands, a relationship which is reinforced by a mutual defence treaty with the Republic of China covering Taiwan and Pescadores.

"At this point, on January 24, 1955, President Eisenhower asked the Congress of the United States for authority to use the armed forces of the United States in the defence of

Taiwan and Pescadores, and related areas which the President might judge as appropriate to that defence. After full hearings in the House and the Senate of the United States, the requested authority was granted. In the House the vote was 409 to 3, and in the Senate the vote was 83 to 3. The authority terminates whenever peace and security of the area are reasonably assured by international conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise.

"Shortly thereafter the Bandung Conference was held. There again the peace-loving nations—many of them members of the United Nations—made clear to the Chinese Communists their adherence to our Charter principle that States should refrain in their international relations from the threat of force.

"From the site of the Bandung Conference, Mr. Chou En-lai proposed direct discussions with the United States, a proposal which I promptly indicated was acceptable to the United States so long as we dealt only with matters of concern to the two of us, not involving the rights of third parties. That reservation applied particularly, so far as the United States is concerned, to the Republic of China to which we are loyal as to a long-time friend and ally.

"Shortly thereafter the Chinese Communists released four and, later, the other eleven, of the United States fliers of the United Nations Command whom it had been holding in violation of the Korean Armistice Agreement. This release had been sought by resolution of this General Assembly adopted last December. The outcome justified the confidence which the United States placed in the United Nations and our restraint in the use or threat of our own national power.

"Some 15 months ago, the United States had started talks with the 'Chinese People's Republic' at Geneva with regard to getting our civilians home. As a result of the Bandung statement made by Mr. Chou En-lai and my reply, the talks were resumed last August, to deal first with the topic of freeing civilians for return, and then with other practical matters of direct concern to the two of us.

"All Chinese in the United States who desire to return to their homeland are free to do so. They have always been free to do so except for a few who were temporarily prevented by restrictions arising out of the Korean war. The 'Chinese People's Republic' has now declared that all Americans on the China mainland have the right to return and

will be enabled expeditiously to exercise that right."

Pakistan and Baghdad Pact

Pakistan has now formally joined the Western Bloc, in the M.E.D.O.

"Karachi, Sept. 23.—Pakistan today formally acceded to the Baghdad Pact when the Instrument of Accession was deposited at Baghdad by the Pakistan Ambassador there, Mr. Lal Shah Bokhari.

"This brings the total number of adherents to the Pact to four: the U.K., Turkey, Iraq and Pakistan—virtually the M.E.D.O. without the U.S.A.

"According to indications available here, the permanent Ministerial Council envisaged under Article 6 of the Pact will come into existence 'very soon.' The initiative in this connexion is expected to be taken by the original signatories, Turkey and Iraq."

Pak-Afghan Dispute Ends

Karachi, Sept. 13.—The Pakistani flag was ceremonially rehoisted over the Embassy in Kabul today, thus marking the end of the five-month-old dispute with Afghanistan.

The Afghan Foreign Minister, Sardar Mohammed Naim Khan, rehoisted the flag promising safety for Pakistani lives and property in his country. He expressed pleasure that the two countries had agreed to discontinue propaganda hostile to each other.

An Afghan military unit of 100 riflemen fired a salute to the flag and a band played the National Anthems of the two countries.

The Pakistani flag over the Embassy was hauled down by demonstrators last March when they demanded Pushtoonistan.

Tomorrow the Pakistani flag will be similarly rehoisted at Jalalabad where the Consulate was also attacked in March. On Thursday, the Afghan flag will be rehoisted at the Peshawar Consulate by Pakistan's Communications Minister.

Bengali in Pakistan

East Pakistan's claim for the State recognition of the Bengali language has gained a point as indicated by the news below:

"Karachi, Sept. 21.—The Deputy Speaker today disallowed a Bengali member from speaking in his mother-tongue on the ground that the 'chair' did not understand the language.

"Heated arguments followed the ruling in which both Bengali and non-Bengali members supported the member's demand for permission to speak in Bengali.

"Mr. Fazlul Huq, Minister for interior, said if the chair did not revise its ruling, most of the members might like to walk out.

"The chair ultimately revised the ruling and the member concerned spoke in Bengali."

Japan and Goa

The following news is of interest in connection with the Goa dispute:

"Bombay, Sept. 24.—Japanese shipping lines have ordered their ships on high seas in the Indian Ocean not to touch the port of Marmagao in the Portuguese settlements in India. The order followed advice to the shipping lines by the Japanese Government, it was learnt here today.

"It was interpreted here as evidence of Japan's anxiety to retain her goodwill and trade with India even at the cost of her trade with Goa.

"Japan has important interests in Goa because she not only has millions of yen invested in the iron and manganese ore mines in this Portuguese pocket but has also contracted to buy at lower than world price 600,000 to 900,000 tons of ores annually.

"Japanese sources pointed out that it was becoming clear that the Goan production was very much lower."

"Murder Most Foul"

A news-item appeared in the *New York Times* under the above caption, we give it in substantial extract, as well as the sequel as given in the daily press here. It seems that there are yet some spots in the U.S. where the light of civilization has not penetrated:

"Late last month a 14-year-old Chicago Negro schoolboy named Emmitt Louis Till went South to spend a two-week vacation with his uncle, a poor tenant farmer in Leflore County in northern Mississippi. On August 27, Till with his cousin, entered a local store owned by a white man, Roy Bryant, and allegedly 'wolf-whistled' at the proprietor's wife. The next night Bryant and his half brother came and took young Till from his uncle's house. The men said no harm would come to the boy 'if he's not the right one.' Next day, with Emmitt still missing, his uncle complained to the police and the two men were arrested on a kidnapping charge. They admitted to having abducted Till but said they released him unharmed.

"Then, on August 31, the nude body of a teen-age boy, bound with barbed wire and weighted with a 100-pound cotton gin pulley, was

taken from the near-by Tallahatchie River. It was identified by Till's uncle and others as that of young Emmitt. There was a bullet hole in his head. The body, after a brief interment in Mississippi, was brought back to Chicago a week ago Friday. There, thousands of Negroes passed before the bier to view the victim's mangled face. The boy was buried in a Chicago suburb last Tuesday. A spokesman for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said the case seemed to 'qualify as a lynching.'

"Last week there was disagreement among Mississippi authorities as to whether the body had actually been Till's. The Tallahatchie County sheriff charged that the case was 'all a plot' perpetrated by the N. A. A. C. P. But an eighteen-men, all-white Tallahatchie County grand jury last Tuesday indicted Bryant and his half brother on charges of kidnapping and murder."

"Summer (Mississippi), Sept. 24.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People today assailed what it called the 'shameful' acquittal here of two White men accused of murdering a Negro boy.

"The verdict is as shameful as it is shocking," the Association said in a statement from its New York headquarters. "The jurors who returned it deserve a medal from the Kremlin for meritorious service in communism's war against democracy."

"Half-brothers Roy Bryant (24) and John Mila (36) were found not guilty by an all-White jury here yesterday of killing fourteen-year-old Emmitt Till, who was alleged to have 'wolf-whistled' at Bryant's pretty wife.

"After embracing their wives happily, they were taken back in custody and put in Greenwood Prison, in neighbouring Leflore County to face kidnapping charges.

"The Summer Jury found them not guilty of murder after 68 minutes of deliberation and three ballots. Afterwards the Jury foreman said the deciding factor was the State's failure to prove the identity of a body pulled from the Tallahatchie River.

"The State maintained that this body, weighed and shot through the head, was Till's.

"Before the trial, police said the 21-year old Mrs. Bryant was the object of Till's whistle. But on the stand as a defence witness, she mentioned no names in relating an alleged incident at her husband's shop. Bryant's lawyers used this lack of identification to demand of the prosecution: 'Where is the motive?'

"Part of her testimony was withheld from the Jury and she was not cross-examined."

War or Genocide?

The unfortunate and dispossessed sons of Africa who were indiscriminately classified and massacred as Mau Mau, seem to have come to an end of their agonies, as the news below would indicate. The item is taken from *T.N.E.*:

"After three years' bitter fighting and 11,400 killings (including 9,400 Mau Mau, 35 white settlers, 550 soldiers), the British army in Kenya thought it had the Mau Mau war well enough under control to announce the withdrawal, within the next four months, of 2,500 British and 1,000 African troops—almost one quarter of the total force engaged."

✓ Indo-Pak Trade Agreement

The 1955-56 Trade Agreement between Pakistan and India signed in Karachi on July 25, has been ratified by both the Governments. It came into force on September 1, 1955, and will remain valid until the end of August next year.

Under the agreement, Pakistan will import from India, among other things, coal, stone boulders, hard and soft wood, mica, antimony, books and periodicals, lime and lime stone, cinema films, chemicals and pharmaceuticals.

The agreed items of export from Pakistan to India include raw jute, raw cotton, hides and skins, fish, poultry and eggs, betel nuts, salt-petre, books and periodicals, rock salt and cinema films.

A special feature of the agreement is the provision allowing the people living within the border areas of East Pakistan and West Bengal, Bihar, Assam and Tripura to trade in certain commodities of daily use. These facilities will be available only to persons holding 'A' category visas and will be subject to review after a period of six months.

World Coffee Production

On the basis of data collected by the Foreign Agricultural Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, total world production of green coffee for the marketing year of 1955-1956 is forecast at more than 45,000,000 bags of 132.276 pounds each. This figure would be 11 percent more than the 40,600,000 bags produced in 1954-1955, six per cent higher than the 42,400,000 bags of 1953-1954, and eight percent higher than the pre-war average of 41,600,000 bags. The principal increases in production have taken place in Brazil, Colombia, Mexico and the French African territories. Exportable production is forecast at 36,700,000 bags, compared with 32,300,000 bags for 1954-1955 and 33,500,000 bags for 1953-1954.

Felicitations

We offer our heartiest congratulations to Sri Hemendra Prasad Ghosh, the doyen of Indian journalism, on the attainment of his eightieth year. He began his journalistic career during the *Sandhya* and the *Bande Mataram* days in the early part of this century, and for fifty years he has been a very prominent figure in this field. He wields a facile pen both in English and in Bengali. He is a mine of information, and his encyclopaedic knowledge has been of great help to younger journalists who always receive from him valuable guidance. His contribution to Bengali literature is of no mean order. During his long career as a journalist he has helped considerably to raise the standard of journalism. He is also a familiar figure on the platform, and his informative speeches interspersed with witty remarks are always enjoyable. As a representative of Indian journalists he went abroad after the First World War. As an educationist, litterateur and journalist he has become an institution by himself. We wish him a long and happy life.

Fine Paper from Bagasse

W. R. Grace & Company, a United States organisation whose interests have been largely in the development of South and Central American agriculture and in American air and water transportation, has announced the development of a new process for the making of high grade commercial paper from bagasse. The new process is a continuous quick-pulping method in which bagasse (the fibrous residue of sugarcane after the sugar is extracted) is transformed directly into pulp as it leaves the sugar mill. The ordinary process for pulping bagasse required several hours, but the new method takes only 5 or 10 minutes.

In India, we produce and burn at least three million tons of bagasse. Should we not investigate the possibilities of this process?

U.S. Technical Co-operation

New Delhi, Sept. 24: An agreement signed here this week between the Governments of India and the United States allocated \$7,844,115 (Rs. 372.5 lakhs) toward the multi-purpose Rihand Valley Development Project under the Indo-U.S. Technical Co-operation Programme.

The Government of India will spend Rs. 7 crores for the first phase of this development project, which will be obtained from the sale of \$30 million worth of wheat and cotton being given to India by the U.S. as a loan.

Finance Minister C. D. Deshmukh and

American Ambassador John Sherman Cooper were present at the signing ceremony.

"The Rihand Project is a major river valley development scheme designed to speed the agricultural and industrial advancement of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Vindhya Pradesh States. The U.S. will finance the first phase (to be completed by June 30, 1957) of the project under the Technical Co-operation Programme. When completed in 1959, this Rs. 45.26-crore project will generate 240,000 kilowatts of electric power, mitigate flood damages in Bihar, and bring over 2,050,000 new acres of land under irrigation, yielding 600,000 tons of additional foodgrain every year as well as other valuable agricultural products."

Sports Ambassador Owens

Considerable interest has been created in our sporting circles by the coming visit of Jesse Owens to India.

Jesse Owens' timing of 10.2 seconds in the 100-metre dash at the 1936 Olympics is still a world record. Nor has any athlete succeeded in clearing 26 feet 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ inches in the running broad jump as Owens did at the Western Conference Championships at Ann Arbor, Michigan, in 1935.

The is why Owens is still considered the "world's fastest human," as America's greatest track star of all time.

Prize Competitions Bill

The Lok Sabha has at last put restrictions on this gambling that was becoming a social curse. The following news-item gives the short details:

"New Delhi, Sept. 26.—The Lok Sabha passed the Prize Competitions Bill today after a debate varying in tone between humour and reformist zeal.

"While the Bill places a maximum of Rs. 1,000 on the total value of the prize (whether cash or otherwise) to be offered by any competition in any month, an amendment limits the entries to a maximum of Rs. 2,000.

"In marked contrast to the speeches of many members who pleaded for a complete ban Pandit Pant took the view that a small prize added zest to games of skill. The element of 'swindle' was removed by limiting the prize money. He assured the House that, if exploitation of the guileless continued in spite of the limitation on the prize money, stricter steps would be taken.

"The Bill was extended to six States in addition to Bombay, Andhra, Pepsu and all Part C States mentioned in the Bill since their State legislatures had passed similar resolutions

empowering Parliament to make a law on the subject. The Home Minister said every State in the Union had undertaken to pass similar resolutions. He also assured the House that rules for issue of licenses to conduct prize competitions would be so framed as to license only those requiring skill and exercise of intelligence. He used harsh language in describing the manner in which crossword and similar competitions were being run at present. They 'seduced and tempted' guileless people, had become 'almost an organized fraud,' were a 'plunder of the unwary' and had driven many to madness."

Hindi and the I.A.S.

We reproduce below part of an editorial from the *Harijan*, as it is of crucial interest to the majority of Indians:

"A friend from Madras draws my attention to a notification of the Government of India which says that for probationers in Indian Administrative Service, the qualifying tests will be in the following subjects—1. Riding, 2. a Regional Language, and 3. Hindi, except for candidates who are examined in Hindi as a regional language under item 2 above.

"It says further that 'every probationer shall be examined in the regional language or one of the regional languages shown in column (2) of the Schedule against the State to which he is allotted'

"The Schedule is as follows :

State (1)	Regional Languages (2)
Andhra	Telugu or Hindi
Assam	Assamese or Bengali
Bihar	Hindi, Bengali, San'halı or Oraon
Bombay	Marathi, Gujarati or Kannada
Madhya Pradesh	Hindi or Marathi
Madras	Tamil, Telugu, Kannada or Malayalam
Orissa	Oriya, Telugu or Bengali
Punjab	Hindi or Punjabi (in Gurmukhi script)
Uttar Pradesh	Hindi
West Bengal	Bengali or Hindi
Hyderabad	Marathi, Telugu, Kannada or Urdu
Madhya Bharat	Hindi
Mysore	Kannada
Patiala and East Punjab States Union	Punjabi (in Gurmukhi script) or Hindi
Rajasthan	Hindi
Saurashtra	Gujarati or Hindi
Travancore-Cochin	Malayalam or Tamil
Vindhya Pradesh	Hindi

"The notification raises many questions. One of them is noted by the Madras correspondent as follows :

The following States are announced as Hindi regions—Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, and Vindhya Pradesh. The candidates from these regions will take only Hindi as their language, whereas the candidates from Andhra, Assam, Feni-bay, Madras, Orissa, West Bengal, Hyderabad, Mysore and Travancore-Cochin will have to take two languages, i.e., the regional language and Hindi. Thus, candidates of the Hindi-speaking regions are in an advantageous position of taking only one language. Others will be in a disadvantageous position, having to take two languages. Thus it is clear that the scales cannot, by this method, be held even between the candidates from Hindi and non-Hindi regions.

"Why not one of the Dravidian languages—Tamil, Telugu, Kannada or Malayalam be made an additional compulsory language for the candidates from the Hindi-speaking areas, so that there may be equal advantage for all and there may be interchange of ideas between the North and the South and strengthening of national solidarity?"

"There is another point worthy of notice in the above Schedule. We see that Andhra, Pepsu, and Saurashtra are scheduled to have Hindi as a regional language. Urdu is mentioned against Hyderabad only, even though it obtains as a regional language, more or less, all over the areas where Hindi is mentioned as a regional language; for example, U.P., Punjab, Bihar, Rajasthan, etc. It is worth while to know the basis on which the regional languages are prescribed in the Schedule, for it raises important questions in regard to future administrative set-up."

Examinations in 'Mother-Tongue'

It is interesting to note the opinion of experienced teachers in the matter of examination in Regional Languages. The following news is noteworthy:

Guntur, Sept. 14.—The Andhra Tutorial Teachers' Conference was held here recently in the Kalodaya Tutorial College buildings. Mr. G. V. Subba Rao of Vijayawada presided.

Mr. G. V. Subba Rao, in his presidential address, said that English must be replaced by the regional language at all stages. He added that any attempt to perpetuate a foreign language medium would be resisted. He advocated the reviving of primary and middle school public examinations and making physical education compulsory. He appealed to the University authorities to accord recognition to tutorial

institutions. The State Governments, he said, must come to the aid of the tutorial institutions as they were rendering great service to the students of the country.

The Conference passed a number of resolutions. One of them urged that in order to spread literacy and to promote general awakening in the country, public examinations should be thrown open freely to all private candidates without any restriction. The Conference requested the authorities to give adequate representation to teachers of tutorial institutions in the Senates of Andhra and Venkateswara Universities. It was resolved that English should be replaced by the mother-tongue in the university classes and that the mother-tongue should be recognised not only as the first language but also as the medium of instruction and examination in both secondary and collegiate courses.

Dr. Kartick Chandra Bose

Dr. Kartick Chandra Bose, an eminent physician of Calcutta and one of the pioneers in chemical and pharmaceutical industry in India, passed away on 25th August at the age of eighty-three. As a pioneer in this field his name should be remembered along with that of Prof. Gajjar of Bombay. Born in 1873 at Changripota, 24-Parganas, Dr. Bose graduated from the Calcutta Medical College in 1897 securing first class marks in all the subjects and topped the list of successful candidates. He joined the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works in 1899, and was its Managing Director for eight years. He was also the founder of Bose's Laboratory in Calcutta which he started in 1908. He was the founder-editor of the *Swasthya-Samachar* in Bengali which ran for forty years. He also edited its Hindi, Urdu and English editions. He is the author of sixteen books on medicine and health, and published in 1902 his famous *Official Indigenous Drugs of India*. He was also a pioneer social worker. In his native village he opened at his own cost branches of the Social Service League and the Anti-Malarial Society. His Multi-purpose Co-operative Society may be taken as the precursor of Deshabandhu Palli-Sanskar Samity.

NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays, "The Modern Review" Office and the "Prabasi" Press will remain closed from 23rd October to 6th November, 1955, both days included. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI,
Editor

INDIA'S "SUBMERGED HUMANITY"

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, Ph.D. and SONYA RUTH DAS, D.Litt. (Paris)

AN outstanding problem of India is that of her "submerged humanity" or of those peoples whose mode of life, as determined by living standard and cultural achievement, falls far short of the level achieved by caste Hindus or, in other words, those peoples who are "socially, educationally, and economically backward." Although this definition is too simple to be applicable to a dynamic nation in the process of rapid industrial development, when all these three characteristics are taken into consideration together, this is still true in the case of India where the caste system plays even today a dominant part in determining one's social position.

Most of the "submerged peoples," of whom fairly detailed information is available, fall into three categories, namely, Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes, and Backward Classes, numbering respectively 20, 55, and 35.6 million, or 5.6, 15.3, and 9.3 per cent of the total population. In other words, 110.6 million or 30.2 per cent of the total population of India are backward in social, educational, and economic achievements, as indicated below:

Submerged population	Number in million	Percent of total
Scheduled Tribes	20.0 ¹	5.6
Scheduled Castes	55.0 ²	15.3
Backward Classes	35.6	9.3
Total backward peoples	110.6	30.2

SOURCE : *India—A Reference Annual—1954*, Government of India, p. 348. According to the Census of 1951, the total population of India is 356.8 million, exclusive of Kashmir and Jammu, which had, however, a population of 4.4 million, the detailed information of which was not available at the time the Indian census was taken.

In addition to the above three groups of peoples, Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes, and Backward Classes, there are also 198 ex-Criminal Tribes, although the exact number of their population is not known.

These social, political, and economical conditions of about one-third of India's population have not only retarded the intellectual, moral, and spiritual development of these peoples themselves, but have very detrimental effect upon the progress and prosperity of the whole nation.

1. Including 995,000 persons of the "Leftout Tribes and Areas" as indicated by the Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1954, Government of India, p. 139.

2. See the *Indiagram*, The Embassy of India, Washington, D.C., July 18, 1955, p. 742.

1. THE "SUBMERGED HUMANITY"

Although grouped together under the "common designation" of "submerged humanity" or backward peoples, each group is different from the other, both in origin and nature of its problem, and would therefore require a different kind of treatment in each case. The common factor among them is that all of them are "backward." But even this "backwardness" varies in degree from group to group, as shown more clearly in the discussion of the origins and problems of each group.

Scheduled Tribes : The origins of India's Scheduled Tribes have been traced to such races as the Proto-Australoids, who one time practically covered the whole of India; secondly, the Mongoloids who are still located mostly in Assam, e.g., Naga Tribes; and finally, to a limited extent, also the Negritos strain as indicated by frizzly hair, among the Andamanese and the Kadars of the South-west. These original tribes in India have been divided and subdivided into a large number of sub-tribes, all mutually exclusive, each having the endogamous and exogamous clans with their own totem names and their own customs. The common features of all these tribes are : (1) primitive way of living; (2) habitation in remote and less easily accessible areas; and (3) nomadic habits and love for drink and dance.³

The Tribal Welfare Committee which met under the auspices of the Indian Conference of Social Welfare Work at Calcutta and consisted of anthropologists and other social workers, recommended the following classifications of the existing tribes : (1) *Tribal Communities* or those who are still confined to the original forest habitats and follow the old pattern of life; (2) *Semi-Tribal Communities* or those who have more or less settled down in rural areas and have taken to agriculture and allied occupations; (3) *Acculturated Tribal Communities* or those who have migrated to urban or semi-urban areas and are engaged in modern industries and vocations and adopted modern cultural traits; and (4) *Totally Assimilated Tribals* in the Indian population.

The impact of Christianity on the life of some of the Scheduled Tribes must be recognized both as far as the development of their literacy and culture is concerned. Since every

3. Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1954, pp. 326-333.

citizen has been granted by the Constitution his right to preserve his personal faith and religion, the tribal man is entitled to preserve both his faith and religion. It must be remembered that in the Indian renaissance movement as indicated by the Brahmo Samaj and the Arya Samaj movements, the Christian missionaries have made great contributions to the development of vernacular language and literature. What is required of every citizen is that he should learn both the State language and the national language so that he can easily understand his duties and responsibilities to the State and exercise his rights and privileges as a citizen.

The Scheduled Tribes of India are the earliest inhabitants (Adivasis) or indigenous peoples of the country, who were unable to defend themselves and were gradually forced to recede before the invading hordes of such peoples as the Dravidians, Indo-Aryans and Mongolians coming from the West, North-west, and North-east respectively, who were not only superior in numerical strength but also in mechanical equipment. The indigenous peoples thus took shelter in the mountain fastnesses and thick jungles, where a considerable number of them still are and have been estimated to be about 5 millions. Those who were left behind on the plains gradually disappeared either by absorption or by acculturalization.

According to the Census of 1951, there are about 245 Scheduled tribes (1950) with a total population of 20 million in 1951. They are concentrated in the central belt beginning from the Aravalli Hills in the west and extending to parts of Bombay State, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal and Assam. In the north, they are found in the southern ranges of the Himalayas, and in the south in the Eastern and Western Ghats and in the Vindhya and Satpura mountains.

The various groups making up the indigenous population in India are in different stages of primitive existence, as determined by their habitat as well as by the facilities of their internal and external communications. These groups differ from one another in ethnology, language, and social and religious customs. Education is difficult for the aboriginal races because of inaccessibility of their places of residence, difficulty of finding a common language, and the scarcity of appropriate teachers. But there is no doubt that the people of these

regions will gradually appreciate the value of education and take full advantage of free compulsory education. This is best indicated in the case of Assam where the young people of both sexes attend school together.

Scheduled Castes: The largest number of backward peoples belong to Scheduled Castes, which amounts to over 55 millions, about one-seventh of the total population of India in 1951, as noted before, and which are variously called exterior castes, depressed classes, untouchables, and Harijans (as Mahatma Gandhi used to call them). Of these various designations the two most important are Scheduled Castes, which have been official designations and have appeared in all their constitutional and legal relationships. The second is Harijans, a term which is also legal, as indicated by the Bombay Harijan Temple Act of 1947 and also by the fact that some of the leaders of the group have accepted it.

The origin of untouchability is "partly racial, partly religious, and partly a matter of social custom." There is, however, a strong opinion in certain quarters that "the idea of untouchability originates in taboo." Besides its origin, the concept of untouchability has undoubtedly been "accentuated by differences of race and racial antipathies, which seem common to every branch of the human family and have reinforced the magical taboo."⁵ Once such a group was formed, all the peoples, mostly of the aboriginal origins, who were employed in certain unclean occupations, were added to these untouchable classes, thus augmenting their number. (The greatest factor in the increase of the number of the untouchables was, however, penalization and condemnation by the Brahmins of all those Indian Buddhists who refused to give up their religion). There are several disabilities from which the Scheduled Castes suffer: (1) They are barred from the use of public utilities, e.g., schools, wells, bathing places, and often from burning ghats (cremation grounds); (2) they are barred from entering into Hindu temples; (3) they are deprived of the services of such peoples as barbers, tailors, and washermen; and (4) in certain provinces, their contact or proximity is regarded as pollution.⁶ Lately, some of these conditions have been modified but the essential features of their disabilities still exist.

4. First Five-Year Plan, People's Edition, Planning Commission, Government of India, p. 243.

5. *Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, India; Part I; Report*, p. 486.

6. *Census of India, 1931, Abstract, Government of India, 1932*, p. 6.

Backward Classes: Backward Classes imply the groups of people who are "socially, educationally, or economically backward," although the terms have not yet been officially so defined by the Constitution. Under Article 15 of the Constitution, the State is empowered to make special provision for the advancement of any socially and educationally backward classes besides Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes. In some States, no distinction is made between Scheduled Castes and Backward Classes. Some of the States, such as Madras, proposed to spend about 14.4 million rupees on welfare schemes for Scheduled Castes and other backward classes in 1952-53.

The Government of India has appointed a Backward Classes Commission with Shri Kaka Sahib Kalelker as Chairman. The Commission was inaugurated by the President on March 18, 1953. It has a three-fold function : (1) To determine the test which a particular class or group of peoples can be described as backward; (2) to prepare a list of such backward communities for the whole of India; (3) to examine the difficulties of the backward classes and to recommend the steps to be taken for their amelioration. The Commission has power to co-opt at least two members, including a woman, from every State as it proceeds with the examinations of the witnesses. The terms of references include the Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and a number of other groups, which are backward socially, educationally, and economically.

The Government has also prepared a list of measures which have been undertaken by 22 States up to December 31, 1951, to remove social disabilities among the Hindus.⁷

Ex-Criminal Tribes: In addition to Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes, and Backward Classes, as mentioned above, there are other classes of backward peoples in India, of which the most important are the Ex-Criminal Tribes, the exact number of which have not, however, become available. They are made of some 198 nomadic tribes who have not been able to adjust themselves to the proprietary conventions of a settled economy. Although many of these tribes have been associated with anti-social activities, others have shown a disposition to settle down as small traders and shop-keepers and have shown signs of skilfulness, which could be developed and utilized for the development of various crafts.⁸

In order to regulate the activities of these nomadic tribes, an Act was passed in 1924 under which certain tribes were classified as "criminal" as a result of their habit of banditry. Once they were so declared, they could not leave the places of residence at night, nor could they move out of the areas of their residence without permission. As under the Constitution of the Republic, no man can be deemed guilty unless he is proved to be so in a court of law. The Criminal Tribes Acts were repealed from August 20, 1952. Individual acts of criminality will be dealt with under ordinary law. They will in the future be treated as backward peoples and remedial measures for the improvement of backward peoples would be applicable to the so-called Ex-Criminal Tribes also.

2. POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL MEASURES
After centuries of neglect and apathy, India has been awakened, as soon as she has become independent, to do everything in her power to integrate her "submerged humanity" into her social, political, intellectual, moral and spiritual life by all means at her disposal. These measures might be classified under the following headings, such as Constitutional safeguards, reservations in services, and representations in legislative bodies, and development of Scheduled Tribal Areas.

CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS

Articles of the Constitution: Article 15 of the Constitution prohibits discrimination against any citizen on grounds of religion, race, caste, sex or place of birth. Article 17 abolishes untouchability and forbids its practice in any form; and Article 29(2) provides that no citizen can be denied admission into any educational institution maintained by the State or receiving aid from it, on grounds only of religion, race, caste and language.

Directive Principles of State Policy require the State first of all to promote the welfare of the people by securing and protecting a social order in which justice—social, economic, political—shall inform all institutions of national life; and provide in the second place that the State shall promote the educational and economic interests of the weaker sections of the people and, in particular, of the Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, and shall protect them from social injustice or all forms of exploitation.

Removal of Social Disabilities: Under Article 338 of the Constitution, the President appointed a Commissioner for Scheduled Castes

7. India—Reference Annual, 1954, pp. 354-55.

8. First Five-Year Plan, Government of India, 1953, p. 245.

and Scheduled Tribes on November 18, 1950. The Commissioner was required to investigate all matters relating to safeguards provided under the Constitution and to report upon their working at such intervals as the President may direct. Moreover, between 1938 and 1951, especially during 1947-51, some 22 Acts and their amendments were passed by various States as for the removal of social or civil disabilities of the Harijans or Scheduled Castes.

Reservation in Services: Article 335 read with Article of 16(4) makes it possible for the State to reserve appointments for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes and give them some other facilities as it may consider necessary. In fact, as early as 1934, instructions were issued by the Government of India to ensure that qualified candidates from these classes were not deprived of fair opportunities of employment merely because they could not succeed in open competition. In 1943, it was decided to reserve 8½ per cent of vacancies for them, and in 1946, the percentage of reservation was raised to 12½ so as to correspond to the percentage of the Scheduled Castes in the total population of the country. After the attainment of independence, it was decided that 13½ per cent of the vacancies filled on the basis of competition should continue to go to the Scheduled Castes. For all other posts, the figure of reservation was raised to 16½ per cent. At the same time, the appointing officers all over the country, especially in Assam, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Orissa, were required to keep in view the desirability of recruiting suitable candidates belonging to the Scheduled Tribes. In July, 1949, concessions in regard to age and fees, which have been given to the Scheduled Castes, were extended to the Scheduled Tribes.

REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT AND LEGISLATURES

The Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes have been given special representation in Parliament and State Legislatures for a period of ten years from the date of the inauguration of the Constitution. The total number of seats reserved for the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes are respectively 28 and 71 out of a total of 502 seats in the House of the People in the Central Government and 188 and 473 seats out of a total of 3,315 seats in the Legislatures of the States. Moreover, there were 11 members of Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes in the Upper House, the Council of the States.⁹

Appointment of Ministers: Under Article 164 and 238 the States Madhya Bharat, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa are required to appoint Ministers to look after the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes, and other backward classes. Some of the States have created departments of welfare services. Of the Ministers, Deputy Directors, and Parliamentary Secretaries, 31 belong to the Scheduled Castes and other backward classes.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF SCHEDULED AND TRIBAL AREAS

The welfare of backward areas has been assured by special provisions in the Constitution. The Constitution provides for the establishment in each State having Scheduled areas of a Tribal Advisory Council to advise the Head of the State on such matters relating to the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. Most of the States have already set up such councils. Such States are required to submit a report to the President regarding their administration.

Educational and Welfare Schemes: Article 46 of the Constitution has also laid down that the State shall promote educational and economic interests of the Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes. In order to give effect to this plan, a variety of measures has been undertaken by both Central and State Governments: (1) The total expenditure on welfare schemes for the Scheduled Castes and other backward classes in the States was Rs. 27.5 million in 1951-52, Rs. 35.0 million in 1952-53, and the budget for 1953-54 had a provision of Rs. 52.0 million. (2) The Government of India has been implementing the scheme for award of scholarship for post-Matric students and spent for Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and other backward classes Rs. 15.40 million in 1951-52 and sanctioned Rs. 30 million for 1952-53. (3) By the end of December 1952, 3,065 scholarships were awarded to Scheduled Castes, 1,094 to Scheduled Tribes, and 1,734 to other backward classes, or a total of 5,893 scholarships.

Other Welfare Work Grants: Of these welfare services, the most important are:

(1) *Developmental Plan*, for which Article 275 of the Constitution requires the Central Government to make grants to the State Governments from the Consolidated Funds of India to enable the latter to carry out development schemes for the benefit of the backward classes. The Central Government has thus granted Rs. 37.87 million to different States during 1951-53.

⁹. Under Articles 330, 332, and 334 of the Constitution.

(2) The Benefit under the Five-Year Plan:

A provision of Rs. 40 million has been made in the First Five-Year Plan for the amelioration of the Scheduled Castes and other backward classes. For implementing development of schemes in tribal areas, the Government of India has taken into consideration the need for the preservation and development of tribal culture. In accordance with provision now made in the Five-Year Plan, the States will spend a total of Rs. 188.72 million during the planned period.

3. POLICIES AND PROBLEMS

Although all the groups discussed above fall under the same category of "submerged humanity," they are different in origin and also require different methods of approach in solving their specific problems. They should, therefore, be discussed separately.

ASSIMILATION OF SCHEDULED TRIBES

Since the beginning of the Indian history, the policies both of the Dravidian and Indo-Aryan peoples have been to leave Scheduled Tribes alone and let them live their lives as they pleased without any interference from outside. Two outstanding events have drawn the attention of Indian peoples to the problems of the Scheduled Tribes: First, the uprisings of Paharia and Santal tribes in 1782 and since then and up to 1947, various acts and regulations were promulgated and some important reforms introduced. Second, the gradual penetration into tribal areas by foreign missionaries bringing in some extraneous influences in various parts of the country. Both these events indicated that India must develop some definite policies and take some positive steps toward her neighbouring tribal populations.

The first attempts of the Government of India were the provisions of welfare services for the tribal peoples in the Constitution. Under Article 275 of the Constitution both the Central Government and State Governments made contributions of Rs. 120 million and 110 million respectively, for promoting the welfare of the Scheduled Tribes. Moreover, a grant of Rs. 30 million was also made for the development of the North-East Frontier Agency in which a large proportion of the tribal population lived. This is a positive policy of assisting the tribal peoples to develop the natural resources of the areas in which they live and to evolve a more productive economic life depending upon themselves rather than upon over 17 States.

Article 338 of the Constitution makes further provision for the appointment of a

special body to investigate the safeguards provided for tribal populations and to report to the President on their working. This body started functioning with effect from November 1, 1950 under a Commissioner assisted by five Regional Commissioners with jurisdiction over 17 States.

Part X of the Constitution made special provisions for the autonomous administration of the tribal areas of Assam in special relations to the allotment and use of land, taxation, education, and the control of money-lending and trading; other States having Scheduled Tribes and Scheduled Castes will have Tribal Advisory Councils to advise the authorities on the advancement and welfare of aborigines. Such councils exist in Assam, Madras and Orissa. In Assam, Hyderabad, Madhya Bharat, Orissa and West Bengal, there are special departments or ministers responsible for tribal affairs.

It was not until 1952 that a fundamental policy of the Government towards the tribal people was definitely declared. In June 1952, a meeting was held in Delhi of the State Government representatives, the Bharatiya Adinjati Sevak Sangha, Members of Parliament, anthropologists, missionaries and social workers, to study the program of action on behalf of the aboriginal population. During the meeting the Government's intention to assimilate the tribal population without prejudicing its peculiar character was reiterated.¹⁰

This means that, subject to due respect to the minority rights granted by the Constitution, as well as some specific rights granted temporarily as mentioned above, Scheduled Tribes will have the same rights and privileges as any other group of peoples, irrespective of race, caste, or creed, e.g., free and compulsory education of the children up to age 14, and social education of adults in the language which they can understand, and also vocational education of adults in the language which they can understand, and also vocational education in occupations which are appropriate to them. Like any other group or community, they are entitled to all the civic rights, including participation in municipal, district, State and Union elections to choose their representatives. Moreover, as in the case of Scheduled Castes, reservations have also been made for Scheduled Tribes, both in higher services as well as for ten years in Parliament and State Legislatures, on the basis of their population.

10. *India News, The Indian High Commission, London*, 14 and 21 June, 1952, pp. 8 and 4 respectively.

INTEGRATION OF SCHEDULED CASTES

Another outstanding problem of India's "submerged humanity" is the integration of her 55 million or one-seventh of the population of India's Scheduled Castes or the so-called "untouchables," into her social, political, economic organization. It has also been mentioned that untouchability originated most probably from some unclean occupation, which under the magic of taboo, created such a wide gulf between the caste Hindus and the so-called Untouchables that it remained unbridged for thousands of years.)

In spite of the wide gulf between two races, blood fusion has taken place among them, as in fact, among all the races of India, and has resulted in the rise of existing racial variations among the Indian population. What is more to the point is the fact that there is some aboriginal blood among the high class Hindu population and a still larger number of the so-called untouchables resemble in features the high caste Hindu populations. While the first point may be explained on the ground that the higher class Aryans were permitted to take wives from lower castes, both the youth and beauty of some of the aboriginal classes might have attracted them even to matrimony. Even to-day the Santal women have become the artist's models all over India. As to the second point, it might be pointed out that considerable numbers of untouchables were once the descendants of high caste Hindus who embraced Buddhism, and became untouchables through the curse of the Brahmins. Moreover, it must be remembered that race diffusion often travels through by-paths and short-cuts rather than through the royal road of matrimony. In short, many Scheduled Castes have Aryan blood in them, and by treating them wholesale as "untouchables" great injustice is done to their own blood relatives.

Both the concept and practice of untouchability are the blackest spots of Hindu religion and Hindu culture. They have broken the moral and spiritual backbone of a large section of the Indian population and their misery and degradation know no bounds. There is no parallel class of people in the whole history of the human race. Poverty and starvation, illiteracy and ignorance, disease and ill health have been constant companions of these unfortunate peoples. They have been condemned by society as "untouchables," avoided by community for fear of imbibing impurity, segregated in the worst part both in the village and in the city, deprived of all the public utilities,

such as bathing ghat, drinking water, as mentioned before. That most of these conditions still exist today is best indicated by the report of the First Five-Year Plan, according to which "a large portion of agricultural workers belong to the Scheduled Castes (untouchables)." They are "the first victims of famines, epidemics, and any other natural and national catastrophe, and form the lowest social, political, economic strata of Indian national life."

The problem of untouchability has occupied the mind of all moral and spiritual leaders of India from Buddha to Gandhi, and some of their miseries have also been mitigated. Mahatma Gandhi started several kinds of welfare services for the Harijans, which are not only carried on by his followers even today, but have been incorporated into India's national Constitution. The Constitution provides safeguards for protection of interests of the Scheduled Castes, such as the abolition of untouchability; reservation of appointments in Government services; granting of special representations in Parliament and in State Legislatures, and similar other concessions. The most important and significant provision of the Constitution is the abolition of untouchability and "its practice in any form is forbidden." This provision of the Constitution was given effect to by an Act which was passed by the lower House of Parliament early in June 1955, making "discrimination against untouchables an offence punishable with a six-month jail term or a fine of Rs. 500." The Act grants right to the untouchables to demand full access to shops, restaurants, public wells, tanks and bathing ghats. It is a great achievement by the untouchables in their march toward obtaining human dignity.

The Welfare of the Scheduled Caste is mainly the responsibility of the State Governments. In 1953, the Government of India decided to make grants-in-aid to the State Governments for their schemes of removing untouchability. These grants are mainly intended for carrying on intensive propaganda for abolishing untouchability, especially in rural areas.) Moreover, the Government of India has also been giving grants to the following non-official organizations for their welfare activities for the removal of untouchability, such as (1) Bharatiya Depressed Classes League; (2) Harijan Ashram; (3) All-India Harijan Sangh; and (4) Scheduled Castes Federation. While the grant to the last-named Organization was still under consideration, the first three organizations were granted a total

of Rs. 469,000. The activities of these organizations is best indicated by that of the Bharatiya Depressed Classes League which employed 60 social workers for carrying on against untouchability, organizing public meetings and social gatherings, with special emphasis on the opening of wells, temples, *dhamashalas*, hotels, etc., to Harijans, where they were still closed.¹¹

AMELIORATION OF BACKWARD CLASSES

Backward Classes form the third important group of India's "submerged humanity," the problem of whom has come under consideration by the Government of India. As noted before, a Commission has been appointed to report on their conditions and to recommend the methods of the amelioration. Until the publication of the Report of the Commission, no definite policy could be adopted and no scheme of work could be organized. Some work which has been adopted related mostly to helping them to obtain a higher education.

WELFARE OF EX-CRIMINAL TRIBES

After the repeal of the Criminal Tribes Act in 1952, it was realized that all State Governments should undertake welfare services for making the Ex-Criminal Tribes economically self-supporting and for gradually adjusting them into India's social organization. The Government of India made grants-in-aid to State Governments for undertaking welfare services and indicated the following schemes, such as: (1) Education, (2) Agriculture, (3) Housing, (4) Cottage Industries, (5) Medical, (6) Public Health, (7) Aid to voluntary agencies, and (8) Miscellaneous. During the two-year period of 1953-55, the grants-in-aid of the Government of India to the State Governments amounted to Rs. 4.13 million and the total expenditures of the State Governments amounted to Rs. 4.67 million for the welfare services for the Ex-Criminal Tribes; in other words, both the Government of India and State Governments spent a total of Rs. 8.80 million for such welfare services.¹²

In addition to the grants-in-aid to the State Government, the Government of India also made grants to private organisations devoted to the welfare services of the Ex-Criminal Tribes. The Vimukta Jati Seva Sangha, Delhi, for instance, received Rs. 22,000 from the Government of India in 1954-55. During this period the Organization established

3 colonies and 36 quarters for the Ex-Criminal Tribes in different places, organized the Boys Scouting and Girls Guide Movements; established 3 Adult Educational Centres, where women were taught tailoring, knitting and embroidery; granted 23 scholarships to students for higher education; and provided free medical aids to 600 patients, thus laying a solid foundation of welfare services for the Ex-Criminal Tribes.¹³

CONCLUSION

An outstanding problem of India is the integration of her "submerged humanity" or backward peoples, amounting to 110 million or over 30 per cent of the total population, into her national organization. A large population, when developed physically, intellectually, morally and spiritually, becomes a valuable national asset. But when left alone, in poverty, disease, ignorance and inactivity, it becomes a social liability and a source of national calamity. The general policy adopted by the Government and approved by the people, towards Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes and other Backward Peoples is that, with due respect to their special cultures, they should be gradually adjusted to the social, political, and economic organization of India so as to form an integral part of the Indian Commonwealth.

India's "submerged humanity" or backward peoples, who have lived in India from time immemorial, fall under the following principal categories: First, Scheduled Tribes, the population of which has been recently estimated to be 20 million and which are the earliest inhabitants of the country and have preferred to live in savagery rather than to join the invaders and to lose their identity. Second, Scheduled Castes, the present population of which has been estimated at 55 million, which are the most neglected and ill-treated peoples in the history of the world, and have come to be known as "untouchables" and "pariahs." Third, Backward Classes, the present population of which has been estimated to be over 35 million, but very little is as yet known about them and the report of the Commission appointed on them has not yet become available. Finally, the Ex-Criminal Tribes, which have been estimated at 198, but the exact number of their population is not yet known. The very antiquity of these tribes, castes, and classes, and their intricate problems arising from social, economic and educational conditions have been left alone by the foreign

11. *Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1954*, Government of India, pp. 209 and 229.

12. *Compiled Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1954*, Government of India, pp. 982-83.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 236-37.

rulers who have dominated the destiny of India for several centuries.

The achievement by India of her national independence and the establishment of the Democratic Republic have brought a new life among the people, who have decided to uproot the century-old social evils. The Government of India, together with the State Governments, have mobilized all Constitutional, legislative, and administrative powers at their disposal to remove age-long evils from which Scheduled Tribes, Scheduled Castes, and other Backward Peoples have suffered so long, and have adopted the following measures :

(1) Constitutional safeguards ; (2) Reservation of Services; (3) Special representation in Parliament and Legislatures for ten years; (4) Development of Scheduled and Tribal Areas ; and (5) Educational and other welfare schemes. An outstanding measure of the Government of India to the untouchable classes is the enactment of the Act making the observance of untouchability in any form a criminal act punishable by payment of a fine of Rs. 500 or imprisonment of six months.

These measures of the Government are

being supplemented by those of the people, both individually and collectively. From very ancient times welfare activities have been undertaken by intellectual, moral and spiritual leaders from Buddha to Gandhi. Even today Acharya Vinoba Bhave, India's walking saint, has been travelling on foot thousands of miles and appealing to the nobler instinct of land-owners to donate land for the landless with wonderful success; and it is the followers of Gandhi and Ramakrishna who are in the lead in the welfare services among the tribal and caste groups. What is more significant is the fact that, aside from religion which is more or less a question of individual conscience and group conviction, there has been developing in India, since the beginning of the nineteenth century, a new culture or an Indian civilization, which is the expression of the life and labour of the people of modern India. Like the State, this new culture or civilization is the commonwealth of all the people of India, irrespective of their race, caste, or creed.¹⁴

14. See the writers' *India and A New Civilization*, Calcutta, 1942. This treatise is in the process of revision.

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GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT IN INDIA

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II

CLIMATE

owing to the great size and position and the diversities of relief, there are greater striking contrasts of meteorological conditions in different parts of the country than are probably found in any other part of the world. One part of the country lies north of the Tropic and the other within it. In the north-west lies the great Thar Desert with an average annual rainfall of less than 5 ins.; in the north-east are the Khasi hills with an average of 425 ins. at Cherapunji. Dras in Kashmir has recorded a minimum temperature of -49 deg. F, while Ganganagar in Rajasthan has several times recorded a temperature of over 120 deg. F. Hill-stations in the Himalayas (such as Simla) may be shrouded in cloud for days together in August with humidity of 100 per cent; while in December they may be overrun by air of nearly 0 per cent humidity. The mean maximum temperature at Cochin does not go above

89 deg. F in any month nor the mean minimum below 73 deg. F; while at Ganganagar the mean maximum temperature goes up to 108 deg. F in May and the mean minimum to 38 deg. F in January.

The climate of India is influenced from outside by two adjoining areas. On the north the Himalayan Range shuts it off from the cold climate of Central Asia and gives it continental climate, the characteristics of which are the prevalence of land winds, great dryness of air, large diurnal range of temperature and little or no precipitation. On the south, the ocean gives it a hot monsoon climate more typical of the tropical than of the temperate zone.

"We always think of India as essentially a tropical country. And rightly so, for the whole area within the mountain wall must be considered as a unit, with a common type of climate throughout, that of tropical monsoon."

The chief features of such a climate are the great uniformity and the small diurnal range of temperature, the great dampness of the air and more or less frequent rains. For the purposes of climatological studies India may be divided into two parts: Peninsular India and Northern India.

The whole of the Peninsular India lies within the tropics and has a tropical climate, the variations of temperature between summer and winter being small. In winter the temperature is controlled by the proximity of equator and the oceanic influences and it is between 65 deg. to 80 deg. F. But in summer the temperature rises over 90 deg. F near the tropics but in the neighbourhood of the oceans the climate is equable and the atmosphere is generally cloudy. In Malabar, the range of temperature is about 60 deg. F and in S.-Eastern Madras about 120 deg. F. These features are specially observable on the windward coasts, and they diminish with the increase in distance from the sea.

Although the whole of Northern India lies beyond the Tropic of Cancer, the climatic conditions here are more complex. The severity of heat or cold and the amount of moisture in the air, however, differ greatly in the different states and during different seasons. East Punjab and W. Rajasthan are very cold in winter and extremely hot in summer and the air is generally devoid of moisture. But in West Bengal, Assam, Bihar and U.P. winter is cold and summer is moderately hot with plenty of moisture in the air. In winter the temperature in Northern India is controlled, apart from the slanting rays of the sun in winter, by the anticyclone that covers this area then. The temperature varies between 55 deg. and 65 deg. F. The summer temperature is largely the effect of (i) direct rays of the sun; (ii) continentality emphasizing land influences far from the sea; (iii) anticyclone, which maintains a steadily rising temperature; and (iv) modification by the breaking of the S.-W. monsoon. The highest temperature is to be found in the neighbourhood of Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, S.-W. Punjab and West U.P.

Altitude tempers the heat of low latitudes. Up on the hills it is delightfully cool and refreshing even in mid-summer, but beyond a certain point the excess of cold forbids human habitation.

SEASONS

India enjoys three well-marked seasons, (i) a cool dry season, i.e., winter, when

light northerly dry trade winds prevail over the greater part of India, the skies are clear, the weather fine and the humidity low so that there is little or no rainfall except in the northern parts where moderate cyclone storms occasionally occur; (ii) a hot dry season, i.e., summer before the onset of rains, usually comes suddenly with heavy thunderstorms, dry scorching westerly winds (known as *loo*) ; and (iii) a hot wet season, i.e., rainy season, with winds of oceanic origin, high humidity, much cloud and frequent rain.

MONSOONS AND RAINFALL

The most important feature in the meteorology of India is the alternation of seasons known as monsoons. Strictly speaking, monsoons are seasonal winds whose direction is more or less reversed twice during the year. Lying largely within the tropics, and with the great Asiatic continent to the north and the wide expanse of the Indian Ocean to the south, India furnishes the best example of a monsoon country. During winter the general flow of surface air over the country is from north to south, north-westerly in the plains of Hindusthan, northerly in the central parts and north-easterly in the south of the Peninsula and the neighbouring seas. In this season the air over the country is mainly of continental origin and hence of low humidity and the season is known as the north-east or winter monsoon. In the summer months (June to September) the general flow of winds is from the opposite direction from sea to land and the season is one of much humidity, cloud and rain. The direction of winds in the major parts of the Arabian sea and the Bay of Bengal being south-westerly, the season is named the Southwest monsoon season. The causes determining the monsoon currents are many and varied but the fundamental cause is undoubtedly the periodical excesses of the heating of the land masses of Asia in summer and of cooling in winter as compared to that of the water of the Indian Ocean and the Chinese Seas.

Though agriculture is the main occupation in India, yet only about 20 per cent of the area under cultivation receives artificial irrigation, the remaining 80 per cent depending entirely upon the mercy of rain every year for the successful cultivation of various agricultural crops. In India, the rain-giving monsoon is known as the South-west monsoon. The South-west monsoon season during which 75 per cent of the total rainfall is recorded is the most important rainfall season. The monsoon

sets in June, spreads almost all over the country by July and August and gradually gets weakened in September. During this period rains are very important because they provide necessary moisture for agricultural operations for the sowing of *kharif* crops like cereals, pulses, sugarcane, cotton, oilseeds and jute, which account for more than 80 per cent of the total area sown to crops. Thus the setting in of the South-west monsoon marks the beginning of the agricultural operations over a wide area. The South-west monsoon generally spreads through two branches because of the peculiar shape of the Peninsula, viz., the Arabian Sea branch and the Bay of Bengal branch. The former brings rainfall to the southern and western parts of the country, but, as the monsoon advances, it penetrates further into the Central and North-West India. This branch of the monsoon comes first into the country in the southernmost tip, viz., Travancore-Cochin, generally at the end of May. The second branch comes slightly later and confines itself to Assam, West Bengal and North-eastern India.²

The post-monsoon season begins with October, and extends up to December. It provides only 13 per cent of the annual rainfall. Normally good post-monsoon showers are received in these three months in the eastern region comprising Assam, West Bengal, Orissa, Madras, Andhra, Konkan and Malabar. In other parts of the country, only light occasional showers are received and the intensity of these showers decreases from east to west. But these light showers are very important for the growth of the late sown *kharif* crops, especially in Southern India, as well as for the sowing of *rabi* crops. In Madras and Andhra, the rainfall during the period is known as the North-east monsoon. The rains during this period are of considerable local importance.

Winter monsoon commences in January and lasts up to the end of February. This provides only 2 per cent of the annual rainfall. Yet this is important for the proper growth of *rabi* crops of wheat, barley, gram and *rabi* pulses in Northern India, especially in the Punjab, Pepsu, U.P., Bihar, Madhya Pradesh,

2. The normal dates of the onset of South-west Monsoons in the different States are as follows : Bombay, 1st June; Assam, 5th June; Madras and Andhra, 7th June; West Bengal, 10th June; Bihar, 15th June; U. P. West, 20th June; U. P. East, 25th June; and Punjab and Pepsu, 1st July.

V. S. Menon : "Weather and Crop Conditions in India in Agricultural Situation in India, Vol. IX, No. 7 (Oct., 1954), p. 432.

Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat and some parts of Assam.

Pre-monsoon showers during March to May amount to roughly 1 per cent of the annual rainfall. This period of the year is generally dry over the land mass of northern and peninsular India where *rabi* crops are harvested and the irrigated crops like sugarcane, cotton, summer rice and vegetables are grown. But the stronger winds near the sea-coast, which increase in strength as the monsoon advances, bring rains to the north-eastern parts of the country consisting of Assam, West Bengal, Orissa and Bihar and the north-west coast of Madras and Travancore-Cochin, Malabar and south-east Madras. In the north-east region they help the sowing of autumn paddy and maize, while in the southern area, these rains are beneficial for the sowing of *kharif* crops like paddy, coffee, sugarcane and some vegetables on lands where irrigation facilities are available.

Part of the rainfall from the monsoon in India is orographical, and part cyclonic or convectional. All along the Himalayas, Assam and Western Ghats, the rising air currents result in the condensation of moisture and rainfall. The cyclonic rainfall is due to the passage of a number of depressions or cyclones, some of which are of local origin, while others have their birth in the neighbouring seas and are more landward. Rains in winter in Northwest parts of India are of this nature. Convectional rainfall takes place sometimes due to local heating which produces cumulous clouds. This type of rain is strictly local and occurs mostly in autumn or spring.

The annual rainfall of India is 42 ins., that is to say, we get all over one lakh maunds of water on every acre of land,³ and variations from this normal as great as +12 inches and -8 inches occurred in 1917 and 1899 respectively. Generally the variability decreases with increasing rainfall, the variability being largest in the driest parts of the country and least in the wettest regions.⁴ The high variability in areas of low rainfall is, however, not such a serious menace to agriculture as the comparatively low variability in areas which have just enough rainfall for agricultural purposes. Any decrease in rainfall in such areas

3. *Census of India, 1951, Vol. I, Pt. IA, p. 10.*

4. e.g., Kanpur, whose annual rainfall is 34 ins. has a variability of 20 per cent but Calcutta, with 65 ins., has only 11 per cent variability.

Vide R. N. Dubey : Economic Geography of Indian Republic (1951), p. 29.

makes it impossible for agricultural operations to be carried on and a famine is the result. As the average rainfall diminishes from place to place and as it becomes more concentrated in one season, variations from year to year increase. When the normal total is under 20 ins., no agriculture is attempted without irrigation, rainfall fluctuations are expected and planned for. Where the total exceeds 80 ins. there is almost always a surplus of moisture available for the growing of crops. Forty inches of rain is normally adequate but when it fails, a famine is threatened. Thus, the most seriously affected areas are those where the rainfall is 30 ins. and 50 ins. and this is the famine zone of India. In Rajasthan, Saurashtra, Central India and the Deccan, where some rain usually comes but the variation is great, famine occurs frequently. In this area there is enough rain for crops during normal years, so that adequate provision of irrigation facilities does not exist. This fact is the source of considerable suffering in times of drought. Long experience with rainfall fluctuations has brought population distribution into close agreement with climate possibilities, but so great is the pressure of population that many have occupied the marginal lands where drought is certain to occur. In certain areas, notably the East Punjab and Madras, irrigation has made the settlers somewhat independent of rainfall changes; but a prolonged failure of monsoon causes rivers and wells, the source of irrigation, to have less water than usual and thus to be less adequate for irrigation.

CHIEF FEATURES OF INDIAN RAINFALL

The monsoon rains in India are often marked by some important variations from the normal, viz., (i) The beginning of the rains may be delayed considerably over the whole or a large part of the country. (ii) It may end much earlier than usual causing damage to kharif crops and also make the sowing of rabi crops difficult or uncertain. (iii) There may be prolonged breaks of rain lasting over the greater part of July or August, when the summer crops needing plenty of moisture are just growing. (iv) The rains may persist more than usual in one part of the country and desist from another part. (v) It is concentrated for a few months. It is seasonal. Fluctuations in the rains as regards climate, distribution and timeliness bring misery or prosperity to millions of people. For several months in a year, India is on trial for her life and seldom

escapes without a penalty.⁵ (vi) It is also unevenly distributed over the country. Certain regions like the Western Ghats, Himalayan Tarai and East Assam suffer from excessive rainfall, while others like Rajasthan, West U.P., the Deccan, etc., are devoid of adequate rainfall. The sharp transition from heavy rains to dire scarcity is testified by the old proverb, "One horn of the cow lies within the rainy zone and one without."⁶ (vii) It is erratic, sometimes falling in torrents and heavy downpours leading to a considerable run-off. This results in excessive soil-leaching and soil-erosion.

RAINFALL ZONES

India may be divided into following rainfall belts : (i) Below 15 ins. belt; (ii) from 15 ins. to 30 ins. belt; (iii) 30 ins. to 50 ins. belt; (iv) 50 ins. to 70 ins. belt and over 75 ins. belt. The first two belts taken together cover about one-third of the country. Here the seasonal fluctuations are so frequent that they are more or less regularly expected; and when they occur, they cause a great deal of hardship to the people and expense to the Government. The first belt has so little rain that a great many people do not live there; but in the second belt about one-fourth of the people live. The third region covers almost exactly another one-third of the country. Here rainfall, if timely, is adequate; but the vagaries of the monsoon are apt to cause an occasional failure of crops and the consequent distress. The fourth and the fifth regions also cover about a third of the country. These are well-provided with rain, which is generally, though not invariably, dependable.

INFLUENCE OF CLIMATE ON ECONOMIC ACTIVITIES

(1) Perhaps in no other regions of the world the rainfall enters so much into every aspect of life as in India. Life here is primarily based on agriculture, which is dependent for its very existence on the South-west monsoon. *This monsoon may be said to be the pivot upon which the whole of Indian life revolves.* The deficiency of rainfall spells disaster for the cultivator and the prolongation of the dry season renders all hopes of a rich harvest that year futile. Hence, in one period India is deluged with rain and is the scene of the most wonderful and rapid growth of vegetation; in another period the same tract becomes a

5. C. L. Knowles : *Economic Development Overseas*, Vol. I, p. 278

6. Ronaldshay : *India, A Bird's Eye View*, p. 15.

sun-burnt, dreary waste. In fact, "if monsoon fails there is a lock-out in agriculture industry," a disaster which calls forth the virtues of patience and fortitude.

(2) As winter temperature is never too low in any part of the country, the growing period for the crops is prolonged and this fact enables us to grow both the temperate land crops in winter and tropical as well as sub-tropical land crops in summer months. In parts of West Bengal, Assam and the Peninsular region, owing to the availability of sufficient water supply, the growing of crops is easy. As many as three crops of rice can be grown in one year in these parts. The summer temperature is high and rises suddenly, hence crops mature earlier. This rapid maturity of crops tends to deteriorate their quality. India is, therefore, not a 'quality' producer, but only a 'quantity' producer. This applies to winter crops as well as summer crops.

The uniformly high temperature during the period of the greatest rainfall (June, July and August)* is of great benefit for the quick growth and maturity of crops like millets and maize. The hot and moist climate of this period produces an abundant vegetative growth in plants which serve as fodder for cattle. As the rainfall is concentrated to only a few months, the greater part of the year is dry. The fact discourages the growth of grasslands in India. Whatever grass grows during the rains is scorched during the dry season. Hence pasturage is poor in India and cattle and other livestock have, therefore, to be stock-fed. The extreme uncertainty of rainfall in various parts of the country and its compression into one or two months, have necessitated the practice of irrigation more universally and on a larger scale in India than in any other part of the world. A special peculiarity of Indian agriculture is the ingenious and assiduous manner in which water is applied to increase the produce of the soil, by means of tanks, embankments, sluices, river-dams and channels, wells and irrigation canals.

Climate also affects man's life. The degree of effort required for man's struggle for existence determines his character to a great extent. The Indian is typically a man of Tropics, he matures early and withers early, and is not generally long-lived. Girls reach the age of puberty at an early age and hence early marriage is generally the practice rather than an exception. The ample leisure is turned to

good use and imagination runs riot, producing a bewildering complexity and succession of ideas and projects which energize him and give him enthusiasm, but though not fitful, his energy and enthusiasm are not long-sustained. He tends to be fickle. Quick and alert, he easily tires. Passionate and excitable, his animosities are but a passing phase; quickly aroused, he is quick to forgive and forget; though ambitious he is contented; on account of the lack of sustained effort needed for the pursuit of the ambitions suggested by his acute intelligence, he falls back on contentment. Metaphysical speculations blend strangely with materialistic desire, for the non-attainment of which he seeks solace in spiritual philosophy.

As said above, under the easy conditions of living in the low-lying plains of the Ganges and the eastern and western coastal plains, individuals mature early, and the fertile regions become densely populated. The people are of comparatively modest physique sustained mostly on a rice and fish diet. The intensive cultivation and multiple cropping support a very dense population. Whereas in the hot and dry summers and cold and moist winters in the north, the areas are populated by stalwart races, very energetic and brave who subsist mostly on a wheat, milk and meat diet.

Clothing, no less than physical and mental characteristics, is also controlled by climate. In India, the great heat of the summer and the closeness of the monsoon period render it necessary to have merely light and loose garments. A *dhoti* and *uparna* (a nether and an upper covering), loose and light, preferably white in colour so as to reflect and radiate as fully as possible the solar rays, is the natural dress of the Indian, particularly in the tropical south and the hot east; fashion may add a border to the *dhoti* and create different styles of wearing it; the *uparna* may change similarly into a loose *kurta*; the head-wear may be transformed into the stylish *phenta* (turban) of the Rajputs, Gujars and Jats, into the flaming *patti* of the common people or into the small white cotton cap of the Banarasis. The garments are generally made of cotton; not because it is cheaper or because it grows locally but because it is the characteristic clothing material for the tropical and sub-tropical countries, where men desire not too-much to retain warmth, but require things to permit partial radiation and promote cooling. In parts of India, as in the north, where winters are fairly cold, padded cotton garments are in use. Silk is light enough for a tropical

country and therefore it forms the material for the ceremonial dress of the Hindus, the *pitambars* and *saris*. In India, luxuriant vegetation and the flora with varied hues lead to a preference for printed fabrics and variegated patterns in bright colours, particularly in the dress of the womenfolk. The sombre black or dull grey are more in consonance with foggy and cloudy skies of the cool temperate West than with the brilliance of the sunny tropical and sub-tropical East. The baggy trousers of the Sindhis, the voluminous shirts of the Marwari women are all in harmony with the extremes of heat experienced in their lands. Similarly, the Mohammedan lady's *pyjamas* satisfies the need for rapid and quick movements necessary in the desert and semi-desert areas where Islam has chiefly spread.

Tropical countries do not want so much light as the free movement of air, hence, in India, we have verandahs, courtyards, balconies and terraces, *jallies* and *chajas* and perforated screens to keep out the strong glaze of the sun and to permit the outside breezes to cool the interior. The great heat makes it further necessary to have high ceilings in rooms to interpose a long column of air and thus prevent excessive heating of the lower air in the buildings. The construction of domes and cupolas and the tapering *gopurams* in temples is thus a response to the climatic conditions, and not merely a device for ornamentation. In Western India, a house frontage on the east is much prized, for while permitting east to west ventilation, it enables the health-giving rays of the morning sun to reach the interior; a western front is only second to this. A southern front is fairly good since it permits the south-west monsoon winter to enter, while a northern frontage is considered least desirable. Sloping roofs are the characteristic of Western and Southern India because of heavy rainfall which requires efficient drainage. In areas of scanty rainfall and in arid regions like West Rajasthan, flat roofs and terraces better suit the conditions, not only by permitting the residents to escape from the heat inside to the cooler house-tops, but also by enabling the rain water to be led off by pipes and stored in tanks so as to provide good water for drinking purposes.

The great civilizations of the ancient world are found to have arisen in the sub-tropical regions between 30 deg. and 40 deg. and this is best-fitted for the birth of great

religions of the world. Of these, Hinduism was evolved in the steppe lands of Central Asia, the original home of the Indo-Afghan people; Jainism and Buddhism in the plains of the Ganges; Christianity and Judaism in the arid lands of Palestine; and Islam in the desert lands of Arabia.

A tropical and monsoon region like India is subject to two periods of danger when disease stalks boldly through the land. Diarrhoea, dysentery, cholera and small-pox rage violently in summer, and the beginning of a rise in mortality is perceived in April. There is another period, October, when malaria rages in India in all its fury.

These diseases not only sap the vitality of the people but also make them inefficient and easy-going. The number of deaths in India from preventable disease every year has been above 5 to 6 millions and the number of working days lost by each worker for the same reason has been estimated at 15 to 21 days in a year. The loss in efficiency due to diseases has been not less than 20 per cent. The fatigue and the ill-defined general conditions of debility produces a disinclination to hard work. Various kinds of diseases also render the body weak and reduce the span of life. The cumulative effect of all this on the people is to produce a lack of energy and strength needed to develop the best in themselves and in the resources of the country.

Climate also exerts a great influence on agriculture, the basic industry of India. Water is more valuable than gold in India and hence with the failure of rains, crops fail and famine conditions quickly overtake the region. The agriculturists are not the only persons who are affected by the failure of monsoons. As the incomes of the agriculturists fall, their capacity to buy industrial goods and services is diminished. Lawyers, doctors, and professional men find their incomes reduced. Sales of industrial products diminish and there arises a shortage not only of agricultural materials but also of food grains. Failure of crops reduces railway earnings and affects the volume of exports. Rent cannot be collected and land revenue falls into arrears. Thus the Finance Departments find their Budget calculations upset. It has, therefore, been rightly remarked that "Budget-making in India is a gambling in rains."

(To be continued)

WEST BENGAL'S INTER-STATE TRADE IN AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS

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If the current earnings of a society are used up wholly by current consumption bearing no surplus, there sets about a process of deterioration of the economy, at first slowly but very soon at a progressively high rate. It happens so because, at first replacement and payment for depreciation are put off. This reduces earnings and leads to fall in the living standards. This process continues for some period, and very soon a stage is reached when expenses for current consumption (consumption standard or habits die hard) begin to be met from depletion of capital stock. This process of deterioration of the economy proceeds with accelerated motion, with the inevitable consequences of low production and fall in employment and income until the economy seeks a new equilibrium level far down in the scale of economic activity.

To make possible creation of new sources of products and incomes through investments or other words to raise the economic level of any particular society, it is necessary that the society as a whole must have at its command a fund of purchasing power over and above what is required for maintenance of the economy at its existing level of efficiency. The greater the volume of this surplus purchasing power (along with potential resources), the higher are the chances for its developing quickly.

This surplus purchasing power may well be nested within the country itself, but this source is to be tapped very cautiously so that there may not be any deterrent effect on the current consumption standard. Loans from foreign lands may also serve as another source but besides being a burden to the borrowing country such loans are attended with various delicate considerations both political and economic especially in periods of high-tension international relations. It places a country in a particularly convenient position if the required amount of additional purchasing power is met as much as possible from earnings from external trade without any forced sacrifices at home. The spectacular economic development of Great Britain during the 19th century would have hardly been possible at the scale it was achieved without the vast external resources she had at her command.

Though it is true that the additional

purchasing power required for capital investment in developing countries is best acquired through external trade balances, it should be remembered well that any policy of artificial trade barriers or of recriminations used as an instrument of trade earnings, will lead to ultimate harm rather than benefit in so far as such policies prevent the world economy from freely following the path of comparative advantage.

The principle stated above is as much applicable to international as in intra-national trade as it holds between different States of the Indian Union. In what follows West Bengal's earnings from the external trade in so far as it relates to the other member-States of the Indian Union is briefly studied.

In this study West Bengal has been taken to mean West Bengal excluding Calcutta. Because Calcutta, so far as agricultural products are concerned, is not a producing but only a consuming market, for the supply of whose agricultural needs West Bengal has to enter into competition with other States. A correct assessment of West Bengal's performance in exporting her agricultural produces should also take into account her volume of trade with Calcutta, which is rather cosmopolitan in character. Out of these considerations Calcutta has been treated as a separate unit in this study, this being made possible due to separate statistical records maintained by the Directorate of Commercial Intelligence and Statistics, Government of India.

CEREALS

The export of paddy and rice, wheat and wheat products from Bengal before partition and from West Bengal since partition is shown in the following table:

(See Table I)

It will appear from the Table that the partition of the province in 1947 has not effected any material change in the trend of export of paddy and rice and that West Bengal has since then maintained well the same trend of having surpluses of rice and paddy, though as it is quite natural in far reduced volume. It may, however, be noticed that her export is ruling at a level much above her proportionate share of total cultivated area of the undivided Bengal, which is barely 30 per cent. The paddy and rice situation is expected to improve further during the next few years and, in fact,

if the bumper crop of the last season is followed by even a moderate crop during the next she will be in a position to further consolidate her position as regarding cereals and may even look up for a position of freedom from heavy dependence on wheat and wheat products as will be evident from Table II.

TABLE I
West Bengal's Import and Export of Paddy
and Rice* (Inland)
(In lakh maunds)

Period	Import	Export	Net (a)	Net export to Calcutta
<i>Paddy: (Average)—</i>				
Undivided Bengal:				
1936-37 to 38-39	12.47	24.11	+11.64	
1944-45 to 46-47	4.49	18.59	+14.10	
West Bengal:				
1947-48 to 49-50	0.62	18.39	+17.77	17.44
1950-51 to 52-53	1.03	22.88	+21.85	21.75
<i>Rice (Average)—</i>				
Undivided Bengal:				
1936-37 to 38-39	30.63	80.31	+49.68	
1944-45 to 46-47	25.86	69.56	+43.70	
West Bengal:				
1947-48 to 49-50	5.57	35.86	+30.29	30.83
1950-51 to 52-53	15.48	40.05	+24.57	26.16

N.B. (*) Source: Accounts relating to inland (Rail-and River-borne trade) in India. The same source has been utilised for subsequent Tables except where it is otherwise stated.

(a) Notation (+) indicates export and (-) indicates import balance in this and subsequent Tables.

TABLE II
West Bengal's Export and Import of Wheat
and Wheat Products (Inland)
(In lakh maunds)

Period	Import	Export	Net
<i>Wheat (Average)—</i>			
Undivided Bengal:			
1936-37 to 28-39	1.81	0.72	-1.09
1944-45 to 46-47	1.43	0.64	-0.79
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	0.11	1.83	+1.72
1950-51 to 52-53	15.04	0.61	-14.43
<i>Wheat Products (Average)—</i>			
Undivided Bengal:			
1936-37 to 28-39	12.97	0.22	-12.75
1944-45 to 46-47	15.16	0.23	-14.93
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	5.08	0.47	-4.61
1950-51 to 52-53	16.48	0.12	-16.36

It will be found from the above Tables I and II that during pre-partition days, against an average net export balance of about 60 lakh maunds of paddy and rice, Bengal would have an import of about 13 to 14 lakh maunds of wheat and wheat products. During the

post-partition period of 3 years, it is found that West Bengal even acquired small export balance in wheat against an import balance of about 5 lakh maunds of wheat flour. The position underwent very rapid change in recent times towards heavy dependence of imported wheat and wheat products as a cover against short fall of paddy and rice.

One very significant feature of the cereal position during the last 3 years is that West Bengal during this period earned an export balance of 46.42 lakh maunds in paddy and rice while receiving a net import of 30.79 lakh maunds of wheat and wheat products. When it is remembered that a good portion of this import is normally required for wheat-eating people of this State, West Bengal would have fairly enough met her own requirement of cereals had she not to make provision for Calcutta, to which her export of cereals was mainly directed. (It may also be noted that some imports to Calcutta from adjoining areas of the West Bengal districts are moved by roads and have no statistical accounts available). In view of the above accounts of statistical movement it will be realised that the Food and Agriculture Minister, the late Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, did take no unusual decision, while relieving West Bengal from the burden of feeding Calcutta.

GRAM AND PULSES

The position in respect to gram and pulses may be seen from Table III. Records of inland trade in pulses other than gram are not available beyond 1947-48.

TABLE III
West Bengal's Import and Export of Pulses
(Inland)
(In lakh maunds)

Period	Import	Export	Net
<i>Gram (Average)—</i>			
Undivided Bengal:			
1937-38 to 39-40	2.92	5.74	+2.82
1944-45 to 46-47	1.66	2.76	+1.10
<i>West Bengal:</i>			
1947-48 to 49-50	1.98	1.49	-0.49
1949-50 to 52-53	2.27	2.25	-0.02
<i>Pulses other than Gram (Average)—</i>			
Undivided Bengal:			
1937-38 to 39-40	N.A.	N.A.	
1944-45 to 46-47	N.A.	N.A.	
<i>West Bengal:</i>			
1947-48 to 49-50	3.66	1.95	-1.71
1949-50 to 52-53	11.33	3.32	-8.01
N.A.—Not available.			

As indicated by the above Table, the position re: gram remained after as before partition a both way traffic, with a tendency

for the trade to reach higher levels. But the position re: other pulses is found to have undergone radical changes both in level of trade, which has been much above that of the first 3-year-period after partition and in abnormal increase in import compared to export.

OIL AND OIL SEEDS

Rape and mustard are by far the most important of the oilseeds imported by West Bengal. The position of the three major oilseeds is indicated by the Table below:

TABLE IV
West Bengal's Export and Import of Oilseeds
(Inland)
(In lakh maunds)

Period	Import	Export	Net
<i>Rape and Mustard (Average)—</i>			
Undivided Bengal:			
1936-37 to 38-39	12.12	0.51	-11.61
1944-45 to 46-47	17.26	0.18	-17.08
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	18.13	0.34	-17.79
1950-51 to 52-53	14.33	0.56	-13.77
<i>Groundnut (Average)—</i>			
Undivided Bengal:			
1936-37 to 38-39	0.36	0.08	-0.28
1944-45 to 46-47	2.38	0.15	-2.23
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	0.69	0.10	-0.59
1950-51 to 52-53	0.51	0.05	-0.46
<i>Linseed (Average)—</i>			
Undivided Bengal:			
1936-37 to 38-39	2.13	1.94	-0.19
1944-45 to 46-47	1.48	0.40	-1.08
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	2.36	0.25	-2.11
1950-51 to 52-53	1.15	0.31	-0.84

It will be evident from the above Table that the trade pattern in rape and mustard has not in the least been affected in any way by partition. Far from any reduction in the volume of import, as was expected of the consequences of partition, the same is found to have ruled at a higher level than in the pre-partition period. The average import during the last three years is ruling still above the average for the period 1936-37 to 38-39, for the whole of Bengal. While the position re: linseed has followed almost the same pattern as rape and mustard the import of groundnuts recorded steep fall after partition and is found to have been still following the falling tendency.

The trade position in respect to oil may be found in the Table below. For want of statistical records the relative position of the different categories of oil except of cocoanut and groundnut could be shown.

TABLE V
West Bengal's Inland Trade in Oils
(In lakh maunds)

Period	Import	Export	Net
<i>Groundnut Oil (Average)—</i>			
Undivided Bengal:			
1944-45 to 46-47	2.69	0.10	-2.59
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	1.66	0.14	-1.52
1950-51 to 52-53	2.83	0.86	-1.97
<i>Cocoanut Oil (Average)—</i>			
Undivided Bengal:			
1944-45 to 46-47	1.15	0.06	-1.09
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	0.40	0.05	-0.35
1950-51 to 52-53	0.40	0.03	-0.37
<i>Other Oils (Average)—</i>			
Undivided Bengal:			
1944-45 to 46-47	6.58	0.36	-6.22
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	2.60	0.17	-2.43
1950-51 to 52-53	2.15	0.36	-1.79

The above Table read together with Table No. IV makes clear the trend of imports of oil and oilseeds. It appears that fall in import of groundnut seeds and rise in the level of imports of rape and mustard are concurrent with the rise and fall in import of groundnut and other oils (mustard oil constitutes the bulk of "other oils"), respectively. During the last three-year period import of groundnut oil has exceeded the import level for the whole of Bengal before partition. This expansion of the markets mostly may be due to its increasing use with mustard oil and higher utilisation in Vanaspati factories. The falling tendency in import of mustard oil is more than made up by imports of mustard and rape seeds in large quantities.

SUGAR, GUR AND TOBACCO

Bengal was deficit in sugar and gur even before partition but not so in tobacco. The trade position is shown in Table VI.

(See Table VI, next page)

It is evident from the above Table that while import of sugar had considerably been reduced from pre-partition level almost proportionately to her population share, that of gur, though fallen to about half immediately after partition, has during the last 3 years almost attained the same as the pre-partition level. In respect to tobacco, on the other hand, West Bengal found herself after partition in the position of a net importer as against that of a net-exporter, as enjoyed by the undivided Bengal.

OTHER COMMODITIES

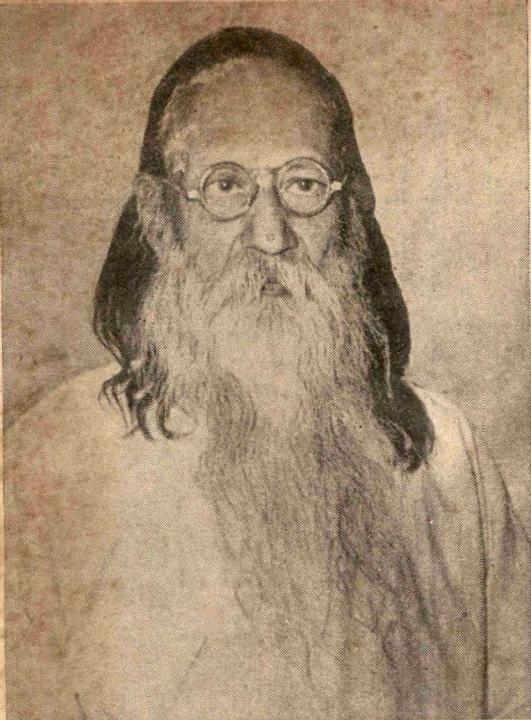
The position before and after partition of some other important items is indicated in the Table VII below:



The Five Rathas

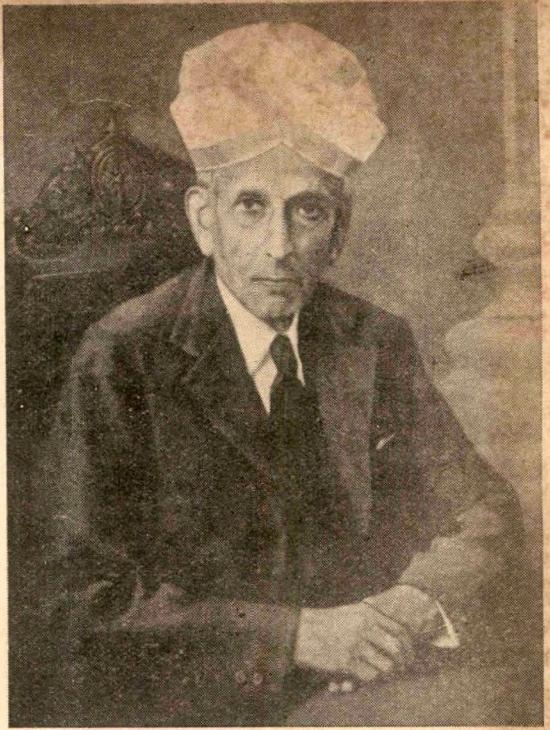


Mahishamardini in Mahishamardini Cave

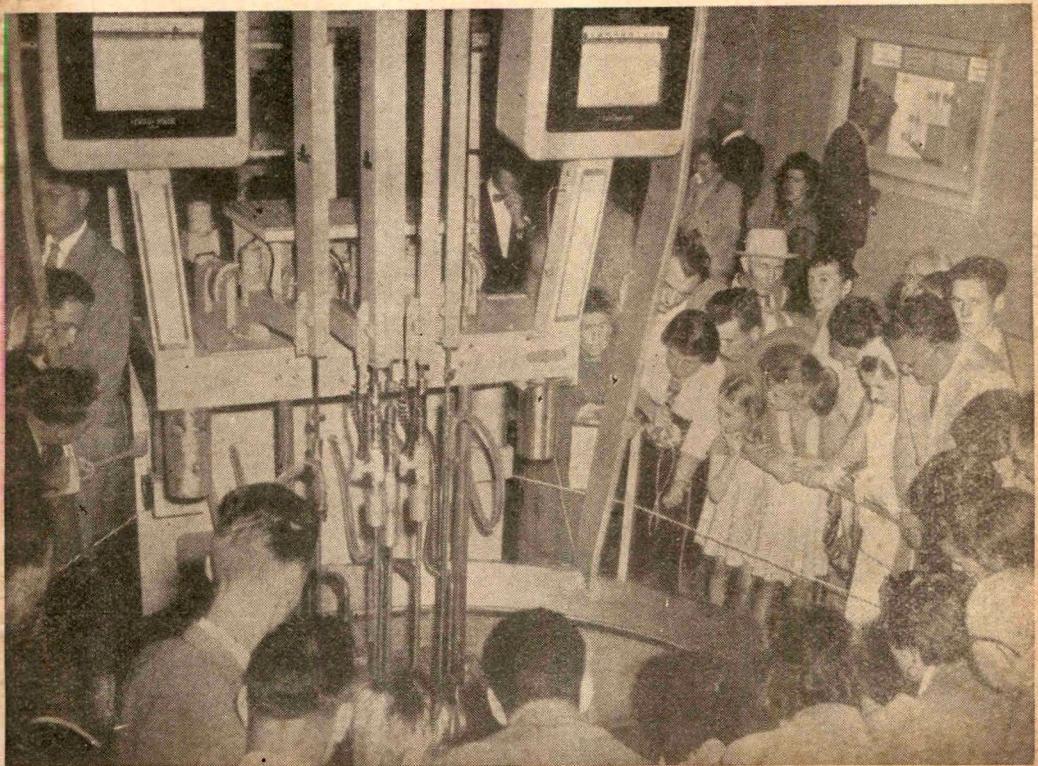


Dr. Bhagwan Das

(Bharat-Ratna recipients)



Sri M. Visvesvaraya



The swimming pool reactor set up by the United States Atomic Energy Commission at the Palais des Nations in Geneva

TABLE VI
West Bengal's Inland Trade
(In lakh maunds)

Period	Import	Export	Net
Sugar (Average) -			
Undivided Bengal:			
1936-37 to 38-39	19.16	1.33	-17.83
1944-45 to 46-47	12.73	0.17	-12.56
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	4.83	0.79	-4.04
1950-51 to 52-53	6.26	0.86	-5.40
Gu* (Average) -			
Undivided Bengal:			
1936-37 to 38-39	13.29	1.73	-11.56
1944-45 to 46-47	12.43	0.66	-11.77
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	6.54	1.12	-5.42
1950-51 to 52-53	12.00	0.83	-11.17
Tobacco (Average) -			
Undivided Bengal:			
1936-37 to 38-39	3.27	4.17	+0.90
1944-45 to 46-47	1.60	2.44	+0.84
West Bengal:			
1947-48 to 49-50	1.12	0.86	-0.26
1950-51 to 52-53	1.24	0.71	-0.53

* Includes molasses, rab and jaggery.

Table VII reveals that in both hide and skin, the export dropped to about one-third of the pre-partition level, as the consequence of partition. Similar trend is found to prevail as regards the export of sheep and goats in a drastic form, the present level of export having fallen to even less than 8 per cent of the pre-partition level. As regards cattle, while import has gone very much down, export has improved more than double the pre-war level. The import of oilcakes has not fallen down much below the pre-partition level and even during the last three-year period the import has gone up nearer the pre-partition level. It is significant to note that the import of rape and mustard has also followed similar trend of imports ruling at a high level in spite of the partition.

JUTE AND TEA

The position with respect to tea has very little been affected by partition. On the other hand, jute has been worst affected by partition and West Bengal has to import about one-third of her raw jute requirement of her jute industry from her truncated portion. As the entire bulk of jute produced in the State find their way to the jute mills around Calcutta, the trend of trade in jute is best indicated by the trend of production, in absence of detailed trade statistics, the export of raw jute being now restricted.

TABLE VII
West Bengal's Inland Trade Before and After Partition
 (In lakh maunds)

Items	UNDIVIDED BENGAL (Average)			WEST BENGAL (Average)		
	1936-37 to 38-39	1944-45 to 46-47	1947-48 to 49-50	1936-37 to 38-39	1944-45 to 46-47	1947-48 to 49-50
	Imp. Exp.	Net	Imp. Exp.	Net	Imp. Exp.	Net
Lac and shellac	0.04 0.04	+0.12 (a)	... 0.05	0.09 0.11	+0.02 0.03	0.02 0.02
Ghee	0.90 0.04	-0.86 0.22	0.05 -0.17	0.04 -0.04	0.03 0.03	-0.03 -0.03
Hides (raw)	0.53 4.03	+3.50 0.49	3.46 +2.97	0.37 1.25	+0.88 0.48	+0.63 1.11
Skins (raw)	0.03 0.69	+0.66 0.06	0.47 +0.41	0.04 0.19	+0.15 0.02	+0.12 0.14
Oilcakes	5.55 0.23	-19.32 13.47	0.56 -12.91	10.83 0.50	-10.33 -11.19	-9.51 1.68
Sheep & goats (in .000)	5.33 (c)	134.33 (c)	+129.00 (d)	363.00 (a)	+348.50 ... (a)	35.00 13.33 7.70 27.00
Cattle	21.27 (in .000)	6.90 (b, c)	-14.37 (b, c)	7.37 ... (a)	10.90 +3.53	10.27 15.20 +4.93

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(d) Relates to 1937-38 to 1939-40.

West Bengal's Balance of External Trade in Agricultural Products
(In lakh maunds and lakh rupees)

	1952-53				1951-52				Rate per Md.(R) Minus Value			
	BALANCE		Minus Qty.		Net BALANCE		BALANCE		Md.(R) Minus Value		Rate per Md.(R) Minus Value	
	Plus Qty.	Value	Plus Qty.	Value	Plus Qty.	Value	Plus Qty.	Value	Plus Qty.	Value	Per Head	
Cereals:												
Paddy	30.41	228.08	... .	... .	07.50	... .	... .	... .	00.17	12.80	07.50	... .
Rice	18.36	307.53	... .	... .	16.75	... .	24.79	403.60	15.83	245.70	15.52	... .
Wheat	... .	25.17	482.51	19.17	... .	... .	... .	... .	22.85	442.70	19.37	... .
Wheat flour	... .	13.52	285.00	21.08	... .	... .	... .	... .	... .	... .	... .	297.60
S. Total	535.61	... .	767.51	... .	... .	231.90	... .	403.60	... .	701.20	... .	... .
Pulses:												
Gram	00.64	10.46	... .	... .	16.35	... .	... .	... .	00.77	14.61	18.98	... .
Pulses other than Gram	... .	... .	03.52	67.59	19.21	... .	... .	... .	09.69	157.40	16.25	... .
Grains other sorts	03.66	36.60	... .	... .	10.00	... .	2.54	25.40	... .	... .	10.00	... .
S. Total	47.06	... .	67.59	... .	... .	20.53	... .	25.40	... .	172.01	... .	146.61
Oil Seeds:												
Groundnut	... .	... .	00.40	07.25	18.13	... .	... .	... .	00.47	10.82	23.02	... .
Linseed	... .	... .	00.71	13.33	18.77	... .	... .	... .	00.56	15.68	28.00	... .
Rape & Mustard	... .	... .	14.01	287.91	20.55	... .	... .	... .	14.16	444.30	31.38	... .
Til	... .	... .	00.016	00.39	24.47	... .	... .	... .	00.026	00.65	29.09	... .
Castor	... .	... .	00.175	02.98	17.05	... .	... .	... .	00.09	02.43	26.99	... .
S. Total	... .	... .	311.86	... .	... .	311.86	... .	... .	... .	473.88	... .	473.88
Oils:												
Groundnut	... .	... .	02.40	135.36	56.40	... .	... .	... .	01.39	95.15	68.44	... .
Coconut	... .	... .	00.33	25.01	75.80	... .	... .	... .	00.40	32.46	81.16	... .
Oil: others	... .	... .	02.18	100.65	46.17	... .	... .	... .	01.60	103.50	64.69	... .
S. Total	... .	... .	05.15	174.22	33.83	... .	... .	... .	06.99	254.80	36.44	... .
Sugar, Rab and Molasses												
Sugar	... .	... .	08.56	107.00	12.50	... .	... .	... .	14.03	286.21	20.40	... .
Gur, Rab and Molasses	... .	... .	... .	281.22	... .	281.22	... .	... .	... .	541.01	... .	541.01
Tobacco	... .	... .	00.32	53.33	106.66	... .	... .	... .	00.54	105.14	194.70	... .
Oil-cakes	... .	... .	08.48	61.23	07.22	... .	... .	... .	09.35	108.46	11.60	... .
Hides (Raw)	00.65	57.37	... .	... .	88.26	... .	60.38	33.46	... .	88.05	... .	... .
Skin (Raw)	00.04	10.30	... .	... .	257.66	... .	00.09	22.78	... .	253.05	... .	... .
*Cattle	... .	... .	03.10	06.20	200.00 (a)	... .	... .	... .	04.30	08.60	200.00 (a)	... .
*Sheep and Goats	... .	... .	03.00	00.60	20.00 (a)	... .	16.00	03.20	... .	05.57	185.66	... .
Ghee	... .	... .	00.025	04.98	199.25	... .	... .	... .	00.03	00.02	... .	... .
Lac and Shellac†	00.02	... .	... .	... .	... .	... .	... .	... .	00.96	... .	... .	... .
Myrobalans†	... .	00.76	... .	... .	... .	... .	... .	... .	... .	... .	... .	... .
S. Total	67.67	... .	126.34	... .	... .	58.67	... .	59.44	... .	227.77	... .	168.33
G. Total	... .	... .	... .	... .	... .	1165.20	... .	... .	... .	... .	... .	1888.54

* In thousands

(a) Price per head.

† Valuation of some of the minor items both of import and export could not be made with reasonable accuracy due to lack of movement statistics or quality-wise classification of stocks, even when such statistics are available, there being wide variation of prices according to qualities. This, it is hoped, will not affect seriously the result of this Table as such omissions occur on both sides of the balance, import as well as export.

BALANCE OF TRADE

Table VIII indicates West Bengal's balance of trade accounts in respect to the important items of agricultural trade for the years 1951-52 and 1952-53. While computing the balance of accounts and their corresponding money value as shown below for these two years, the position has been considered from the angle of the earnings of the agricultural community only. The earnings from tea has naturally been excluded from these accounts for the reasons that tea belongs to a large-scale plantation economy and the average cultivator does not directly participate in the earnings from tea. On the contrary, the tea habit has been so popular that it constitutes often a regular item of expenditure in his cost of living.

The method adopted for preparation of these accounts has been to arrive at the positive or negative balance of trade for each item under consideration and then to evaluate the same balance by means of the wholesale prices as prevailed in Calcutta. The evaluation of the trade balances has been done at the Calcutta wholesale prices due to the limiting factor that adequate price statistics covering the numerous places of origin and destination of the various items are not easily available at present. In absence of such elaborate price data, however, it is hoped that the Calcutta wholesale prices may well serve to indicate the position broadly.

The result is shown above in Table VIII.

It is evident from the above Table that in almost all her essential requirements for agricultural commodities, West Bengal has an unfavourable balance and in 1951-52 and 1952-53, her net deficit balance was to the extent of about Rs. 1858.54 and Rs. 1165.20 lakhs. The computation of similar balance of trade accounts of any other year is likely to reveal net deficit more or less of a similar order. Surely this must have been a great weakness in her agricultural economy and such an annual drain would have decapacitated her from any kind of economic development but for the wealth derived from jute in which she enjoys comparative advantage. On computation from available data it is found that West Bengal's

earnings from raw jute was to the extent of Rs. 6292.27 and Rs. 2689.50 lakhs from the production of the year 1951-52 and 1952-53 respectively.* On the agricultural balance sheet the contribution of this fibre not only makes it possible for her to meet the deficit incurred for obtaining the essential requirement of agricultural supplies but also to leave her sufficient balance for meeting her expenditure on items other than agricultural. In short, it is a vital point to realise that West Bengal's agricultural economy is most precariously dependent upon this fibre, and the present study is an attempt to make an approximate measure of such dependence.

One other fact of supreme importance is that jute is essentially the feeder of an export market, in which price factor occupies a very important position, particularly in the present times when competition from rival sources and also from substitutes is being potently felt. Any measure directed towards reduction in price is not only desirable but extremely urgent and both production and distribution costs need simultaneously be vigorously dealt with for effective economy. This aspect of the problem has strongly been emphasised in their recommendations by the Jute Commission. "In the new situation," the Commission say, "the Indian mill production can maintain its markets only by an all-out effort to keep down production costs by modernisation and rationalisation and by obtaining its raw materials at the most economic price."^f

While action in some important respects have been directed towards raw jute for reduction of its cultivation costs, the equally important problem of its distribution has remained practically still untouched.

* For computing the market value of jute, production less 1 per cent held as retention has been evaluated at the average Calcutta wholesale prices, the proportionate share of each quality having been taken at Top 5 per cent, Middle 20 per cent, Bottom 45 per cent, Cross Bottom 20 per cent, and Mesta 10 per cent. In arriving at the annual average, monthly prices have been given the following weights: February to September—1 for each month, and October to January—3 for each month. Thus the marketable surplus of 110.76 and 112.16 lakh maunds are evaluated at the average prices of Rs. 51.81 and Rs. 18.98 per maund for the years 1951-52 and 1952-53 respectively.

^f Report of the Jute Commission, p. 6.



SOME ASPECTS OF THE POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY OF SRI AUROBINDO

BY DR. JAGADISH NARAYAN SARKAR, M.A., PH.D.,.

Professor of History, Ranchi College

Sri Aurobindo was one of the shining lights of the Indian Renaissance of the 19th century, who tried to liberate the soul of India from bondage. The Marathas and the Rajputs disintegrated as national entities by 1818 and the Sikh nationalism failed to sprout after 1839. The dreams of reviving the rule of Peshwa and the Padshah were dissipated in 1858. With the passing of Maharashtra out of the political stage Bengal stepped in to give a new lead to Indian political life. Renascent Bengal became the first workshop of the spirit of the 'Eternal and Timeless India' and Sri Aurobindo was one of its chief organisers. If Raja Rammohun Roy was the herald of the new age, Vivekananda stirred the sleeping giant. If Bankim saw the vision of the Mother and was the *Rishi* of the *mantra* of awakened nationalism, Sri Aurobindo was the prophet of national freedom.

Steeped in English education and isolated from Indian culture though he was in his early life, Sri Aurobindo became an ardent champion of Indian freedom. Master alike in Western lore and in India's wisdom, Sri Aurobindo gave expression to some revolutionary ideals for independence during the nineties of the 19th century. These years were, indeed, a turning point in the history of the Indian National Movement, witnessing the rise of Religious Nationalism or Extremism and Revolutionary Nationalism or Terrorism. In 1900 Aurobindo made the first move by sending Jatin Banerjee from Baroda to infuse the spirit of a secret society among the youth of Bengal.

Parting company with the Moderates, Sri Aurobindo loudly proclaimed the priority of freedom over any other thing. "First freedom, then (moral) regeneration." "It is the first condition of life, which must be satisfied, if the nation is to survive." "Political freedom is the life breath of a nation. Without it a nation cannot go, cannot expand . . ." Political freedom, in his opinion, was then the greatest and the only work before the country, as foreign subjection was eating into the vitality of the nation's being, emasculating its body, corrupting its morals and corroding its soul.

Stressing this social emasculation and stagnation, economic ruin and many other adverse results of foreign government more powerfully and persistently than had been done even before, Sri Aurobindo sounded the clarion call that good government is no substitute for independence and self-government.

He emphasized in his Kishoregunj resolution (April, 1908) that the village being the cell of the national body,

Swaraj should begin from the village; the political sense of the masses could be awakened only through the *Palli Samiti* (*Speeches*, 40 ff.).

The Partition of Bengal (1905) was the spring-board of Extremism. At the Benares Congress (1905) the extremists (Bal Gangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai, Bipin Chandra Pal) parted company with the moderates under Gokhale, while at the Calcutta Congress (1906) an open rupture was avoided by the adoption—under the influence of its 82-year-old President, the Grand Old Man, Dadabhai Naoroji—of the ideal of Swaraj or self-government. As Editor of the *Bandematarm*, Sri Aurobindo declared the policy to be "complete autonomy free from British control," but it was soon given up and the newspaper became the fiery organ of dynamic nationalism declaring in 1906 complete independence to be the goal of India (an ideal accepted by the Congress only in 1931) and gave a dynamic lead towards it.

Disclaiming the Congress policy of attaining Swaraj by mendicancy or petitioning as the "dream of timid inexperience, teaching of false friends, foolish to reason false to experience," Sri Aurobindo preached the "only two modes to effect the fulfilment of national desires: self-development and self-help (distinguishing between that of an independent nation and that of a servile people) and passive resistance," thus furthering the idea of Bipin Pal who was working through his paper *New India*. Sri Aurobindo was convinced that no material self-government was possible without *rajashakti* (and central organisation, such as Japan had). Considering the Plan of Campaign and obstructive methods of Parnell in Ireland and the organised untiring campaign of murders, riots, strikes and agrarian unrest (as in Russia), Aurobindo was convinced that the only effective means of national emancipation in India, short of actual armed revolt (the readiest and swiftest) was passive resistance (1907); it was the sole alternative to the ordeal of sanguinary violence. He organised the Nationalist Party (Cf. Sinn Fein of Ireland) to capture the Congress and use it for revolutionary action, if not to form a central revolutionary body.

Without recommending the method of refusal to pay taxes, a method usually followed in Europe, by the Dissenters in England, the Irish peasants and the Americans—involving direct defiance and breach of legal obligation and demanding perfect organisation and ultimate preparedness that were lacking in India then—Sri Aurobindo suggested (April 1907) (1) the negative method of boycott,—the organised refusal to do anything

to help the British, whether in administration, commerce, education, justice, and organised refusal to help the process of exploitation and impoverishment, and (2) the positive method of Swadeshi, constructive self-help in all these spheres, whether economic, industrial, educational (national schools), judicial (creation of arbitration courts) and military (erection of a volunteer force).

A passive resister had to undertake three obligations: to be prepared to break an unjust coercive law, to resist an unjust coercive order and to boycott those who use foreign goods and are guilty of treason to nation. The enforcement of these three canons would produce the actual shock of battle. Passive resistance, would, however, cease and active resistance would be a duty as soon as executive action became illegal and violent coercion. No longer passive, it would still be defensive resistance.

The most significant effect of all this was the creation of a new spirit of courage, indomitable and undaunted, rising again and again, wave after wave. The whole fate of Indian politics was changed. The subsequent Non-Co-operation movement and the Civil Disobedience movement of Mahatma Gandhi can be well understood in this background.

Sri Aurobindo insisted that freedom demanded sacrifice.

"The work of national emancipation is a great and holy *Yajna* of which boycott, Swadeshi, national education and every other activity, great and small, are only major and minor parts. Liberty is the fruit we seek from the sacrifice and Motherland, the Goddess to whom we offer it: into the seven leaping tongues of the fire of *Yajna* we must offer all that we are and all that we have, feeding the fire even with our blood and the lives and happiness of our nearest and dearest ones; for the Motherland is the goddess who loves not a maimed and imperfect sacrifice, and freedom was never won from the gods by a grudging giver."

This emotional and devotional appeal electrified the youth of the country and stirred them to the depth of their beings.

Indeed, inspired by the spirit of the song *Bande Mataram*, Sri Aurobindo loved and worshipped India as the Mother, the eternal and infinite Mother.

But to Sri Aurobindo, patriotism was more than a religion. It was a spiritual experience. He believed that the movement of India's freedom was guided by an unseen power, and that through it some higher will was fulfilling itself. In his *Uttarpara* speech (*Speeches*, pp. 57-59) he disclosed how his jail life was an intense spiritual *sadhana* and how he saw the *Viswaroop* of Lord Krishna. Speaking against Government repression in Bengal to a Bombay audience Sri Aurobindo made a remarkable utterance recalling the German idealist philosopher Hegel's view of history. History, to Hegel, represented the march of God on earth.

"Nationalism," said Sri Aurobindo, "is not a mere political programme: Nationalism is a religion that

has come from God Nationalism is immortal, Nationalism cannot die, because it is the human thing, it is God who is working in Bengal" (*Speeches*, p. 7).

Sri Aurobindo's public political life was brief. Predicting in January, 1910, that India would be free after a period of wars and worldwide upheavals which were to begin in 1914, he retired to Pondicherry in response to his inner spiritual urge. The active patriot and the active nationalist in him now receded to the background, the spiritualist came to the fore. Spiritualism engulfed his politics; but did not crush it, rather improved it. Immersed in his mystical and mysterious Yoga Ashram in Pondicherry, and convinced of the inevitability of the grant of independence to India by Britain due to insistence of demand and pressure of international events, Sri Aurobindo refused to return to practical politics. Nevertheless, in his *ashram* seclusion away from the political arena he always remained keenly interested in world affairs and India's fate, and devoted himself to the solution of these problems. He relaxed his earlier uncompromising formula of passive resistance when the Managu-Chemsford reforms were coming in 1919. Considering Nazism to be a challenge to spiritual evolution of humanity and an instrument for enslaving not only Europe but also Asia, Sri Aurobindo supported the Cripps offer as a step towards independence.

With unflinching faith in India's great mission to the world Sri Aurobindo like Vivekananda, was convinced that India was arising not to serve her material interests only but as a helper and leader of whole humanity. In 1907 he wrote:

"A divine power is behind the movement, the *Zeit Geist*, the Time Spirit is at work to bring about a mighty movement of which the present juncture has need. That movement is the resurgence of Asia and the resurgence of India is only a necessary part of the larger movement but its central need. India is the keystone of the arch, the chief inheritor of the common Asiatic destiny" (Mitra, pp. 46-47, also p. 57).

Again, "India is the giver of the nations, the physician of human soul in its profound maladies..." In his *Uttarpara* speech (p. 63) he conveyed to his audience the divine message, "I am giving them (the people of India) freedom for the service of the world" In his *Béandon Square* speech (p. 73) he said, "The sun of India's destiny would rise and fill all India with its light and overflow India and overflow Asia and overflow the world" Thus Aurobindo, in his Independence Day message on 15th August, 1947 said that the day "has a significance not only for us, but for Asia and the whole world"

But neither the Mother (June, 3, 1947), nor Sri Aurobindo considered the partition of India to be in the interest of her unity and greatness. "Freedom, not yet to unity." In the infinite plenitude of supramental light revealed to Sri Aurobindo, he advised us that the

"new India of the future" could not be built upon political freedom only and so commissioned us to rediscover and repossess our priceless heritage and on that to build the greater India of tomorrow. He saw the vision of a free and united India as means of fulfilling India's destiny.

"I believe firmly that a great and united future is the destiny of this nation and its people." (February 5, 1948).

In his *The Ideal of Human Unity* (postscript chapter, 1950) he envisaged the "necessity and inevitability of some kind of world union," and world consciousness and concluded that

"The ideal of human unity would be no longer

an unfulfilled ideal but an accomplished fact and its preservation given into the charge of the united human people." (p. 400).

At this crisis in human history, standing at the cross roads of *Amritam* and *Vinasham*, Sri Aurobindo repeated the message of the old seers to "Aryanize the whole world."

I cannot better conclude than by quoting the prophetic words of Deshabandhu C. R. Das (in the Alipore Conspiracy case) in 1909 :

"Aurobindo will be looked upon as the poet of patriotism, the prophet of Nationalism and as the lover of humanity . . . his words will be echoed and re-echoed not only in India, but across distant seas and lands."

—:O:—

THE DEADLOCK ON GOA

An Editorial of *The New York Times* and a Reply by Dr. Tarak Nath Das

A complete rupture of the diplomatic relations between India and Portugal was almost inevitable when the dispute had been allowed to reach the violent stage. If the break makes it clear that some new approach must be made and some new formula for settlement devised it will have served a good purpose.

The basic tragedy in this situation is that the clash over Goa is a clash of emotions rather than of interests. The tiny Portuguese enclaves on the Indian subcontinent have virtually no economic importance and no military significance.

Their emotional significance to the Portuguese is two-fold. They are a symbol of the once greater Portuguese Empire. As such they may be a political anachronism, but to the Portuguese they are sovereign territory that must not be alienated. In addition, because of the connection with Saint Francis Xavier, Goa is one of the most sacred shrines in Roman Catholic Christendom. It is easy, therefore, to appeal to religious feeling with the argument that it should not be allowed to pass into the hands of a non-Christian nation.

On the other hand, the emotional significance of the case to the Indians lies in the fact that these tiny holdings are a symbol of the colonial status from which India has now emerged. Their very presence on the map of the subcontinent is an affront to the nationalistic sensibilities of a newly independent nation.

In our judgment the Portuguese have been at fault in obdurately refusing even to discuss the question. The Indians have been at fault in tolerating

and quietly encouraging "non-violent" demonstrations that were certain to end in violence.

Prime Minister Nehru has repeatedly assured that the religious significance of Goa would be fully respected under Indian sovereignty. This is undoubtedly true in so far as a person of Mr. Nehru's mental and moral stature is concerned. It may not be true of some others, and *the Portuguese should have assurance on this point*. The Indians, on the other hand, should have the assurance that the problem can be discussed fairly and amicably.

What good offices can be used is not yet clear at this stage. But there is need for them and for a fresh approach.—The New York Times, August 21, 1955.

A REPLY To the Editor of *The New York Times*,

These are days of numerous tensions among nations. But on the issue of Goa, Indo-Portuguese tension has reached the point of a serious international crisis. It is a pity that while discussing Goa issue, many American editorials have been violently anti-Indian which has meant adding fuel to existing Indo-American suspicion, leading to ill-will. Because of this situation existing in America, I am very happy to read the sober editorial "The Deadlock on Goa," published in the issue of *The New York Times*, Sunday, August 21, 1955.

We all know that Mr. Nehru, on the Goan question, has been more temperate than Indian politicians and average Indian nationalists and men and women on the street; and he wanted to settle the issue peacefully as he has settled the question of

French possessions in India through negotiations. But the attitude of the Portuguese government has made it impossible to settle the Goa issue by Indo-Portuguese negotiation. *The New York Times* editorial rightly points out :

"In our judgment the Portuguese have been at fault in obdurately refusing even to discuss the question . . ."

Furthermore, the massacre of unarmed *satyagrahis* (Indians) on the 16th of August by the Portuguese police and armed forces which has only parallels in the "Amritsar massacre" or the "bloody Sunday" of Czarist days, has created such a grave situation that the Government of India has ended its diplomatic relations with Portugal. This is a serious situation, ordinarily presaging a bloody conflict.

It is safe to say that Mr. Nehru will do his best to prevent an armed conflict. But we must not forget that on the issue of Hyderabad, India was forced to take a justifiable police action; and the same thing may happen unless Portugal decides to open negotiations with India.

The most significant passage in this editorial of the *Times* reads as follows:

"What good offices can be used is not yet clear at this stage. But there is need for them and for a fresh approach."

In any effort for solution of Goa question one must not forget that the Portuguese claim is neither sacred nor eternally binding to India. The Portuguese do not have any superior claim to Goa than the British had to Bombay and other parts of the former British Empire in India or the French claim on Pondicherry which have become parts of Indian national domain.

If I understand correctly the present trend of Indian politics regarding the issue of ending any and all political foot-hold on Indian soil by any alien power, India will carry on the struggle on Goa indefinitely.

There should be no mistake in recognising the fact that no Government of India will ever agree to recognise Portuguese claim on Goa. All political parties of India are determined to end Portuguese control over Goa. On this point, Goa situation can be compared with the issue of ending partition of Germany which is wanted by all German political parties. All India recognises *Goa is India and must be a part of India*.

Great Britain has a treaty of perpetual alliance with Portugal. Spain is also in alliance with Portugal. The United States, France and other countries have close relations with Portugal. These nations should induce Portugal to follow the foot-steps of Britain and France and give up her untenable claims on Goa.

If I understand the existing diplomatic line upon the issue of Goa correctly, I find that all Asian States except Pakistan are with India. It may be added Egypt which recently has regained possession of Suez base from Britain would support India. There is some reason to believe that Britain and France regard friendship of India is of greater value than that of Portugal. It is needless to say that Soviet Russia and her allies will support India diplomatically. If one takes a poll of South American Republics (Catholic States), even there, he will find that some of them would not support Portuguese claim on Goa.

In my discussions on Goa question with American scholars and statesmen, I find that some of them suggest that it might be decided by a plebiscite or by commission of the United Nations. I venture to suggest that neither India nor Portugal would submit the issue of territorial sovereignty over Goa to plebiscite or the U.N.

Thus those who wish to offer good offices to bring Portugal and India together to re-open the discussion on Goa, should find a "face-saving formula" for Portugal which must acknowledge Indian sovereignty over Goa, while India should make some concessions in the form of a treaty of friendship or may even purchase Goa from Portugal, as the United States purchased Louisiana and Alaska at a nominal price. It is to be hoped that Portuguese statesmanship would recognise that friendship of India is worth more than hundred Goas.

TARAKNATH DAS,

New York City,
August 21, 1955.

Professor of Public Affairs,
New York University and
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and Politics, Columbia University,
New York City.

APPENDIX I

Violent Outbreaks Follow the Attempts to Force the Portuguese Out

By A. M. ROSENTHAL
(Special to *The New York Times*)

New Delhi, India, August 20: To tens of millions of Asians the most important place in world this week was Portuguese Goa, a lush sliver of land bounded by the Arabian Sea and Asian nationalism.

On August 15, about 3,000 Indians walked through jungles and crossed into the Portuguese territory at about a dozen places. They were invaders, but they went unarmed and offered themselves for arrest to nervous Portuguese border guards. All India watched.

Before the day was over, at least twenty-two

persons had been shot to death by Portuguese policemen and soldiers. More than 200 persons were wounded, some were beaten and the rest were rounded up and pushed back across the border.

That was the climax of a campaign of political harassment that has been growing in passionate intensity for a year.

But what happened the next day was perhaps more important for India, certainly more important to an understanding of life in India.

The official philosophy of India is non-violence and most Indians talk of it as an accepted way of life. But the fact is that India, non-violent in philosophy, always teeters on the edge of a frightening, catastrophic sort of violence.

ORIGINS OF VIOLENCE

Last Tuesday non-violence crossed the thin edge. In the great port city of Bombay, political demonstrations turned into mob looting and destruction. In Calcutta and Madras, there were strikes and turmoil.

The reasons for the political invasion, the willingness to die on the borders of Goa, and for the mobs that rose in India are not particularly complicated. Economically and militarily, Goa means little to Portugal and less to India.

The basic motivation for Indians is simply that Goa in Portuguese hands represents a hangover of colonialism and an affront to a national dignity of which Indians are extremely conscious.

That is the motivation. But the impetus for doing something about it comes in great part from domestic political factors. Prime Minister Nehru and his Congress Party have not officially encouraged the movement. Opposition parties see in Goa just about the only popular issue on which they can take the lead from Mr. Nehru and his party.

The Portuguese see Goa as an inalienable part of their national territory; and they fear that to give it up might give ideas to their African colonies of Angola and Mozambique. All over Goa are signs that read, "This is Portugal."

Physically, Portuguese Goa is a lovely country of glistening seacoast and deep green jungles. Intellectually, it is on the depressing side.

The ladies of the Portuguese colonial officers in the capital city of Pangim go in the evening to the country's only decent hotel and listlessly put another day behind them with canasta and mah jong. The Portuguese gentlemen go to the same hotel and sit

at different tables. They play a little bridge, drink a little wine and wait for the time to go home. Everybody seems to be awaiting the arrival of Somerset Maugham.

FEAR AS A FACTOR

Politically, it is even more depressing. India's way of life still is heavy with a powerful bureaucracy and her social forms still are largely innocent of democracy. But politically, India's leaders are modern. Portuguese Goa still is inching toward the nineteenth century. It is a police State.

There are about 10,000 soldiers and 2,000 police men in Goa, well-armed with light weapons. That means about one armed man for every fifty Goans.

Although hundreds of Goans have gone to jail, there are few outward signs of political unrest. It may be that the people are content. It may also be they are afraid.

Portugal is trying to work up enthusiasm for the election of a Goan Council, but the elections held so far in the colony have been farcical—no choice, no campaigning.

There is always another side. It is probably true that Goans live a little better than Indians. The cleanliness of Goan towns is a rebuke to Indian towns and villages across the border. The color line does not exist and there are Goans to whom Portuguese citizenship is as meaningful as to anybody in Lisbon.

RELATIONS BROKEN

A negotiated settlement seems remote. The Portuguese are willing to talk but not on any issue that involves the question of sovereignty. The Indians do not see anything else to talk about.

If there are to be any talks in the future, they will have to be through a third party. Indians this week broke their last diplomatic relations with Lisbon.

Some Indians feel the peaceful resistance movement has three strikes against it: it is largely from India and not Goa, the Portuguese are not at all reluctant to crack down hard, and there is no real political Opposition in Portugal to raise a protest.

But this is probably a minority viewpoint. Most Indians are convinced that Portugal cannot hold out for ever against constant political pressure and a tightening economic blockade. They are convinced that anti-colonialism is part of the tide of history and that Portuguese rule in Goa will be drowned in it.



MAHABALIPURAM

By N. R. BANERJEE, M.A.,
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FOR the first time in the history of our sub-continent the whole country was united under one royal banner during the benign rule of Asoka. Even in his days the kingdoms of the Cholas, the Cheras and the Pandyas in the extreme south did not form part of the big empire, but were attached to the great kingdom by ties of friendship, religion and culture. The political unity achieved by Asoka was of course short-lived. Many centuries after Asoka the Pallavas are known to have ruled over the Coromandel coast. But the information about the early Pallavas is so scrappy and straggling that endeavours hitherto made to make up a connected and chronological account of these people have not been entirely successful.

It is to the Imperial Branch of these Pallavas that we owe the works of art which have made Mahabalipuram memorable. The period of their ascendancy can be counted roughly from 600 A.D. to 850 A.D. for a span of about 250 years. Kanchipuram was their capital town and Mahabalipuram, forty miles away, their harbour on the sea. The enlightened kings of the dynasty, mainly responsible for the works of art which have borne their name and fame to this day, were the illustrious Mahendravarman I (600-630 A.D.) and his son Narasimhavarman I (630-668 A.D.). The latter, because of his great valour, was surnamed Mahamalla or Mamalla, i.e., 'of great prowess'. Hence the name of the little village, which bears his name, was Mamallapuram. The centuries that have rolled away since these great figures trod the soil here have transformed this name into the corrupt form of Mahabalipuram, and consequently, interesting legends have grown round the origin of the village and its glories. Untenable credit for these is given to the mythical king Bali or Mahabali, whose pride was humbled by Vishnu in his incarnation as Vamana, the dwarf. But tradition dies hard, and it is difficult now, if not impossible, to revive the original name. The next illustrious ruler, who contributed immensely to Pallava art, was Narasimhavarman II, surnamed Rajasimha, in whose time the first structural temples in South India, including the Shore Temple at Mahabalipuram, came into being. Narasimhavarman II ruled from circa 696-722 A.D.

The Pallavas were devout worshippers of both Vishnu and Siva and their catholicity and breadth of outlook revealed themselves in the exquisite creation of temples dedicated to the two gods.

Mahabalipuram is a veritable treasure-house of art, rich alike in variety and extent. Years of patient labour under the guidance of a master-mind would have produced them. These mute artists are long since dead, their names no one can discover, but their work bears eternal testimony to their devotion and skill. The level

of perfection which these works attained, at almost the dawn of stone art in South India, speaks of years of apprenticeship, here or elsewhere, in some more pliable and, of course, perishable medium like wood. There is enough justification for this theory of the evolution of art. Unnecessary members or parts of the stone-cut structures remind too strongly of the rightful place they occupied in wooden architecture. When they translated their experience of building with or carving in wood into the stone medium, they created those members or parts essential to a wooden structure, like the frame-work under a sloping roof, under the force of habit, and the simplest form of rock-cut architecture, which emerged first, was the rock-cut cave.



Gajalakshmi in the Varaha Cave

The works of art in Mahabalipuram can roughly be classified into four groups, namely, (1) Rock-cut Caves (2) Rock-cut or monolithic structures described as Pagodas or Rathas, (3) Structural temples and (4) Sculptured scenes on the vertical faces of exposed rocks. The first three also correspond to a chronological classification in the same order of evolution.

These monuments of various types are not clustered together but scattered over a rather wide area. A longitudinal ridge of low hillocks flanks the village,

forming its western boundary running north to south. Most of the monuments nestle at the foot of this ridge.

A few of the more prominent monuments are being described here :



Simhavishnu and his two queens in the
Adi Varaha Cave

The Rock-cut Caves: Such caves have been in use as places of worship as well as dwelling ever since the times of Asoka. Some of them like the Lomas Rishi and Sudama caves in the Barabar hills near Gaya, the caves at Khandagiri and Udayagiri near Bhubaneswar in Orissa, the world-famous Cave Temples and monasteries of Ajanta and Ellora, the renowned caves at Elephanta Islands off Bombay, and the Caves of the monastic order at Bhaja, Pital Khora, Karle and Kanheri, all displaying a high skill of craftsmanship, belong to the common order of rock-cut caves as at Mahabalipuram. The spurt of artistic activity in Mahabalipuram cannot be looked upon in isolation, and we have to look for their inspiration to the art of carving caves which began in Asokan times and spread through a vast expanse of space and over a good many centuries until a high order of craftsmanship was reached as at Mahabalipuram. But Mahabalipuram is not the only place where caves in South India abound. This peculiar form of rock-cut architecture in South India owes its inspiration indeed to the Pallavas, and are widely distributed all over South India. At Mahabalipuram itself, the rock-cut caves were the first to come up in point of time and are very

simple in form. Each cave consists of a central niche carved in the rock, with a scooped out rectangular verandah in front. The verandah is divided up in space by pillars. The central niche takes the place of the *Sanctum sanctorum* of a temple and contains, if at all, a Lingam symbolising the deity, Siva. The rear wall of this niche is often carved with the figures of Siva and Parvati, sitting side by side, with the playful figure of young Kartikeya called Skanda or Kumara. This group is collectively called Somaskanda, that is, Siva accompanied by Uma and Skanda, and is a characteristic feature of evolved Pallava art as the Pallavas were great devotees of Siva. Sometimes the central niche would also have a small Mandapa or pavilion in front of it consisting of a roof or canopy supported by pillars. The two sides of the central wall alongside the central niche would alternately remain blank or would be pierced by two or four more niches—each meant for a deity or would be covered with a group of sculptured figures. Likewise the two side walls of the verandah too would bear a bas-relief.

The method of scooping, as shown by unfinished examples on living rock lying here and there, is very interesting. The surface was divided up into square grids and deep grooves were chiselled along the outlines of the squares separating one from the other. These were then removed by gentle pressure and a hollow was thus scooped out. It is difficult indeed to calculate how much time and labour were involved in the 35 and odd individual monuments, big and small, scattered around the little village of Mahabalipuram.

The Mahishamardini Cave: One of the most remarkable of the rock-cut caves is so called because of the occurrence in it of a panel of Durga in her role of slaying the Buffalo demon. The central niche of the cave contains the empty socket where the Lingam should have stood. The rear wall of this niche contains the characteristic group of Somaskanda with the Nandi or bull reclining at its feet. Brahma and Vishnu are seen flanking the couple. Two other niches flanking the central cell are bare. The two side walls of the verandah contain respectively the recumbent figure of Vishnu lying on his usual bed of the coils of the divine reptile, Ananta or Sesha, and the portrayal of the fierce battle scene between Durga and the Buffalo demon. On one side is the picture of peace unsullied even by the effrontery of the demons Madhu and Kaitabha, put out of countenance by the weapons of Vishnu, namely, Sankha, Chakra, Gada and Kharga. In this scene these have taken anthropomorphic forms and brought about the discomfiture of the disturbing demons at the bidding, as it were, of Vishnu who in his *yoga nidra* is the very picture of bliss, and juxtaposed in contrast is a scene of battle raging furiously on the other. The other panel shows Durga astride a lion, each of her eight arms bearing a missile. The divine figure is turned sideways in the vigorous effort



The Shore Temple

of drawing the string of a bow and discharging a dart. The Buffalo demon, accompanied by his followers, made a vigorous effort to resist the onslaught. He is clearly at a disadvantage appearing to retreat with a back-to-the-wall attitude. His companions and attendants are in utter distress in the hands of the tiny *Ganas* or dwarf servants and attendants of Durga. In Bengal, Durga is worshipped in this form indeed, but in the traditional image the Goddess is completely calm and shows none of her vigour which is too manifest here. The Mahabalipuram panel forms one of the most vivid and life-like expositions of the subject. The skill of the artist in having achieved this effect is a thing to wonder at. No visitor to Mahabalipuram can afford to miss this epic scene.

Adivaraha Temple : Perhaps more interesting but less known than the preceding one is the Cave temple devoted to Adivaraha or the Boar incarnation of Vishnu. The temple occurs on the western side of the ridge, near its southern tip. During the Vijayanagar period this cave temple was hemmed in by a stone enclosure with its roof supported by pillars. Though this has, in effect, hidden the Cave temple from view and made the interior very dark, it has been blessed in disguise. Inasmuch as the monument is completely covered by this Vijayanagara enclosure

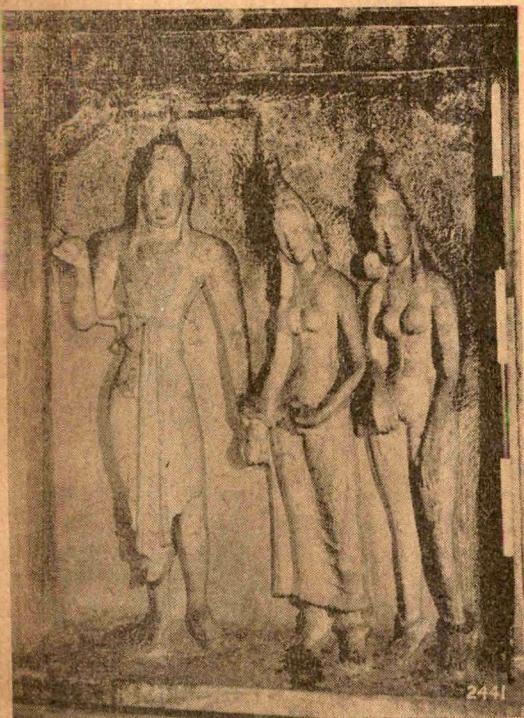
numerous sculptures decorating the walls of the cave have been preserved remarkably from the deleterious effects of the salt and sand laden winds coming from the sea, and the pristine sharpness of the sculptures have been well preserved. Apart from the preservation, the sculptures themselves have their own tale to tell. Besides the exquisitely carved figures of Siva supporting Ganga in her anthropomorphic form, Brahma, Gajalakshmi, Durga standing on the prostrate head of the slain Buffalo demon—all of them carved exquisitely—are two figures of the Pallava Kings Simhavishnu and Mahendravarman I, each accompanied by their two queens. The scene of Gajalakshmi in this group, seated in right royal style on her lotus throne while she is being bathed by elephants turning full pots of water over her head supplied in an unceasing stream by a string of gracefully poised maidens, arrayed on the two flanks, would indeed be a scene for the gods to see. A visit to this cave temple can only be arranged with the trustee of the temple, who lives in the village.

The other rock-cut caves, which are also excellent in execution as well as in their state of preservation, can only be mentioned in passing. They are the Varaha Cave, the Trimurti Cave, Kotikal Mandapa, the five-celled Mandapa and so on.

The Varaha Cave carries four panels of sculptured

figures depicting respectively the scenes of Varaha lifting Bhū Devi, Gaja Lakshmi—a repetition of the panel described under the Adivaraha Cave—Durga, and the scene of the discomfiture of the King Mahabali by Vishnu as Trivikrama. The occurrence of the last-named panel distantly, but mistakenly, suggests the association of the township of old with the mythical King Bali or Maha Bali.

The Trimurti Cave, as the name implies, combines the trinity of the Hindu pantheon and declares eloquently the catholicity of the Pallavas who created this. Stylistically, the rock-cut caves evolved from Mahendravarman style.



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Mahendravarman and his two queens in the
Adi Varaha Cave

The Rock-cut Temples: These represent the second phase in the evolution of carving in Mahabalipuram and consist of the isolated group of five Rathas and the lonesome Ganesa Ratha in the heart of the village. The Five Rathas, otherwise known as the Pandava Rathas, occur in a secluded cluster about a couple of furlongs to the south of the village. It is said that all five of them were carved out of one low hillock which once stood here. They are respectively called Draupadi Ratha, Arjuna Ratha, Bhima Ratha, Dharmaraja Ratha and Nakula-Sahadeva Ratha, named after the five brothers and their common wife. The term *ratha*, which has come to stay, is apparently a misnomer, as the monuments do not look like Rathas or chariots at all. They delineate, however, altogether four

different styles of architecture and are in the nature of temples. Their juxtaposition and the occurrence of so many of them together, the lack of deities to be worshipped and the fact that they were not completed prove all too clearly that they were not meant to be functional. It is no wonder, therefore, that many scholars have suggested that there was an open-air school of arts here.

Stylistically, the architectural structures here can be grouped into four types. The Draupadi Ratha reminds one too strongly of the conical-roofed common man's hut, still prevalent in the temples of Mari Amman and other minor village deities in Tamil land which are comparable to the four-faceted conical-roofed mud houses of Bengal, known as *chauchala ghar*. The Arjuna Ratha and Dharmaraja Ratha represent, in their different sizes, the characteristic style of storied Dravidian architecture. The Bhima Ratha is an example of the less popular wagon-topped type of architecture. The Nakula-Sahadeva Ratha is an example of the *gajapristhakriti* or elephant-backed apsidal style. The juxtaposition of the stone-carved elephant just by its side drives home the point by their obvious similarity. In this group there is also a majestic figure of a humped bull reclining with an air of utter nonchalance, looking upon the rest of creation with the greatest unconcern as it were. An imaginary and poorly sculptured lion also finds place in this motley group. This is indeed a blemish on the otherwise unsullied examples of art arrayed here.

Needless to say, the walls of the various Rathas are covered with sculptured figures testifying to the high conception and execution of the nameless and forgotten artists. The outer walls of the Dharmaraja Ratha shows in one corner the figure of Narasimhavarman Mamalla, the patron of this art, and records in florid Pallava *grantha* script his various achievements. The same Ratha bears also a sculptured figure of Ardhanarisvara, half Siva and half Parvati—a very popular form of the conception of the union of Prakriti and Purusha symbolising Sakti or the cosmic force. It has a grace of its own but, in its comparative stiffness of pose, it is indeed inferior to specimens of the same form in the more evolved and developed Chola art as in the Brihadisvara temple at Gangaikondacholapuram (Tiruchi District) or at the Tirunagesvaram temple at Kumbhakonam (Tanjore District).

Besides the above group of five Rathas there is an isolated and rather singular rock-cut temple, also likewise miscalled a Ratha, near the village and is known Ganesa Ratha. It is situated to the east of the longitudinal rocky ridge almost in the heart of the village. It is more complete than any of the above group. This Ratha bears a mutilated trident at one end of its top and proclaims the cult of Siva which received accentuated devotion in this period. The original deity, which must have been that of Siva, is missing; but

the local people have set up a crude modern image of Ganesa in this temple and, hence the name. Though it is not under regular worship, it does not miss the reverential act of an occasional besmearing by oil and offering of flowers.

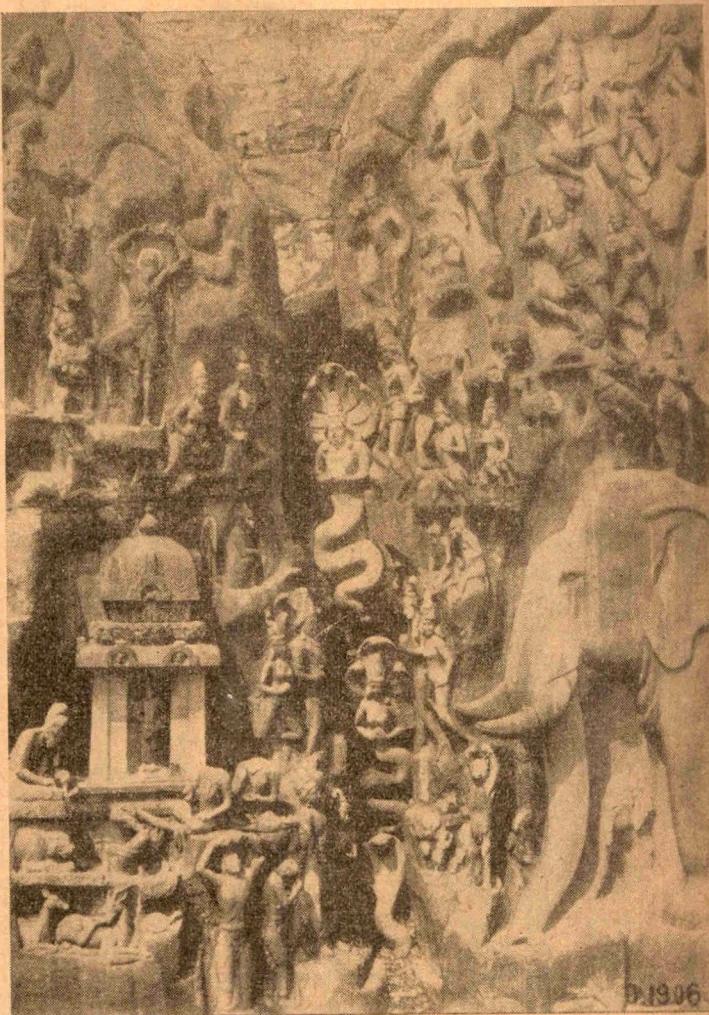
The inscriptions on the walls of this cave proclaim aloud the greatness of Siva, the great Lord who restores all, who have strayed to the right path. These monolithic temples are attributed to Narasimha-varman Mamalla and the style involved is, therefore, designated the Mamalla style.

From the rock-cut temples to the structural temple is not a far cry, and the latter is the practical successor, in the line of evolution, of the former. There are three such temples in Mahabalipuram, but, with the exception of the well-known Shore Temple, the two others are in a state of ruin. Even the Shore Temple is fast deteriorating owing essentially to its location on the seashore and under the continuous attack of salt and sand-bearing winds and spray of sea water. Even about 10 years ago, the sea was beating directly on the temple and the temple has all but crumbled away under the incessant attack. It is now protected by a semi-circular groyne wall which has kept the naughty sea at a respectable distance in a weak endeavour, as it were, to withstand the mighty and destructive forces of nature. Man, however, can perhaps do no more to save this the very first example of Dravidian architecture in India. The Shore Temple complex consists of two temples, juxtaposed back to back, the one with larger steeple facing

the sea in the east and the other facing west. The rear walls of both have the traditional panel of Soma-kanda. The bigger one has still the battered reminiscences of a 16-faceted Linga insalled on the Yonipatta. In between the two temples is a vestibule which houses a recumbent image of Vishnu who, in this form, is known as Jalasayana perumal. The co-existence of Siva and Vishnu is at once a proof and tribute to the catholicity of the Pallavas. This temple was built early in the 8th century during the reign of Narasimhavarman II, Rajasimha, who was responsible for the style called after him as the Rajasimha style.

There is a very strong belief among the local people

that there were originally six more temples at Mahabalipuram like the Shore Temple but that the sea has swallowed them all and is about to swallow even the seventh and last remaining vestige. The local guides still point to a couple of glistening crests in the distant



The central scene from Arjuna's Penance

sea as the vestiges of those temples under the sea by way of proving their statement. There is indeed in this explanation a justification for the other name of Seven Pagodas by which this place is known to the Europeans. There is, however, no geological proof of so much advance of the sea during the last two thousand years as to justify the above guess. It may be more credibly surmised that the early seamen who traversed this region may have been able to see about seven temple structures from the sea and, therefore, gave it the above name. The earliest European to notice the place was Manucci, the Italian traveller, who visited India about the beginning of the 18th century. Much of this temple was buried

under sand and it was at considerable expense of time and money that the sand was cleared and the monument reclaimed for the delight of posterity. The construction of this temple marks the beginning of temple architecture in South India, which continued through the centuries under the succeeding dynasties of the Cholas and Pandiyas and the rulers of Vijayanagar. This architecture reached its high watermark in the Big Temple of Tanjore, called the Great (Brihadisvara) temple, built by Raja Raja Chola in 1001 A.D. It shone brightly for some centuries, and later decay set in.



A scene from Krishna Mandapa

Now, to turn to the sculptured scenes or the fourth group of monuments at Mahabalipuram. The scenes are in effect 'frescoes in stone' and is a combination of the synoptic and the narrative methods of exposition. The tale has been told powerfully and impressively indeed. With the exception of an inferior experimental specimen, there are two scenes, called respectively Krishna Mandapa and Arjuna's Penance, on the eastern vertical face of the ridge in the heart of the village. The degree of perfection achieved in such a broad endeavour would clearly point to considerable experience in this kind of work. These bas-reliefs can be attributed to Narasimha-arman I Mamalla.

The Krishna Mandapa: The scene represented here is of the cowherds and their women in Vrajabhumi lying their daily avocations in peace under the benign rule of their king Krishna, completely forgetful of the wrath of Indra, the lord of thunder and rain. Enraged, Indra plans to punish them but their royal friend comes to their help and lifts up the Govardhana rock as a protective shield over the heads of the bewildered Gopas and Gopis, until the storm passes over. This establishes his claim to the title of Govardhanagiridhari. Here is shown a lovely everyday scene of a milkman milking a

cow and the cow in turn, in profound affection, licking its little calf. Scenes of men and women carrying their wares of milk, curd, butter and cream and going their way, accompanied by their little children, and the cattle moving about to graze are scenes with which we are already familiar, and which have been captured here in stone for posterity in all their vividness. The king is also shown in his role of a friend of his people by putting his arm round a common wood-cutter armed with an axe. This scene is known to belong to Vrindavana. Does not its existence down in the south point to the oneness of Indian culture?

Arjuna's Penance: Perhaps more exquisite than the above is the sculptural delineation of Arjuna's Penance. The great poet Bharavi adopted a theme from the *Mahabharata* and wrote the famous epic entitled *Kiratarjuniya* which has made him famous among the galaxy of Sanskrit poets. He lived in the 7th century in the Pallava Court and composed this single work which carved for him a perpetual place in the niche of literary fame. The sculptor artist of Mahabalipuram was, therefore, inspired by this work, and we find here a sculptural depiction of the great poem verse by verse. The central figure is that of Arjuna, who, standing on one leg, and performing severe penance, is emaciated and

his hair and beard have grown long. Siva is pleased with his penance and comes and stands on his right and offers him the *pasupatastra*, for which he has been striving. The Sun and Moon in anthropomorphic forms, with a nimbus to indicate them, and other gods and goddesses in pairs in the posture of flying through the ethereal heavens, six pairs of Kinnaras (half man and half animal singers) and the animal world watch with delight and wonder at the travails of Arjuna. As a lithic exposition of a theme, culled out of the *Mahabharata* and enriched by a poet's imagination, the panel of Arjuna's penance has an all-India appeal and compels the attention and reverence of all people, from far and near, lettered and unlettered, and they recognise in it familiar figures—our common heritage. There is a temple of Krishna in the scene below. In front of it a few men are seen performing their ablutions and *Suryanamaskara* or *tarpana* by the side of a river, indicated by a natural cleft in the rock. Some of them after the bath have sat down with wet clothes on for meditation before the temple. A group of elephants and their young ones emerge from one side and romp playfully in the shallow waters of the bank—their favourite sport. The humorous mood of the artist has found expression in

the delineation of a cat in this scene standing upon his bind legs in the pose of performing penance in the manner of Arjuna and the over-joyous mice, delighted at the pre-occupation of the hermit cat, have thrown off their guard and are running pell-mell round him only to fall into his mischievous and deliberate trap. This reminds one of the story of the mischievous cat 'Dadhi-karna.' The vast extent of the scene, the clearness of conception and the distinction of execution point to the high artistic merit of the sculptors of the past. The occurrence of a Naga couple on two sides of the cleft imparts completeness to the scene which is being witnessed by the gods and demigods in the ethereal region, by men and animals in the mundane regions, and by the *Nagas* of the nether region as it were.

Mahabalipuram to-day is a tiny village with a small population of a few hundreds. Gone are the days when it hummed with manifold activities of the daily avocations of life and the noise of sailors from far and near, who came to load and unload their cargoes here. Gone are their footsteps, their smiles and revelry, yet Mahabalipuram is very much alive to-day with the haunting shadows of these figures of the past, and the bright chapter of history they illuminate. Their undying message—the message of the cultural unity of India—hold its charm of freshness. Let us not, therefore, run astray and forget our cultural unity but bow our heads in reverence to the master-minds, who must have anticipated the trends of to-day to have left their messages in undying stone.

—O:

YAMUNOTRI AND GANGOTRI

BY D. V. Rege, I.C.S. (Retd.)

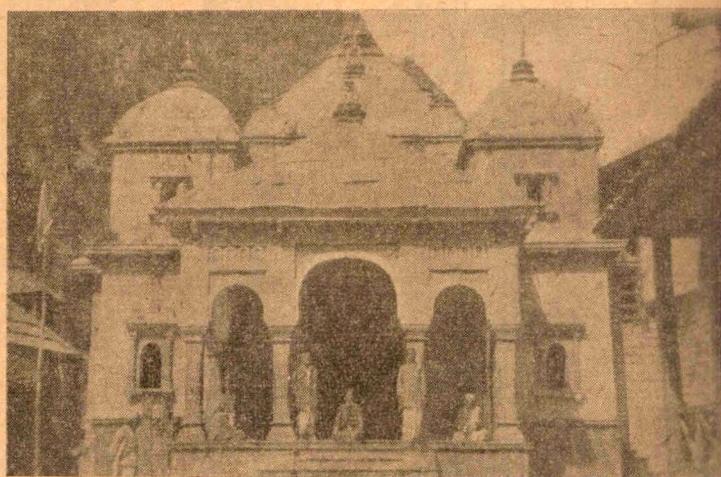
THERE are four principal *dhamas* or holy places in Uttarakhand, i.e., modern Garhwal: Yamunotri Gangotri, Kedarnath and Badrinarayan. Lord Shri Krishna says in the *Bhagwadgita* that of the mountains He is the Himalayas and that of the rivers He is the Jahnavi, i.e., Ganga. Gangotri, i.e., the source of the river Ganga is in the Himalayas and is, therefore doubly holy. As I had been to Kedarnath and Badrinarayan about four years ago, I visited the remaining two *dhamas* this year.

I left Indore with a servant in the small hours of 23rd May and reached Rishikesh on the 24th morning. After staying for a day at Gita Bhavan, I left for Dharasu (78 miles) by bus on the 25th morning and reached there in the evening. The motor road is sufficiently wide and quite safe. The Kali Kamliwala *chatti* is on the bank of the Ganga while the forest rest-house is on the top of a hill close by. There is a coolie registration agency at Dharasu also and coolies are available cheaper here than at Rishikesh.

DHARASU TO YAMUNOTRI : 48 MILES

I left Dharasu (2,750 feet high) early next morning and reached Silkyari *chatti* by evening, after halting at Kumradi *chatti* on the way for mid-day meal and rest. Though it was the first day of walking and though the distance was 14 miles I did not feel very tired, as the road was level and flanked with pine trees. There is

a small forest rest-house close to the *chatti*. Gangani *chatti* is 11 miles from here and is on the Yamuna. There is ascent for the first three miles, but it is not very steep and the road is good. One gets the first glimpse of Yamuna three miles before reaching Gangani. The forest rest-house here is good and the *chatti* though double-storied was overcrowded as usual in the pilgrim



Ganga Mandir

season. Close by is Ganga *kund* with its small temple containing two idols—one white of Ganga and the other black of Yamuna. Jamna *chatti* is seven miles from here and on this road one is likely to be bitten by small flies on calves if they are uncovered. The road beyond Jamna *chatti* is rather bad. Hanuman *chatti* (eight miles) is on the bank of Hanuman Ganga which



A view of the Ganga near Harshil

meets the Yamuna close by. On the 29th, I stayed at Phool *chatti* (three miles) which was built only this year by a Panda with money given by one Phool Das of Ahmedabad. One mile beyond is Janki *chatti* which is also known as Markandeya *chatti* as the sage Markandeya is said to have done penance at a *kund* which is close by. Just opposite the *chatti* is a forest rest-house in a dilapidated condition. Kharsali village of Yamuna Pandas is less than a mile from here. The image of Yamuna is brought down here from the temple at Yamunotri in the cold season for worship. As there is a very steep ascent of over two miles beyond Janki *chatti* and as I was feeling somewhat weak on account of cough for the last two or three nights, I took a *kandi* to go to Yamunotri. Three miles beyond is a small temple of Bhairav who appears to be the guardian deity of this region. My servant told me that when he was feeling afraid while he was sleeping on the verandah of the forest rest-house at Gangani, he saw Bhairav standing near his bed and did not feel any fear afterwards.

YAMUNOTRI (9,900 ft.)

I reached Yamunotri at about 11 a.m. on the 30th May. The real source of the river is at Bandarpuchh which is a snow-clad mountain peak, 20,730 feet high. But as it is not possible to go there, Yamunotri is commonly taken as the source of the river. It is a narrow valley between two mountains and it is not possible to build big structures here as in Gangotri. There are one or two dilapidated *dhamashalas* and the forest rest

house also is in a shabby condition. There is no Kali Kamliwala *chatti* here. As Yamunotri is very cold and as there is no suitable accommodation, most of the pilgrims prefer to go back the same day after doing the necessary religious rites.

The Yamuna temple is a small building with two idols—the bigger black one of Yamuna and the smaller white one of Ganga. Below the temple there is a hot water *kund* where pilgrims immerse rice, potatoes, etc., tied in a cloth and take the cooked articles home as *prasad*. Below this *kund* there are three other hot water *kunds*—two for bathing for the higher castes and the third for Harijans. The water is not very hot and one can remain in the *kund* comfortably for about 15 minutes. The *kunds* are about $10' \times 10'$ and about 4' deep. The Yamuna flows by the side of these lower *kunds* and the water is icy cold. Though I had kept away the Pandas at Dharasu, one Panda somehow attached himself to me. He had made inquiries from my servant about my pay and naively suggested that I should give him 10 days' salary as his *dakshina*. I gave him only Rs. 10 and that also was rather too much for him in view of his poor knowledge of Sanskrit and the Puja ritual.

YAMUNOTRI TO UTTAR KASHI 41 MILES

I left Yamunotri at about 3 p.m. and reached Phool *chatti* in the evening. One has to return by the same route up to Simli which is 25 miles from Yamunotri and then take the road to Uttar Kashi. Singot is seven miles from Simli of which the first four miles are fairly

steep. One gets the first glimpse of the Ganga as soon as the ascent is over. Nakori is three miles from Singot and is on the bank of the Ganga which is fairly wide here. Uttar Kashi is six miles from Nakori and the road is good. I stayed in the palatial double-storied Birla Dharamshala built in 1941. It has five rooms on the ground floor and five well-furnished rooms on the first floor. It has a bath room which luxury is not found in the *chattis*.

UTTAR KASHI (3,740 FT.)

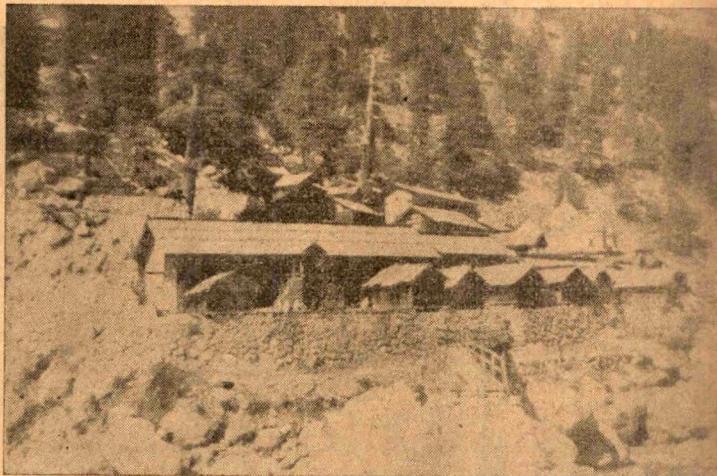
Uttar Kashi is a charming spot and a large number of *sadhus* stay here. It has many characteristics of Kashi or Banaras as the Ganga is *uttaravahini* (flowing northwards here for a short distance, as the Varuna and Asi rivers join the Ganga close to it and as a Vishwanath temple is also here. The ghat in front of the Kali Kamliwala *chatti* is known as Manikarnika Ghat. Besides Vishwanath temple, there are Ekadash Rudra temple built by the Maharaja of Jaipur, Koteshwar temple, Jyotirmath, etc. In the Jyotirmath there are white marble idols of Shri Shankaracharya and his disciple, Trotakacharya. There is also Sri Kali Satya

Narayan Mandir where Ma Anand Mai stays when she comes to Uttar Kashi. The image is of Kali in black marble trampling on Shiva in white marble. There is also a small Dattatreya temple with a brass image but not the usual three heads. It appears to be the image of a disciple of Buddha.

Uttar Kashi is a sub-divisional headquarters in the Tehri Garhwal district. It is also the headquarters of the Divisional Forest Officer, Uttar Kashi division. There is a hospital, but there was no Assistant Medical Officer for the last two months. It has a post office and the only telegraph office in this region. It, however, only works for six months in the pilgrim season. Uttar Kashi is also the headquarters of the Special Border Police Force who have their military wireless all the year round.

Ujeli, a suburb, is about $\frac{2}{3}$ mile from Uttar Kashi and most of the *sadhus* stay here. I met R.T. Anand Swami, about 75 years old, who is a disciple of Swami Ramatirth and who renounced the world when he was 20. He told me that *sadhus* were like mountains, good to look at from a distance. His own philosophy of life is to have faith in God, to work and act without attachment and to make efforts to approach the ideal of Sthitaprajna described in the *Gita*. I also met the famous sage Tapovanji. When asked why God created the universe which is full of pain and misery, he said that God and creation were both *anadi*, i.e., without

beginning in the Hindu religion unlike in other religions, and so the question why God created the universe did not arise. When asked about the best method of God-realisation in *Kaliyuga*, he said that though *jnana* could be obtained by various methods like Karma Marga, and Bhakti Marga, Sanyasa or renunciation was necessary for *moksha*. He added that people like King Janak who did not renounce the world must have done so in their previous birth, as stated by Shri Shankaracharya. His



Gangotri

view is that the *Gita* cannot be interpreted in opposition to Shruti (Vedas) and Upanishads, as otherwise our ancient sages would be liars and Sanatan Dharma would be meaningless. He, therefore, thinks that though from the context the *Gita* seems to support Karma Marga, it really preaches Sanyasa for obtaining *moksha*. He thinks that a Guru is necessary to show the path and that hermits in the Himalayas do not secure their own salvation but also do good to the public by their spiritual practices.

I, however, noticed two things in Uttar Kashi which were not in keeping with the prevailing atmosphere there. I saw two girls dancing to the accompaniment of a *mridang* in front of a house probably to ask for alms and one fellow dancing and singing a cinema tune to advertise tiger brand *biris* in the bazar chowk.

UTTAR KASHI TO GANGOTRI : 56 MILES

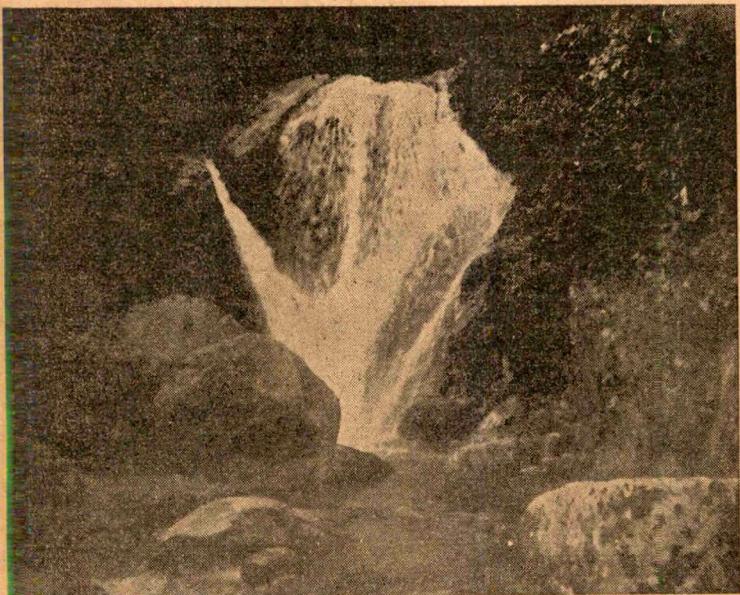
On the 4th morning I left Uttar Kashi and reached Maneri (10 miles) on the bank of the Ganga. In fact, the whole road from Nakori to Gangotri runs by the side of the river and even beyond Nakori the road goes by the side of the river up to Tehri. I stayed at Saina *chatti* (three miles off) in the evening. It is a new *chatti* and not yet completely built and has two rooms. It is much better to stay in such a place than in crowded old *chattis*. Bhatwadi (4,800 feet) is five miles from here and has a forest rest-house. Gangnani is none miles

away. On the way, there was a diversion to avoid a land-slide but there was no board or any other sign to show it, with the result that after walking two furlongs beyond the diversion I came to a very dangerous cliff which I thought of negotiating, thinking that it was the correct road. Fortunately I saw some people on the other bank of the river going towards the diversion and was saved an unpleasant and hazardous experience. Sukki *chatti* is nine miles from Gangnani. After the first five miles the road is bad and there is ascent also,

about 40 miles away meets the Ganga about a mile before Bhairavghati. The *chatti* is recently built by Kali Kamliwala Trust as the old one was burnt through the negligence of a Sadhu two years ago. There is water scarcity here and water from a distant *jharna* is stored in a small tank for drinking purposes. Gangotri is six miles from here and I reached there at about 6 p.m. on the 7th June.

GANGOTRI (10,300 FT.)

After seeing the Gangamandir, I went to Yoga Niketan on the other side of the Ganga and Kedarganga by crossing three small wooden bridges. This Niketan has been started by Swami Dayalji who has built about 15 wooden huts for Sadhus and others. The whole place is very neat and clean and contains a bath room and latrines. A wooden cot is provided in each room and a small foldable table and a chair are also given, if wanted. Swami Dayalji originally came from the Punjab about 20 years ago and was living under a big boulder for some years. One day while taking water from the river he slipped but was miraculously saved. Then he built a small hut on the present spot. No permission was necessary as Tehri Garhwal Darbar allowed Sadhus to squat wherever they like in forest areas. Gradually more huts were built with the help of his devotees and admirers. He does not accept



A waterfall near Gangnani

the last mile being very steep. Harshil (Haraprayag) is five miles from here. The river becomes wide from Zala, three miles from Sukki, and big patches of sand are seen in the bed. There is no *chatti* at Harshil and pilgrims go to Dharali, two miles ahead, but I stayed at the forest rest-house (8,400 feet) which is a ramshackle double-storied building formerly owned by a European. It is none better than a *dharamshala* or *chatti* but repairs are being undertaken. The rest-house is at the end of the village and one has to cross five wooden bridges, some merely logs of wood, on streams to reach it. The ground floor is occupied by the Border Police Force. There is a small Tibetan population here and Tibetan influence is clearly visible. There are mounds of stones at the entrance of the village, some of which bear the inscription of Om Mani Padme Hum as is common in Tibet. Also there are small banners and bunting of cloth on some houses. Tibetans, or rather the Chinese, are said to be claiming 55 miles of our territory including Gangotri, Bhairavghati, etc., on the ground that this area has been included in their map. Bhairavghati is nine miles from here and the last mile is very steep. River Jahnavi which rises near Nelang

money, as he believes that many Mahatmas have fallen through love of money and as he has a firm belief that God supplies his needs. Explaining the descent of Ganga from Heaven, he said that the abode of Shiva in the snow-clad mountain was called Swarga (heaven) and that as Ganga had descended from this mountain she was said to have descended from Heaven. He also told me that the sons of King Sagar were burnt near Gangasagar, not far from Calcutta. I stayed at the Yoga Niketan for two days and three nights.

Ganga water was icy cold; so I did not venture to bathe in the river, but got the water boiled for my bath, the essential point, in my opinion, being taking a bath in Ganga water. The Panda at this place was more reasonable and learned than the one at Yamunotri. The stone slab on which King Bhagirath is said to have done penance to induce Ganga to come down on the earth is in front of the Ganga temple. The temple which was built a few years ago by the Maharaja of Jaipur is a bigger structure than the one at Yamunotri. In the centre there is a brass idol of Ganga. Below in a line are images of Shankaracharya, Jahnava, Saraswati, Bhagirathi and Yamuna.

There were about 20 Sadhus in Gangotri out of whom about half a dozen live there throughout the year. One of them is Gangadas who lives in Rama Mandir at Amritghat which is 1½ miles from Gangotri. He is a comparatively young man and lives on fruits and milk only. In the temple there is a big wooden pedestal with the dolls of Shri Rama, Janaki and Lakshmana at the top and of Shri Krishna a little below. He discoursed for a while on a Sanskrit verse which says that a mean person, according to Vyasa, who knows all the Vedas is he who does not remember God and not he who is poor or meritless and said that God gave unseen blessings like peace of mind and contentment to his devotees. He added that it was not necessary to go to a forest and be a recluse for God-realisation and that all that was necessary was to do one's duty without attachment.

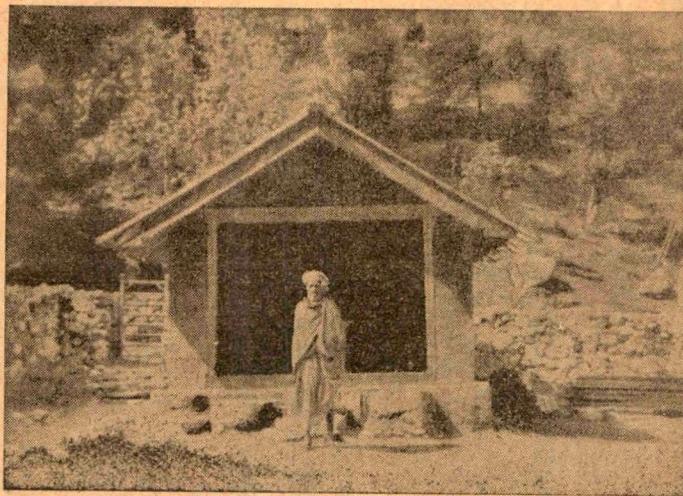
Crishnashramaji who is over 80 years old lives in a small hut on the other side of the river opposite the Ganga temple. He is nude and observes silence. He has a local woman as a disciple who looks after his wants. He taught her Sanskrit and she is said to be well-versed in the Gita, panishads, etc. He now always stays at Gangotri but had once gone to Banaras when he was invited by the late Shri Madan Mohan Malaviya to lay the foundation stone of the temple in the Hindu University. After when the Harijans were admitted into the temple, he is said to have written to Malaviyaji that he should not be associated with the temple any more. This, if true, shows

lack of *samadarshita* (looking equally on all) which is a mark of a saint or a highly developed soul according to the Gita. He does not accept money from visitors but many of his devotees send him some annually. Sadhu Pradnya Das who has started the Yogashram which is opposite the Yoga Niketan and on the confluence of the Ganga and the Kedaranga has built two or three huts for spiritual aspirants and has published several religious pamphlets. He said that after doing pilgrimage a man should be truthful and pure. He was of the opinion that a Guru as necessary as, even if he was bad, he would not give bad advice, and told the story of a man who closed his eyes and concentrated on God at the best of a thief (who meanwhile robbed him) and realised God.

At the Yoga Niketan, I met Vyas Deoiji of Swargashram, Rishikesh. He conducts a class every year from 15th November at Swargashram for four months for teaching various Yogic practices, such as *madhi*, *Kundalini*-awakening, etc. He is 68 and

has been doing Yoga practices for the last 54 years. He said that Yoga was necessary for God-realisation as it teaches how to control body, mind, intellect, etc. He is of the opinion that our life-span and suffering can be changed by *pranayam* (breath control) and by *purushartha* (personal efforts) respectively. He is a close associate of Swami Dayalji and they have built a small Yoga Niketan at Uttar Kashi also.

Ganga Kund is about a furlong below the Yoga Niketan where the Ganga is supposed to have actually fallen on Shri Shankara's head. Here the stream falls through a rock about 20 feet below on a Shivalinga which was not then visible but which becomes visible when the water goes down. Gomukh (14,400 feet) which is the real source of Ganga is about 14 miles from Gangotri, but as there is no regu-



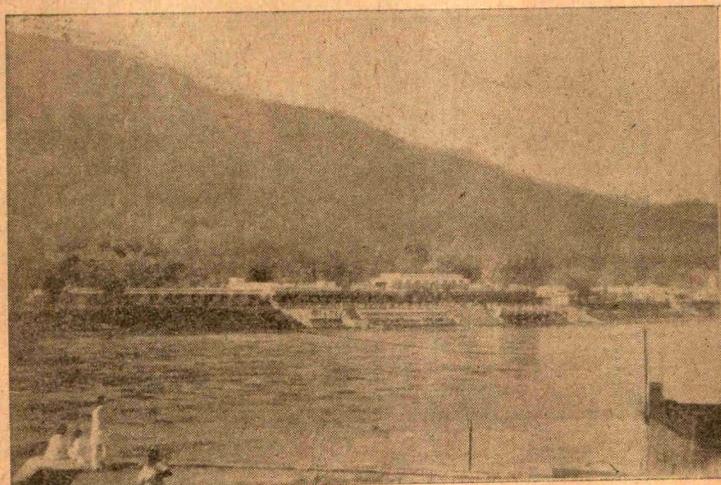
A Kutī the writer occupied in Yoga-Niketan with Swami Dayalji in front

lar path and the journey is very difficult very few people go there. There is a *chatti* at Chadivasa about six miles from Gangotri on the way.

Kali Kamliwala *chatti* which is just on the bank of the river and close to the temple is a double-storied building in a good condition. There are some special rooms for the better class of pilgrims. Free food is given here to Sadhus who are in receipt of *chits* issued by the head office at Rishikesh. Each person is given 10 chhataks of flour, *adhapow* dal or potatoes, a little salt, etc., but only those who have got some cash with them are given the *chits* as free food is given only at selected *chattis* and as they are expected to shift for themselves at other places. The *anna-chhatra* (place where free food is given) is maintained only for three months at Gangotri by the Trust, but is continued by Swami Dayalji for two months more. There is a Committee to manage the affairs at Gangotri as well as Yamunotri with the local Range

Forest Officer as Chairman and three Pandas as members. The Pandas get food from the offerings to the deity but no pay. The Committee has power to fine persons guilty of adulteration of foodstuffs up to Rs. 50/- and those who eat flesh or drink up to Rs. 500/-. The Pandas are not allowed to bring their wives for more than three days at Gangotri.

The image of Ganga is taken to Mukhi Math, the Panda village, about 12 miles from Gangotri, for worship during the cold season. Kedarnath is only about 12 miles and Badrinarayan about 25 miles from Gangotri as the crow flies. Of all the places I have visited so far, I found Gangotri most charming and conducive to mental peace. Thousands of people have done penance there since the days of King Bhagirath and one almost feels spiritual waves in the atmosphere. The river valley is fairly broad and is flanked by mountains covered with pine trees. The snow-covered mountain in the background adds to the majesty of the scene.



Gita Bhavan, Rishikesh

GANGOTRI TO DHARASU: 74 MILES

I left Gangotri on the 10th morning for Dharasu. On the way near Shyam Prayag, I met the District Information Officer of Tehri Garhwal. He told me that a military training camp was being started at Uttar Kashi for border people and that some had already enrolled, that a weaving centre costing about 1½ lacs was to be started at Harshil and that Bhatwadi was to have a National Extension Service block costing about 3 lacs. I stayed at the Gangnani rest-house (6,420 feet) which is on the top of a hill overlooking the river. Close by there are three *kundas* of hot water—two for bathing and one for washing. I got water from there and had a bath in the rest-house. The Chowkidar who is a Panda insisted on my bathing with mantras and asked for gift of food or cloth for his services. On the 12th afternoon when I was on my way from Bhatwadi to Maneri, I was

caught by heavy rain and had to make a forced halt at Saina *chatti*. I arrived at Uttar Kashi the next day and was glad to meet Anand Swami again. He told me that he had stayed for a month at Amarnath in Kashmir and actually seen the Pandas making the image of Parvati out of snow and placing it near Shivalinga formation before the day of pilgrimage. He added that the Linga changed in size according to the weather and that the two white pigeons always lived there. The next day I left for Dharasu. As there was no suitable resting place at Dunda, I spread my campcot under a big banyan tree and rested there. Six officers of the Indian Air Force who were on a hiking trip to Dodital (a charming lake about 20 miles from Uttar Kashi), Yamunotri and Chakrata met me there. The Air Force has a Hiking Society which makes arrangements for the officers who express a desire for hiking. I reached Dharasu, a distance of 18 miles in the evening as the road was good.

GITA BHAVAN, RISHIKESH

I reached Gita Bhavan in Rishikesh on the 15th afternoon. It is a palatial building on the bank of the Ganga and was completed by the Gita Press Trust of Gorakhpur at a cost of about 10 lacs of rupees in 1949. Extension work is still going on and already there is accommodation for about a thousand people. There is no temple in the Bhavan but there is a big Satsang hall measuring 80'×30' on the first floor which accommodates about a thousand people. The whole of Gita is inscribed in marble tablets in the hall and *dohas* (couplets) from Tulsidas, Kabir and others are inscribed in white on a background of red cement all over

the building. There are 35 beautiful paintings hung on the walls of the Bhavan illustrating the teachings of the Gita, etc. The guiding spirit of the Bhavan is Shri Jaydayal Goyandka who is the head of the Gita Press Trust as well as now of the Kali Kamliwala Trust. He stays there for about four months every year from March to June. He has done excellent service in turning the minds of the money-minded Marwaris to the spiritual side. The easiest way of God-realisation according to him is combination of Bhaktiyoga and Karmayoga. He thinks that it is not necessary to go in search of a Guru especially as there are many hypocrites now-a-days and that one should look upon the Gita as a Guru just as the Sikhs look upon their *Granth Saheb*. He also said that there was some danger in doing Yogic practices, such as Samadhi, Kundalini-awakening. He kindly presented me with a copy of his commentary

in Hindi called *Tatva-Vivechani on the Gita*. He gives a religious discourse every morning at 4-30 and discourses are given by different scholars throughout the day till 10 P.M. They are generally held under a big banyan tree half a mile from the Bhavan but they take place in the Satsang hall in bad weather. There are about 25 tents for Sadhus to stay near the banyan tree.

The publications of the Gita Press, Gorakhpur, are available here for sale at the original price. Books worth about Rs. 60,000 are sold every year, about half being sold during the Satsang four months. The Gita Press publications including the famous monthly *Kalyan* which was started 29 years ago and has now a circulation of a lac and a quarter deal with spiritual topics, our ancient culture and civilization, our epics, our heroes and heroines, etc., and are extremely useful for making our people understand their ancient noble heritage. It has also published very useful books for children. All the publications are neatly printed on good paper, are well bound and are sold at an amazingly low price. This has become possible only because the people working in the press do so with the idea of service and the profits derived from some paper agencies and interest on trust funds are used to cover the loss in the working of the press.

Adjoining Gita Bhavan is Swarga-ashram and Samadhi of Shri Swami Vishuddhananda, who is also known as Baba Kali Kamliwala from the black blanket always worn by him. He laboured all his life to provide resting places and other amenities to pilgrims in Uttarakhand.

Another big spiritual centre in Rishikesh though of a different kind is Shri Sivanand Ashram which is just opposite the Gita Bhavan. I spent a day there with Shri R. R. Tiwari of Gwalior. The hill on which the Ashram stands was presented to the Swamiji by the Tehri Garhwal State. Several *kutis* (huts) have been built by his devotees on this hill and a new temple of Vishwanath has been recently built on the top. The Ashram has a good Yoga museum. The four *margas* or paths of God-realisation and their chief exponents are shown there pictorially. The Swami has written a large number of useful books on spiritual subjects and maintains his own printing press and dispensary. I saw a book called *Sivanand Upanishad* published here. Bhajan is done here every evening.

I left Rishikesh on the 16th and after visiting Mussoori and Delhi on the way returned to Indore on the 20th morning.

UNPRECEDENTED HAPPENINGS

Two unprecedented incidents happened this year in Uttarakhand. One was a dacoity which took place at Pangarana *chatti* on the night of the 4th June. This *chatti* is in a thick forest and is about 18 miles

on the Kedarnath road from Malla *chatti*. Four Punjabis dressed as Sadhus and armed with revolvers attacked the *chatti* and killed one coolie and wounded two or three other persons. They were fortunately arrested the next day. Another incident was the disappearance on the first of June of a wealthy person called Anant Mal of Ajmer near Janki *chatti* on the Yamunotri side. He had his own cook from Ajmer and a local coolie. On the fateful day, he told them to go ahead and that he would follow after settling the shop-keeper's bill. They waited for some hours at the Hanuman *chatti* but as he did not come, they went back to Janki *chatti* but could not find him. The cook went to Ajmer and informed his family. I met his son at Dharasu on the 14th June and he told me that in spite of all his efforts no trace of his father was found. Anant Mal was rather lavishly spending his money in feeding and helping the poor and some fellow thinking that he was carrying a lot of money must have robbed him and given him a push down the ravine when he was walking alone.

HIMALAYAN HOLY PLACES

A trip to Himalayan holy places is very interesting and health-giving apart from any spiritual merit that may or may not accrue. The Himalayas are a great blessing to our country and hiking in these mountains, inhaling the pure and fresh air of pine trees and seeing enchanting scenes of rivers and snow-clad mountain ranges is very exhilarating. There is no danger at all in these trips if one observes a few precautions, such as taking cholera injection, eating light meals and drinking stream (*jharna*) water after boiling. River water should be avoided. A few necessary medicines should also be kept. A foldable camp-cot, Bata hunting shoes, a water bottle and an iron-tipped bamboo stick about six feet high are a great help. One should travel as light as possible as the coolies do not take more than about a maund of luggage and every additional seer costs money. Kali Kamliwala *chattis* are available at most places at convenient distances but are generally overcrowded. There are, however, forest rest-houses at Dharasu, Silkyari, Gangnani, Beef (opposite Janki *chatti*) and Yamunotri on the Yamunotri route and at Nakori, Maneri, Bhatwadi, Gangnani, and Harshil on the Gangotri route, but those at Beef and Yamunotri are in a dilapidated condition at present. There are no post offices on the way to Yamunotri, but, on the Gangotri side, they are at Dunda, Uttar Kashi, Bhatwadi, Harshil and Gangotri during the pilgrim season. In all, I walked about 220 miles, averaging about 12 miles a day, but at no time I felt very tired or depressed. If one is hard pressed for time, one can safely omit Yamunotri, but one should not fail to see Gangotri which is the best of all the four holy places in Uttarakhand.

BASTAR—LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

BY S. L. SAHU

BASTAR which is situated in the South of Madhya Pradesh State of India may be described as nature's paradise. It is bounded on the North by Kanker Tahsil and Raipur district, on the East by the Jeypore of the Madras Presidency; on the South by the Bhadralamal taluk of Madras Presidency and on the West by the Chanda district.



Marin boy in his dancing dress

Bastar is considered one of the most backward areas of the country. There are still many places where man has not yet reached. From the anthropological points of view it is one of the most important and interesting areas.

To the South-West of Bastar there lies the extensive mass of hills known as the Abujmar, to the South the Baillala range and to the East the Tulsidongri range. The Albaka range of the Madras Presidency forms the Western boundary of the State. The highest peak of the State is 3915 feet above sea-level.

The largest and most important river of the State

is the Indravati which has numerous tributaries, the largest being the Pamer Chinta. Flowing through the State for about 240 miles, it falls into the Godavari at Bhadrakali. It also makes a big fall at about 23 miles from Jagdalpur which is called Chitrakoot Falls. The 100-foot Chitrakoot falls is very lovely and attractive. Fishing is the main hobby of the aborigines of this area. The Kanger, another tributary which particularly passes through several deep gorges makes a fall at the Tirathgarh.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The history of Bastar dates back to the 11th century according to a few inscriptions and copper plates found by Rai Bahadur Panda in the early years of this century. According to these inscriptions and copper plates, there was a kingdom in the central part of Bastar formed in the 11th century by a Nagvanshi family who had their capital at Barsur, a village in the Jagdalpur district. Barsur is said to be as the same village which is called Kuruspal today. Their kingdom was known as Chakrakot. The Chakrakot kingdom was often raided by many kings from the South. A few descriptions could be found in the *Epigraphia Indica*. The Chakrakot kingdom subsequently formed part of the Warangal kingdom of Kaktya dynasty who were feudatories of the Chalukya kings.

Bastar Raj family claims its descent from Pandu king, Birbhadra of Delhi. The story of this king is this that he was granted by the family goddess Dilleshwari an arrow as his weapon of the war. This Birbhadra subsequently moved to Mathura, where he received a trident from Goddess Bhuvaneshwari. Thence the family with the family goddess moved on to Jeypore in the Madras Presidency in the time of Vireshwari. Later on, they settled at Warangal with Manikya Devi (or Danteshwari as she is called in Bastar), their family goddess, who granted them a sword when they moved into Bastar. Since then several rulers ruled over the State to the time when Bastar was virtually ruled by a British administrator who collected the taxes and maintained law and order on behalf of the Maharaja but all this time a very little had been done to raise the life of the people to a higher level by means of better agriculture, education and other amenities. Then came the great dawn of independence followed by the merger of this State into the administration of Madhya Pradesh.

The population of Bastar is 6,11,601 according to the latest figures. In comparison to the other States

the aborigines constitute the largest proportion of the population of Madhya Pradesh numbering about 12 per cent of the total population. Maria, Muria, Parja, Bhatra and Godbha tribes are in majority in this area.

PEOPLE AND THEIR CUSTOMS

The marriage customs are quite different from the marriage customs of the Hindus. According to their rites, a man must marry in the maternal cousin's family. The poor bridegrooms have to work in their father-in-law's house for five years to get the bride. This custom is called 'Lamseña.' 'Pendul' is the name of the ordinary marriage. 'Er-Utto' is called the marriage of a widow while the 'Poysotur' is called for the marriage by capture. When there is no offer for a grown-up girl, her parents induce her father's sister's son or mother's brother's son who has a claim to the girl, to capture her or to take her away. 'Paisa Mundi Paithu' is a form by which a woman, whether a virgin, married or widow, of her own choice and without the consent of her guardians goes into the house of another man. 'Armirtur' is that form in which a virgin or a married woman runs away with another man. The pair is traced and brought back and caste dinner is given.

The aborigines of this area prefer shift cultivation. Men usually perform hard and arduous works while women are put in charge of lighter tasks. In many places women help their husbands in ploughing the fields.

Hunting is their main hobby. The women also go for hunting and kill even tigers and panthers. They use bows and arrows, guns of sorts and spears. In several places nets are also used to trap the wild animals. Tigers and panthers are very common here which could be found even on the road-side forests of Easter. When the Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, came here to inaugurate the All-India Tribal Welfare Conference in March last, he was presented by a young aboriginal lad of 16 and a young girl of 13 with three cubs of tigers which he took to Delhi. He was also presented with the bows and arrows and several other articles of the aborigines.

Wild dogs are found in large numbers, but they are not destroyed by the aborigines owing to the superstitious idea of the villagers that the killing of these animals will entail the destruction of their cattle.

It is also said that the elephant and the rhinoceros were used to be found in this area but now it has become a folk tale only. Mr. Blockman in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, Vol. I, states that in the Bastar forests elephants used to be found. As to the rhinoceros, Mr. Gayer writes :

"Some Murias in the hills of the Indravati described very fairly accurately to meet the rhinoceros in the densely grassed valleys to the north of the river

about the Bailadila range. I can hardly believe they had ever heard of the rhinoceros from other parts of India, still less their fathers might have evolved a wonderful creature from their imaginations."

Mr. Jerdon in his *Mammals of India*, 1874 says :

"The lesser Indian rhinoceros (*Rhinoceros sondaicus*) is found at present in the Bengal Sundarbans and very few individuals are stated to occur in the forest tract along the Mahanad river."

The aborigines of Bastar are honest, extremely generous, hard-working and cheerful. They attach no



Prime Minister Nehru with the tiger-cubs presented to him at Jagdalpur, Bastar

importance to money. They have got very little wants in their life and do not pay any heed to their dress. Both men and women wear only a piece of cloth round their waist. They wear iron and brass rings. Tatooing on the face, legs, hands and breast is very common in these tribes.

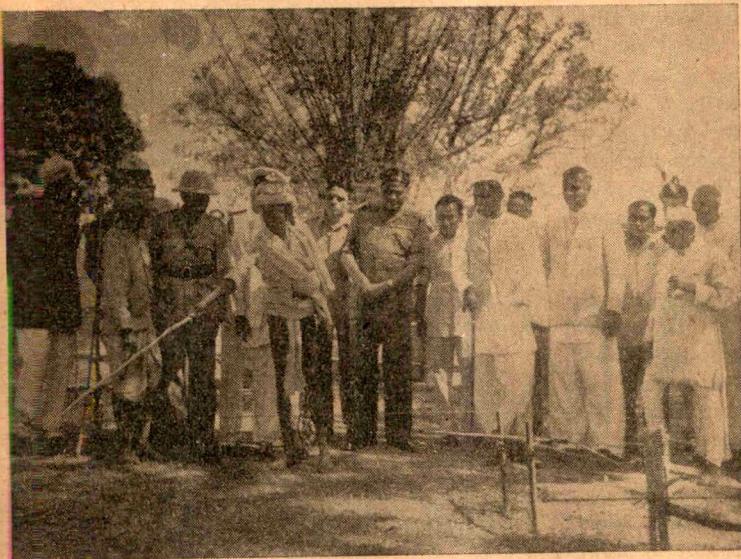
The names of their five main dances are (i) Dandami Madia, (ii) Zhoria Mudia, (iii) Parza Dhurwa, (iv) Parwa and (v) Abuz Mad. For dances the Maria men place a strip of cloth backwards and forwards round the upper part of the body and wear head-dresses made of bison-horns. The drum is the main musical instrument which is used during the dances.

The tribes of Bastar pay much importance to the Dashara festival. Among the other important festivals are Chitrai and Nawakhai. On the Chitrai day

a pig or a fowl is offered to the village god with some liquor. The Nawakhai is observed in Bhadon, i.e., September. On this day they offer new grain and liquor to their ancestors.

YOUTH INSTITUTIONS

In every Muria and Maria village a social institution for young bachelors which is called the Gotul is



President Dr. Rajendra Prasad witnessing feats of an aboriginal at Jagdalpur, Bastar

run by the aborigines. Here the young boys and girls meet in the night after their dinners, they chit-chat, do some gossips, tell some stories and perform dances but in no case they go into any kind of sexual acts till they are married. The main purpose to run such Gotuls is to provide opportunities for young boys and girls to stabilize and strengthen intimacies.

Such Gotuls are found in Narainpur and Kondagaon Tehsils of Jagdalpur. The Gotuls are made of long rectangular shape houses with only one big hall. The walls are made of mud. The Gotuls also consist of a big courtyard between the house and the outer fence which is used as playground.

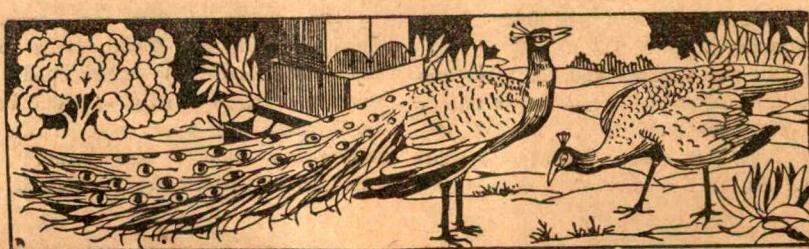
One of the most important things to note in these Gotuls is that all the bachelor boys and girls of the village meet together in the hall. They do not use any sort of partition or observe any privacy. Another surprising thing is this that after getting so much liberty and opportunity they do not go into sexual acts. The boys who visit such Gotuls are called *Chelik* and the girls *Mutiani*.

The parents encourage the boys and girls to go into these Gotuls. The eldest boy attending the institution becomes the head and he is called *Chalau*, while the next to the head is called *Dewan*. There is no doubt that each boy has a girl-friend and the girl her own boy-friend but even then the girl takes every care to serve as many boys as she can.

The members of these Gotuls i.e., Cheliks and Mutiaris, after reaching the Gotul, pay their respects to the Chief (*Chalau*) with folded hands which is called *Johar*. Then the girl would massage the boy and comb the boy-friend of the night. It is not compulsory for them to move with only one partner. Both girls and boys have liberty to choose any boy or girl-friend respectively for the night.

In short, Gotul is an ideal institution that has manifold uses. Apart from the training in post-marital behaviour it teaches social habits to both the sexes. It also inculcates a feeling of social and religious duties and discipline.

Before concluding the article it will not be out of place to mention here that Bastar is very charming and extremely beautiful, full of teak and timber which grow to enormous heights as much as 200 feet or more. Bastar can reasonably be proud of her own land and people. Almost every part of the land is a hidden paradise of natural charm and grandeur where a picturesque assortment of hill tribes display their own colourful dances and shows.



IRRIGATION PROJECTS IN ANCIENT INDIA

By BHAWANI SHANKAR SHUKLA, M.A.,

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IRRIGATION in India has always been a potent factor affecting millions of the farmers of this country whose economic character is predominantly agricultural. Even the ancients, despite their ritualistic reliance on the caprice of rains, were not unconscious of the importance of artificial irrigational devices. A peep into the ancient history of our country reveals their various attempts of the construction of dams, tanks and other major irrigation works which were made from time to time with the express purpose of minimising the recurrence of famines, droughts and other allied natural calamities. We come across many references to *kulyas* (ducts) in Rigveda. These were the devices to carry water to the fields (*kshetras*). But these devices were not so adequate as to free the farmers from the dependency of rains in case of droughts or meagre rainfall. The significance of rains is well proved in the Vedic literature for it was the chief source of irrigation. Numerous prayers have been offered to the rain-god (*Parjanya*) for it was he who was responsible for a good harvest.

And every creature then receives the quickening draughts,
When o'er the land Parjanya's grateful stream descends.
The thirsty fields he covered with waters of plenteous falling rains; but it is enough now.
He caused the herbs to spring for our refreshment,
And what his people sought of him has granted.

—Kaegi : *Rigveda*, 5.83. 4-10.

It was always expected of god Parjanya that the rains would be neither heavy nor little. But in spite of these prayers floods or droughts would follow, hence famine. Sometimes we notice excessive rains and farmers pray to Prajanya to stop them.

"Thou hast rained; now check well the rain; thou hast made the deserts capable of being crossed." —*Vedice Selections*, p. 216

This condition of helplessness continued for a long period until our view regarding the material world, our feeling of fear, relation with nature and our values of life changed to a certain extent. Fatalism was no more our defence. We had to find new means and ways to make human life happy. Vedic Aryans did

not rely only on supply of natural water, but irrigated their fields by artificial wells and channels.²

We know from the Mahabharata that Narada at one place enquires of Yudhishtira :

"Are large tanks and lakes established all over the kingdom at proper distance, in order that agriculture may not be entirely dependent on the showers of heaven?"³

The Buddhist literature is also full of evidence to prove that irrigation by artificial means, other than wells or tanks, was well-known in ancient India. The course of water was skilfully changed and was converted into channels. (*Dhammapada*).

During the later period Parasara has given a detailed account of agriculture in his *Krishi Sangraha*. This volume deals with various aspects of agriculture, e.g., soil and its classifications, meteorological observations leading to forecasting of rainfall, preparation and application of manure, ploughing and sowing, etc.

2. "Let us pour out the water of the well, which is full of water, fit to be poured and not easily exhausted." RV. X, 101.3.3 (Wilson); and also "After cattle-keeping, the most important interest of Vedic Aryans was agricultural." "The ground is worked with plough and harrow, mattock and hoe, and when necessary watered by means of artificial canals."

—Adolf Kaegi : *The Rigveda*, p. 13; and also Zimmer, AIL, 235-245.

युनक्त सीरा वि युगा तनुधं कृते यो नौ वप्तेह बीजम् ।

गिरा च श्रुष्टिः शाभराअसन्नो नेदीय इत् शृण्यः पवर्वांतत् । ३

सीरा युज्जन्ति कवयो युग वितन्वते पुथक् ।

धीरादेवेषु सुमन्या ॥ ४ ॥

निराहावन् कृष्णोतन सं वरत्रा दधातन ।

सिञ्च महा अवतम् सुषेकम् अनुपक्षितम् ॥ ५ ॥

3. कच्चिद्राष्ट तटाकानि पूर्णानि च महान्ति च ।

भागशोविनिविष्टानि न कृषिदेव मातृका ॥

—Sabha Parva, V, 70.

Manu also advises to build waterworks.

तडागान्युदपानानि वाप्यः प्रस्तवणानि च ।

सीमा संधिषु कार्याणि देवता यतनानि च ॥

—Manu, VIII, 218.

तडागकूपदीर्घिका जलनिर्गम मार्ग देवग्रहाणि

सीमासुपेषु ग्रामद्वयसंधिस्थानेषु कर्तव्यानि ।

—Kullukabhatta's Commentary on *Manusmriti*. See also *Sulr-niti*, IV, 4.

1. अवर्षीः वर्षमुक्त ऊं इति सुग्रभाय ।
अकः धन्वनि अतिऽसतैऊं इति ॥
- अजीजनः औषधीः खोजनाय ।
कम् उत प्रजाये अविदः मनीषाम् ॥

Kshana has also given numerous maxims which tell us about the probable rainfall.⁴ The former writer devotes much of his time to determining the rainfall which helped the farmers of old age in their agricultural pursuits. His verses determine the date and time of rains, droughts and the like according to movements of planets, etc., (Parasara's *Krishi Sangraha*), rituals and hymnology (*ibid*) and directions of wind (*ibid*).

The ancient literature is full of evidence to show that it rained heavily during the rainy season in India with the result that rivers were usually in spate and caused great destruction. Sometimes it also happened that due to lack of rains the rich harvest was destroyed. Naturally, unless some permanent arrangements were made to remove such calamities caused by nature, agriculture would not be possible. And obviously these arrangements were for constructing river projects of various sizes, firstly, in order to check the floods and secondly to store the water for irrigation purposes. Keeping this fact in view, we find that a number of irrigational projects were built by various kings of India with the co-operation of the public. Besides these projects, minor irrigation works, such as wells, etc., were also constructed in large numbers. We shall, however, confine ourselves to the treatment of the major projects only, specially the dams, artificial lakes, big tanks, embankments, canals, etc.,

The Hathigumpha Cave Inscription of Kharavela testifies that King Kharavela in the first year of his reign excavated and dammed a tank.⁵ We further notice in the same inscription that in the fifty years of his reign he extended a big canal which was excavated by Nandaraja (Mahapadma Nanda?) and was brought to the capital of Kalinga at least 103 years (300?) ago. This was, indeed, the most important event of his reign as regards the welfare of his subjects.⁶ It can also, by the way, be said that Nandaraja, though not a reputed king, was aware of the importance of irrigation.

But the greatest wonder of hydro-engineering is found during the reign of Chandragupta Maurya. The system of irrigation in his kingdom was perfect and well-organized. He established a special Irrigation Department. We are informed by the accounts of Megasthenes that numerous officers were appointed to measure the land and protect those canals whose water was distributed for irrigation. And in this way everybody

4. Indian History Quarterly, Vol. VI (1930), pp. 737-46.
Ganguli, R.: *Cultivation in Ancient India*.

5. अभिसित मतो च पथमे वसे...

सितल तडाग पाडियो च बन्धापयति ।

—Vide, Hathigumpha Cave Inscription, *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. I (D. C. Sircar), p. 207.

6. पथमे च दानी वसेन्द्र-राज-ति-वस-सत ओद्घाटितं
तन सुलिय-वाटा-पणाडि नगरं पवेसयति ।

—(*ibid*).

got the share of his profit. It appears that an irrigation tax was also levied. *Arthashastra* refers to heavy water-rates which were levied. It also informs us that canals were strictly maintained.⁷ For providing irrigation facilities in the distant regions of his kingdom, Chandragupta Maurya excavated a big lake, named Sudarsana by the help of his provincial governor Pushyagupta, the Vaisya in Surashtra. The lake was constructed after damming the sources of a few hilly rivers, particularly, Suvarna Sikata and Palasini.

"The fact that so much pains and expense were lavished upon this irrigation work in a remote dependency (Surashtra) of the empire," says Vincent Smith, "is conclusive evidence that the provision of water for the fields was recognized as an imperative duty by the great Maurya emperors and it is a striking illustration of the accuracy of Megasthenes' remark that imperial officers were wont to measure the land as in Egypt and inspect the sluices by which water is distributed into the branch canals so that every one may enjoy his fair share of the benefit."⁸

We are further informed by Junagarh Rock Inscription of Rudradamana I (1950 A.D.) that Tushapa, the Greek Viceroy of Asoka, excavated canals from Sudarsana lake. In spite of utmost care taken in the maintenance of this lake its bunds once got burst on account of heavy rains during the reign of Rudradamana I and the water, thus uncontrolled, began to create trouble.⁹ The water moved with tremendous speed. Like a benevolent ruler, who could not see such scenes or sit idle, Rudradamana got the bunds of the lake reconstructed under the supervision of Suvisakha, the son of Kulaipa and the Pahlava governor of Anarta and Surashtra. This time the bund was

7. The following shares of produce payable as water-rate or irrigation tax (*Udakabhaga*) are laid down:

Hastapravartina—when the water has to be raised by manual labour—one-fifth;

Skandhapravartina—when the water is raised by water-lifts worked by bullocks—one-fourth;

Srotoyantrapravartina—when the water is supplied by irrigation channels—one-third;

Nadisarustatakakupodghata—when the water is supplied by rivers, lakes, ponds or wells—one-fourth.

—F. J. Monahan : *The Early History of Bengal*, p. 65.
Punishment was imposed over those who did not properly maintain the waterworks under their charge.

8. *Early History of India*, p. 140.

9. मार्गशीर्ष बहुल...प्रतिपदि सूष्टुष्टिना पञ्जन्येन एकार्णव
भूतायामिव पृथिव्यां कृतायां गिरेर्जयतः सुवर्णसिकता
पलाशिनी प्रभृतीनां नदीनां अतिमात्रोद्भृत्येष्वैः सेरुम...
यमाणानुरूप प्रतीकारमपि गिरिशिखर तरुतटा द्वालकोप-
तत्पद्मार शरणोच्छ्य विच्छिन्ना युगनिधन सदृश परम-
धोरवेगेन वायुना प्रमथित सलिल विक्षिप्त जर्जरीकृता-
वदीर्ण क्षिताश्म-नृक्ष-गुल्म-लता-प्रतारं आनन्दीतलादित्यु-
द्घाटितभासीत्।

—*Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. VIII,

made three times stronger than the previous one. And to the surprise of all, Rudradamana did not tax his subjects at all for reconstruction of this lake. He was rather proud that he built this huge bund from his own treasury.¹⁰

The strong bunds constructed by Rudradamana I probably worked smoothly for three hundred years. But, in A.D. 455, the bunds were again broken by heavy rains during the reign of Skandagupta. Chakrapalita, the son of Parnadatta, was then governor of Surashtra. The people were bewildered as usual and could not know what to do.¹¹ The then government of Surashtra was again very prompt and after spending an enormous amount of money got it permanently repaired. According to Fleet, the embankment, thus constructed, was '100 cubits in length, 68 cubits in breadth and seven men's height in elevation.'¹²

That the Sudarsana lake was the biggest irrigation project of its times, is an established fact. But the ancient history of Kashmira witnesses an equally important work although the *Rajatariningini* of Kalhana contains references to many such projects. We are told that formerly the productivity of Kashmira was very low because she was not unfrequently affected by great inundations of Mahapadma lake and river Vitasta. King Lalitaditya-Muktapida (A.D. 733-69) adopted the requisite measures and the waters were drained off. Thus the fertility of the land was considerably increased. It was at Chakradhara where the king excavated the canals for conducting the water of Vitasta and made arrangement for its distribution to various villages with the help of a series of water-wheels.¹³

10. अपीडियत्वा करविष्टि प्रणयक्रियाभिः
पौरजानपदं जनं स्वस्यात्कोशा महता धनौधेन...
— etc. (*Ibid.*)

11. विषाद्यमानाः खलु सर्वतोजनाः
कथं कथं कार्यमिति प्रवादिनः ।
मिथोहि पूर्वपर रात्रमुस्थिता
विचिन्तयां चापिबभूवरस्तुकाः ॥ ३० ॥
अपीहलोके सकलै सुदर्शनं
पुर्माहि दुर्दर्शनतां गतं क्षणात् ।
भवेन्तु सोऽस्मेनिधि तुल्य दर्शनं
सुदर्शनं..... ॥ ३१ ॥

—Junagarh Rock Inscription of Skandagupta: *Select Inscriptions*, p. 305.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 306 (foot-note).

13. चक्रे चक्रधरस्तेन वितस्तास्मः प्रतारणम् ।
विनिमया रघटालीस्तांस्तान्नामान्न्रयच्छ्रुता ॥

—*Rajat.* IV, verse 191.

Chakradhara is believed to be the modern Tsak-dar. It is situated on the alluvial plateau lying on the left bank of the river Jhelam (Vitasta). 'The system of irrigation here referred to,' writes

After Lalitaditya-Muktapida, the successors of Jayapida, who were very weak, could not improve the fertility of the soil. On the other hand, the productivity further went down and disastrous floods again began to creep in. During the reign of King Avantavarman (A.D. 855-83) there occurred a great famine. The condition was overwhelmingly acute, so much so that one Khan¹⁴ of rice was sold for ten hundred and fifty Dinaras. At this movement, Suyya, the King's minister for public works, rushed to the rescue of the people's lives. He initiated several improvements in the existing system of irrigation. He changed the course of Vitasta which was the cause of these floods. He also had the bed of the river cleared. After creating adequate channels for the drainage of the surplus water of the river he erected a huge store dam at one place for securing the river-bed from any future inundation. This store dam was a wonderful specimen of engineering during ancient days.

"The whole river, which Nila produced, was blocked up by Suyya for seven days by the construction of a stone dam."¹⁵

Wherever floods used to cause trouble he constructed new beds for Vitasta. The river, consequently flew in numerous channels. Besides all this, Suyya made different streams according to his own will.

"After constructing stone-embankments for seven Yojanas, along the Vitasta, he dammed in the waters of Mahapadma lake. Trained by him the Vitasta starts rapidly on her way from the basin of the Mahapadma lake like an arrow from the bow."¹⁶

Freed from the water, the land of Kashmira became much productive. Suyya then founded several villages, "which were filled with a multitude of people."

This great engineer and irrigation specialist effected many other improvements in irrigation. He scientifically examined different classes of land and accordingly procured the required amount of water for them. After experimentations and observations he could deter-

Stein, 'is explained by the configuration of the ground near that locality on account of the high alluvial plateaus or Udars, which stretch in the semi-circle from Virohro to below Tsak-dar, the land enclosed between them and the left bank of the river cannot be irrigated by the ordinary means of canals.'

14. We do not know with certainty about the measure called Khan. A mention of it is made in *Rigveda* IV.32.17, in the work of Panini and in the *Loka-Prakasa* where it is named as Kharika. From the writings of various authors, e.g., Abul-Fazal and Moorcroft it appears that a Khan is equal to 1920 Palas or 177-129/175 lbs., if a Pala is taken to be equal to 3-3/5 tolas (see also Stein, *Rajat.* V, pp. 195-96).

15. एवं दिनानि द्वित्राणि पथो युक्त्या विकृष्टतत् ।
वितस्तामेकतः स्थानात्कर्मकुद्भिरबन्धयत् ॥
पाषाणसेतुबन्धेन सुख्येनादभुत कर्मणा ।
सप्तहसभवद्बद्धा निखिला नीलज्ञा सरित् ॥

16. Stein : *Rajat.* V, p. 199.

—*Rajat.* V.

mine the period within which different soils required watering.

Sung Yun, speaking of irrigation in Kashmira, says :

"At the proper time they let the stream overflow the land by which the soil is rendered soft and fertile."¹⁷

The rulers of South India also took keen interest in constructing various irrigation projects. Among such rulers, the name of Chola king Karikala I is very prominent. Karikala (A.D. 6th century) built high banks on the Kaveri river. This is proved by the Copper-plate charters of the Telugu-Chola chiefs. This river also used to overflow like Vitasta in Kashmira and often caused floods. Due to the efforts of Karikala, mentioned above, people, thus, got rid of this recurrent trouble. Kaveri delta was so important that almost every Chola king had to pay some attention to its irrigation. It was long ago that Kaveri had changed her course giving rise to a new stream. It is doubtful whether the change of her course was natural or was caused by some particular individual. The name of this river is mentioned in several South Indian Inscriptions. Floods by this river were frequent and so were the damages to men and wealth. Karikala, besides building banks on the river in order that the water could be controlled and utilized for productive purposes, opened new canals. 'The banks are said to measure 1080 feet in length, 40 to 60 feet in width and 15 to 18 feet in height.' The project was very successful and lasted for many centuries.

These bunds were maintained both by the Government and the public. It is possible as Mr. Aiyer believes¹⁸ that persons according to some ancient custom took out a fixed quantity of mud or sand from the bed and threw them on the bund every year. No doubt, the government maintained these bunds by levying taxes but it was the private individuals that kept them in working order out of sheer religious zeal; for great value used to be attached to such works.¹⁹

The successors of Karikala also continued a good irrigational policy.

Bhaskara Bhavadura (of First Vijayanagara dynasty), too, built a big tank in a district which was frequently affected by famines. In the same dynasty Bukkaraya also excavated big canals from river Henne with the help of Sinyayya Bhatta called Pratapa-Bukkaraya-Mandala channel.²⁰ Krishna-devaraya was no less enthusiastic in building irrigation projects and it is said that due to his efforts cultivation was improved.

17. Banerjee, P. N.: *Public Administration in Ancient India*, p. 253.

18. Aiyer, K. V. Subrahmanyam: *Historical Sketch of Ancient Dekhan*, p. 196.

19. 'A ruined family, a breached tank or pond, a fallen kingdom whose restores or repairs a damaged temple, acquires merit four-fold of that which occurred from them at first.'

20. Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 6th Session (1943); Dikshitar, V.R.R., Prof.: *A History of Irrigation in South India (Summary)*, pp. 127-29.

We have not yet considered the digging of a large number of tanks for the purpose of irrigation. Among such numerous tanks throughout India, mention may be made of those referred to by Venkayya,²¹ prominent among them being Mahendra Tataka, Vaijir mega tataka, Cholavaridhi, etc. These tanks of South India were dug between A.D. 8th century and 10th century and were connected with rivers. That these banks were maintained and repaired by private individuals in times of necessity is clear from the following statement of Venkayya who made his studies on the basis of certain inscriptions :

"From the inscriptions and the transactions recorded in them it appears that repairs to tanks were undertaken as works of merit. But as in most cases tanks had endowments of land or money, the repairs were executed at the expense of these endowments. In the Kanarese country the term Kodage, which, according to Mr. Rice, has continued in use to the present time from great antiquity, denotes a grant of land rent-free for the construction or upkeep of a tank. In cases where no endowment existed or where they were not properly managed, and where no private individuals were charitable enough to undertake repairs at their expense, the village assemblies could grant some land either near the tank to be repaired or from the waste land of the village, over which they seemed to have enjoyed undisputed ownership, an inducement to undertake the work. In course of time the cultivable waste of villages must have dwindled down and in cases no private enterprise or charity was forthcoming to repair the tanks, it must have been undertaken at the joint expense of the villagers, as they were all to benefit by it. Thus apparently there arose the custom of Kudimaramat in Southern India."

Like Southern India, Bengal also possessed a large number of very old tanks by which irrigation was done. A Bill of 1937, passed as an Act in 1939 in Bengal Legislature, as described by Dr. Sundar Lal Hora, Director, Geological Survey of India,²² draws our attention towards "numerous old irrigational tanks and bunds in Bengal which have become useless as they have not been kept in proper repair. And, therefore that Bill aimed to provide for the repair and re-excavation of these."

The above account may give an idea of irrigation in ancient India. Although in a fragmented way, it may yet help the reader in understanding the consistent history of irrigation up to the beginning of the mediaeval period.

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THE PLACE OF TRUTH IN ANCIENT INDIAN CULTURE

BY PROF. PARESH NATH MUKHERJEE, M.A.

TRUTH is one of the main pillars of any culture. It is one of those elements that makes a culture great and permanent. Any culture worth its name cannot afford to neglect Truth. But the culture of Ancient India puts the greatest emphasis on Truth.

Truth was first stressed by the main religions of the world. In very early days, as a matter of metaphysical speculation, Truth acquired importance as the ultimate reality. It was accepted as real where every other thing of the material world was accepted as unreal. It was the one unchanging reality in the world, where everything else changes.

The concept of Truth in Ancient India was to a very great extent, a religious concept. But, the greatness consists in that Truth guided day-to-day life and behaviour of the masses, and was not confined to religion alone. This practical application of Truth, in the every-day life of the masses to the greatest possible extent, was a unique feature in Ancient India.

Thus, we find that whereas the religion of the West declared with the same idealism and eagerness the importance of Truth as the religions of India, far greater emphasis was put on its application in every-day life here than elsewhere. "And ye shall know the truth, and the truth shall make your free,"² was indeed a very noble expression of a religious sentiment in the West which, however, did not influence every-day life in the same way as it did in India.

Truth had a far wider application in India. Thus Sukesa of the Bharadvaj clan declares in the *Prasnopanishad* :

"Samulo wa esha parishushyati jo Anritam avibadati."² "Who tells a lie is destroyed from the roots."

It was not only a matter of academic speculation but a life and death question here.

Even for the attainment of success Truth was absolutely necessary. The Upanishad declared :

SATYAM
"Satyam eba jayate na Anritam." Satyena Pantha vitato Devajano."³

"Truth alone conquers, never Untruth. By Truth is laid the Divine Path."

Spiritual progress was unthinkable without Truth. "Satyena labhya Tapasa jhyesha Atma Samyag-nanena Bramhacharjena mityam"⁴.

"The Self is attained through Truth, Tapasya, Wisdom, and Continence—all constantly cultivated."

That was the secret in Ancient India. The morality was not, as it is unfortunately in our days, that success is to be attained through the black market. For success of any sort Truth was the indispensable means. They knew that momentary success (wrongly so-called) attained through organising or cheating, could never be a real or permanent success.

Truth was everything. The Upanishads were founded on Truth.

"Tashyoit Tapo Damah Karmeti pratishtha Veda Sarvanganii Sattyamayatanam."⁵

"Its (Upanishad's) foundations are—Austerity, Restraint, Dedicated Work. The Vedas are its limbs. Truth is its abode."

The Upanishads also declared in very clear terms :

"Ritang badishyami. Satyam badishyami"⁶ "I will proclaim the Real. I will proclaim the Truth."

3. *Mundakopanishad*, Ch. III, Sec. I, Sloka 6.

4. *Ibid*, Ch. III, Sec. I, Sloka 5.

5. *Kenopanishad*, Part IV, Sloka 8.

6. *Aitareyopanishad*, Shantipatha.

1. *New Testament*, John VIII. 32.

2. *Prasnopanishad*, Question VIth, Sloka 1.

Ever since that early dawn of civilization the one sincere and persistent desire of mankind has been to proclaim the Truth. Every bit of scientific research or metaphysical discussion has been nothing but the sincerest desire to proclaim the truth. The Mahabharata declared with great force :

"Nasti Satya samo Dharma. Na Satyat bidyate param. Nahi tibratarang kinchid. Anritad iha bidyate."⁷

"There is no Dharma like Truth. Nothing is superior to Truth. In this world nothing is more bitter than Falsehood."

The famous instruction of the Upanishad was :

"Satyang vada. Dharmang chara."⁸

"Speak the Truth.

"Follow the Dharma."

In another place the advice is given "Do not be careless to Truth"—"Satyat na pramaditabyam."⁹

In the history of India for the sake of Truth great and noble self-sacrifices were also performed many times. Thus the Prince of Kapilavastu gave up everything that the world and kingship could offer him and voluntarily accepted the robe of the Sannyasi to find and preach the Truth that would deliver mankind. For the sake of Truth, Ramachandra, the Prince of Ayodhya, gave up kingship for fourteen long years (undoubtedly the best part of a young prince's life) and lived in forests. Asoka lived up to the ideals of a Rajarshi avoiding all pleasures and doing everything for the upliftment of suffering humanity. Emperor Harsha as a regular feature gave up his accumulated treasures at the end of every five years, and borrowed second-hand garments from his sister Rajyasri. It has been rightly called by a very reputed historian as "a record in charity."¹⁰ In more recent times in accordance with this glorious tradition C. R. Das, Gandhiji, Motilal Nehru and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru have made very great sacrifices for the cause of Truth they upheld. Gandhiji, that great Buddha of modern times, was an incarnation of Truth and Self-sacrifice.

The ideal of Truth was so important in Ancient India that innumerable references can be adduced without any difficulty. In almost every Purana in the inscrip-

tions of Asoka (cf. M. R. E. II, P. E. II, and VII) and scattered throughout the Sanskrit literature are hundreds of such references. But to conclude, here we shall better discuss a critical point.

The question is, did the Ancient Indians accept Truth as relative, or did they adopt a very unscientific and orthodox attitude in the matter? Ordinarily it is held that their attitude was very orthodox and unscientific. It is pointed out that the Vedas were held to be the unquestionable repository of Truth. The Code of Manu changeth not. How then, could their attitude towards Truth be regarded as scientific in the modern sense? The present scientific outlook is that Truth is tentative, and not final. It is a working hypothesis. In Ancient India, it is said, Truth was regarded as final and eternal. And so, the attitude was, it is held, unscientific. Let us examine it more closely.

Only in matters of religion and spirituality, was Truth accepted as final. And that was necessary and desirable. The Brahman was the ultimate Truth, without any equal, infinite and boundless. But, otherwise, in every-day life Truth was more relative. Thus, the Buddha in the fifth century B.C. challenged the infallibility of the Vedas. He also challenged the caste system, one of the most important institutions of the Hindu society. So, the idea of finality was never blindly accepted in society. Every reformer and every new system introduced necessary modifications, so that old Truths gave place before new Truths. There are ample cases to suggest that in a worldly sense Truth was more relative. The Truth of the Vedas was challenged by Buddha, whose Truth was again challenged by Shankar, and who was again challenged by Ramanuj. and so on. So Truth was relative to a remarkable extent. Q

We can best sum up the situation in the words of Gandhiji :

"Truth is not Truth merely because it is ancient. Nor is it necessarily to be regarded with suspicion because it is ancient. There are some fundamentals of life which may not be lightly given up because they are difficult of enforcement in one's life."¹¹

And this was in reality the attitude towards Truth in Ancient India. The Buddha's last advice was : "Hold fast to the Truth as lamp. Hold fast as a refuge to the Truth."

Thought in Ancient India.

11. M. K. Gandhi: *The Conquest of Self*, p. 97.

7. *Mahabharata*, Adiparva, 74-104.

8. *Taittiriyanopanishad*, Ch. I, Sloka 11.

9. *Ibid.*

10. Dr. R. K. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., F.R.A.S.B., : *Men and*



COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"First National Exhibition of Art"

Dear Mr. Kaundinya,

Your article entitled 'Comment and Criticism' published in *The Modern Review*, September issue.

I appreciate the kind sentiments expressed about me for which thanks are due to you and I offer the same without reservation. But I cannot pass by the comments you have made after publishing a personal letter addressed to you without my consent.

If you had read carefully the contents of my letter, you would have found that I wanted to enlighten myself by discussion with you and as a result of which I was prepared to use such views as would have been beneficial to the objective of the Lalit Kala Akademi. This spontaneous approach from my side was made with an intention to know better as I feel there is nothing in this world made by man that can be considered flawless and if there was anything wrong a check could be enforced. But unfortunately lack of patience had driven you to act in a manner which I am constrained to say is a gross violation of courtesy. However I have a lot of things to say in support of the Working Committee of the Lalit Kala Akademi. But I must refrain myself from being involved into details as I might encroach into the limited space of the esteemed journal.

At the outset I should like to point out that in support of your sweeping, if not, damaging remark on the working of the Akademi you have made no attempt to substantiate what you published by authentic evidence. This is obvious from your own admission which is as follows: "I have no personal knowledge of the inner working of this Akademi but people who have personal knowledge have unanimously condemned it in unqualified terms." One may infer from this that your information is not only second-hand but it is also charged with other's interest in which I am inclined to feel your share is not that of the lion's.

I may further add in this connection that for whatever reason the financial resource had been utilised it was so done after giving due consideration to the purpose it was going to serve. The members of the Executive Committee had always been most helpful to me in all matters often at the sacrifice of their own time which on occasion meant money. In short, I should bring to your notice that the members of the Executive Committee are much more competent than what you take them to be. Otherwise you would have yourself mentioned their defects specifically which in your opinion stood as a hindrance to the proper function of the Akademi.

Now coming to the opinion on the alleged over-emphasis given to a certain school of painting I should say you would have done well if you had exercised

some restraint in the absence of a judicious enquiry. It is obvious from your remark, which I must say is vague that you were not aware of how the decision of the judges was arrived at. Let me for the sake of information tell you that the judges used the severest discretion in the question of selection and as a result of which the judges chose the best exhibits out of the total number received and this was done on grounds of sheer merit irrespective of the school or individual.

We are pledged to encourage every form of individual expression so long it bore artistic values. Therefore, the question of trend of this school or that does not arise. Further, if exhibits with ultra-modern trend were overwhelming in number and revealed better quality than other schools of painting, the selection or judging committee could not possibly underestimate their legitimate assertion nor the judges blamed for better works not being available.

With regard to the influence of the Secretaries referred to in your article I should say it is a revelation not only to me but also will be to those who know my temperament.

Lastly, I may add that the report of the judge published in the catalogue of the exhibition held in March 1955 amply supports the fact that there was much to be desired about the standard of work sent for the exhibition. A true copy of the judges' verdict is given here for the information of the public:

"The Selection and Judging Committee for the first National Art Exhibition met and considered the entries.

They regret to state that the general average of entries has been comparatively low, which is demonstrated by the fact that out of 1000 entries only about 260 could be accepted for Exhibition although the Committee made every effort to give every single entry its fullest critical consideration. The Committee wished this first Exhibition to be as large and representative as possible, but they felt that the standards demanded were not achieved.

The Committee feel that the foremost Exhibition in the country deserves better response from artists and they request that the artists of India should, in future years, make special efforts to enable this exhibition to become more truly representative of the genius of India. The honour of being displayed in the Akademi's National Exhibition should supply the greatest incentive to more intensive creative efforts.

They also request the Council of the Lalit Kala Akademi to make in future years arrangements for the Exhibition in such a way that artists are given sufficient time to make the utmost efforts to send in their best works.

The Committee therefore recommend: that the Akademi's gold plaque and cash award of Rs. 2,000 be not awarded."

D. P. Roy CHOWDHURY,
Principal, School of Arts and Crafts, Madras

SHELLEY'S PLATONISM

BY R. DE LOYOLA FURTADO, M.A. (DeP., Chicago)

MERN research has thrown new light on Percy B. Shelley's attitude towards a rational belief in the supernatural. The transition from his avowed materialism to Platonic doctrine has been the subject which m.ern research scholars have studied with the greatest care.

The last five years of Shelley's life point to his final conversion and belief in the Greek idealistic philosophy. His biographers have clearly stated that he had drunk deep of Plato. He had read, discussed, r-read, and translated Plato. Thus his early poem, *Clewen Mab*, marks the materialistic period; the *Revolt of Islam*, the period of transition; *Prometheus Unbound*, the loftiest expression of Platonism.

The idealism of Plato was to lead Shelley to believe in God, the one of the "graceful religion of the Greeks,"¹ and, consequently, Nature or Power or Spirit, as mere terms, was relegated to a secondary place. So much was he under the spell of Plato that in June, 1822, only a month before he was drowned, he wrote that the doctrines of the "French and Material Philosophy are as false as they are pernicious."² Professor Beach points out the two main concepts in which Shelley is influenced by the Platonic doctrine:

"The first is the concept of the soul as having descended from the realm of the Eternal and as destined to return to 'the burning fountain whence it came.' The second, the more important and inclusive concept, is that of the general or 'eternal' forms (ideas, essences, abstractions, intelligibles) as in some sense the most real things in the universe, and of the natural world as having a sort of a secondary reality, which it has in so far as it partakes of the essence of the eternal forms. This is a view as remote as possible from the ordinary assumptions of nature-philosophy."³

Both Shelley and Plato contemplate the so-called Spirit, the One, in different forms, like Love and Beauty. Also, they "lay hold of the Deity largely from the aesthetic side."⁴

Shelley's Platonism is vaguely felt in *Alastor* (1815); it is more obvious in the *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty* and *Mont Blanc* (both 1816); and it is

still more strong in *Prometheus Unbound* (1818), the *Witch of Atlas* (1820), *Epipsychedion* and *Adonai* (1812).

Alastor and *Hymn* are the turning points at which Shelley subscribes to the belief that reason is a lesser power, and imagination and intuition are the major powers of the mind. In the preface to *Alastor* Shelley states that the poem is "allegorical of one of the most interesting situations of the human mind." It represents a youth with a pure mind, in search of knowledge and engrossed in the contemplation of the universe. In his wanderings, the youth has the vision of the "veiled maid" who personifies the "unrealised completeness"⁵ of the self.

Shelley here uses Platonic symbolism for, according to the Platonic fable, the soul in its heavenly and complete state is both masculine and feminine, and, in its earthly state, seeks for ever a return to its previous unity. Also, according to neo-Platonic symbolism, a stream of water is symbolic of man's life. Thus in *Alastor* we have:

O stream !
Whose source is inaccessible profound,
Whither do thy mysterious waters tend ?
Thou imagest my life. Thy darksome stillness,
Thy dazzling waves, thy loud and hollow gulfs,
Thy searchless fountain and invisible course,
Have each their type in me; and the wide sky
And measureless ocean may declare as soon
What rosy cavern or what wandering cloud
Contains thy waters, as the universe.
Tell where these living thoughts reside,

when stretch
Upon thy flowers my bloodless limbs shall waste
I' the passing wind !

In the very next year after the publication of *Alastor*, Shelley wrote the classic *Hymn to Intellectual Beauty*. The term "intellectual beauty" occurs in Plato's *Symposium*. Shelley, himself, had translated this work, and he must have come across the term in the passage where the prophetess Diotima speaks on the subject of Love and Beauty. The central idea of the *Hymn* is none other than is contained in Plato's words. For, according to Shelley's translation, Beauty is

" . . . eternal, unproduced, indestructible; neither subject to increase or decay; not, like other things, partly beautiful and partly deformed; not at one time beautiful and at another time not; not beautiful in relation to one thing and deformed in relation to another . . . All other things are

1. R. Ingpen, *Letters of Shelley*, Vol. II, p. 816. The quotation is from Shelley's letter to Southey, 1820.

2. E. Dowden, *Life of Shelley*, Vol. II, p. 449.

3. J. W. Beach, *The Concept of Nature in Nineteenth Century Poetry*, p. 24.

4. L. Winstanley, *Platonism in Shelley*, *Essays and Studies* by Members of the English Association, (Oxford, 1913), Vol. IV, p. 76.

5. C. Crabo, *The Magic Plant*, p. 175.

beautiful through a participation of it, with this condition, that although they are subject to production and decay, it never becomes more or less, or endures any change."⁶

Intellectual Beauty, then, was the only value which lacked transience and which would endure for ever. It was to Shelley like a straw which he must clasp lest he flounder. It was this same Beauty which would eventually lead him through what he called wilderness, another Platonic echo.

The wilderness has a mysterious tongue
Which teaches awful doubt, or faith so mild,
So solemn, so serene, that man may be
But for such faith with Nature reconciled.

This wilderness is not in the least related to the 'wasteland' of T. S. Eliot. Rather, it is a symbol of the maze of the external reality or of the complexity of the individual mind.⁷ It occurs again and again in Shelley, especially in *Prometheus Unbound*.

Prometheus has for its source the lost *Prometheus Bound* of Aeschylus, but, as Shelley states in the preface to his poem, "it has no resemblance to the Greek drama. It is original." And it is justly so. Being essentially based on the Greek myth, it abounds in Platonic symbolism and references. The influence of Plato and Dante upon Shelley's thought is evident throughout, even though its philosophy is derived from various sources. "The ethics of Christ," says Professor Grabo, "is fused with the metaphysics of Plato."⁸

Beside the very obvious borrowings from Greek mythology, *Prometheus* also contains indirect references to Plato. Thus one of the characters is found exclaiming:

Ah, sister! Desolation is a delicate thing:
It walks not on the earth, it floats not on the air,
But treads with killing footstep . . .

In the *Symposium*⁹ we have: "For Homer says that the Goddess Calamity is delicate, and that her feet are tender. Her feet are soft, for she treads not upon the ground but makes her path upon the heads of men."

The greatest Platonic influence in *Prometheus*, however, is the very elaborate symbolism which pervades the poem. Asia, the same as Aphrodite, is the personification of Nature. She sings:

My soul is an enchanted boat
Which, like a sleeping swan, doth float
Upon the silver waves of thy sweet singing.

The boat of the song is "harmonious with his neo-Platonic imagery of sea, cloud, 'cave and stream'.¹⁰ The cloud in Shelley, as also in the great epic poems of India, symbolises change and fertility. The cave is only an allusion to the well-known passage from Plato in which human life is likened to a cave in which the images are but the shadows cast

upon its walls from reality without. Shelley's 'cave' is only another name for the phenomenal world.

The Platonic thought in *Prometheus* is carried further to all Shelley's later poems, life to him being a compound of shadows, death a mockery, and Love, Beauty and Delight being the enduring things. This attitude is overtly pronounced in the *Sensitive Poet* and *Adonais*. Throughout these poems a Spirit pervades, a Spirit which, Shelley tells us in the essay *On A Future State*, is "the mysterious principle which regulates the proceedings of the universe." Through it, Keats in *Adonais*

. . . is made one with Nature: then is heard
His voice in all her music, from the moan
Of thunder to the song of night's sweet bird;
He is a presence to be felt and known . . .

In 1821, this Spirit was for the first time called God by Shelley. This God had all the attributes of the One of Platonic tradition. Thus:

The spirit of the worm beneath the sod,
In love and worship, blends itself with God.
Again,

From the great morning of the world when first
God dawned on chaos.

In the preface to *Adonais*, Shelley refers to Keats as "one of the noblest specimens of the workmanship of God."

A very important and distinct Platonic concept is the pre-existence of the soul, and Shelley fully believes in it. The belief that our present existence is but a dream is another Platonic concept which often repeats in Shelley. Thus in *Hellas*:

What thou seest
Is but the ghost of thy forgotten dream.

Shelley also believes in the immortality of the soul, which is also a Platonic concept. To Shelley, Keats became "a portion of the Eternal," "a portion of the loveliness which once he made more lovely," and "he hath awakened from the dream of life."

Love is only another attribute of the One, who is, in turn, equivalent to the Ultimate Beauty. Needless to say, these are synonyms which are very characteristic of Platonism, their effect on Shelley being all too evident. He returns again and again to the old theme of Ultimate Beauty, which is "more intrinsically real than the actual objects—waves, flowers, clouds, woods, rocks—which it warms and illumines."¹¹ This Beauty is also Love. These various Platonic concepts were to relegate Nature to a secondary place, and Love was the gospel which would eventually save Man from the bondage of custom, tradition and intolerance. The gospel of Love, which was in its essence the same as Plato's Intellectual Beauty, would conduce Man back to Nature, which he had presently forsaken.

6. *Op. Cit.*, p. 177.

7. C. Grabo, *Prometheus Unbound: An Interpretation*, p. 162.

8. *Op. Cit.*, p. 13.

9. Plato, *Symposium*, p. 195. Jowett translation.

10. C. Grabo, *Prometheus Unbound: An Interpretation*, p. 89.

11. M. Bald, *Shelley's Mental Progress*, *Essays of the English Association*, (Oxford, 1928), Vol. XIII, p. 112.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE FUNDAMENTAL UNITY OF INDIA : By D. Radha Kumud Mookerji. Published by Bharatiya Vidyā Bhavan, Bombay. Pp. 122. Price Rs. 1-12.

The author who is a well-known historical writer and politician, has deserved well of all students of Indian history by bringing out this work (published as early as in 1914) in the cheap and easily available Book University series of the Bharatiya Vidyā Bhavan. Quite appropriately he has prefixed to this reprint an Introduction in the course of which he has put forward a passionate plea (with which all of us can sympathise) for the continuance of the old economic, religious and cultural ties between India and Pakistan in spite of their political division. Equally unexceptionable is the thesis of the author's work to the effect that the unity of India instead of being a creation of British rule may be traced back in the historical consciousness of the Hindus from a remote age. This is sought to be proved by a mass of details culled with great industry from our ancient literary and epigraphic records. The author's data comprise a common name for the whole country, the occurrence of geographical names in our ancient hymns from the celebrated river-hymn (X.75.5) of the Rigveda downwards, the lists of Hindu shrines and sacred places in the Puranas and other works, the Hindu (to which ought to have been added the Buddhist and the Jaina) institution of pilgrimage, the geographical knowledge of the whole country developing from its dim beginnings in the Vedic Age, the idea and the institution of universal sovereignty and the distinctive physical phenomena of the country.

While we can accept the author's contention to be fundamentally sound, we propose to make a few remarks. The author seems somehow to have missed the basic factor of India's unity, namely, the dominance of one type of culture of which the distinctive characteristics are the institution of caste, respect for the Vedas, Epics and Puranas, a universal system of social and religious law, a more or less common outlook on life and common ethical standards. Equally unfortunate is the author's omission to consider in the context of his thesis the mutual reactions of Hinduism and Islam in the Middle Ages about which period indeed he is completely silent. Some of the author's statements again are not above criticism. Is Bharatavarsha (known for the first time to the Epic and Puranic tradition) the oldest Indian designation for the whole country? (p. 31). Considering the high antiquity of Buddhism and its links with the Brahmanical religion, can we properly state with the author (pp. 63-64) that "Buddhism, in fact, is the

name given to Hinduism of the first few centuries of the Christian era, where precipitated in a foreign consciousness?" In view of the foundation of the Maurya Empire by Chandragupta Maurya on the ruins of the heritage of the Nandas, is it correct to say (p. 64) that "the most noteworthy contribution of Buddhism was a vast imperial organisation, highly centralised, coherent in all its parts, full of the geographical consciousness, uttering itself in similar architectonical forms in the east and west of India" and so forth? To magnify (p. 80) Harshavardhana's Empire as embracing "the whole of the basin of the Ganges (including Nepal) from the Himalayas to the Narmada, besides Malwa, Gujarat and Saurashtra" is to ignore the results of recent research. How is it again that the author (pp. 84-91) while discussing the significance of the Vedic ceremonies of imperial consecration confines himself to the Vajapeya (which by the way does not derive its name from its ritual of the chariot-race) and the Rajasuya and dismisses the Asvamedha with a single reference in a footnote? Finally, is it possible to sum up the genius of India's complex civilisation with a single formula, namely, that "India's gift to the world has been the fair fabric of an Empire, a nationality, founded on the basis of Universal Peace (*Ahimsa*), peace between man and man, and between man and every sentient creature?" (p. 121).

U. N. GHOSHAL

CONSCIENCE AND REASON : By Grace Stuart. George Allen and Unwin Ltd., London. Price \$15 net.

"Whoever you speak to, they're in trouble"—that was a chance remark of a weeping woman in a railway carriage overheard by Mrs. Stuart which ultimately led to the production of this reassuring book. About the troubles of the people no one need be reminded; they are too glaring to remain unnoticed. But the question is: Should we go on suffering from them and blaming Fate and others for them? Pessimism suggests that there is no way out; future of mankind is dark and will grow increasingly darker as century advances on century. The atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb lend additional support to the development of this attitude.

The spirit of man, however, refuses to be daunted. History produces ample evidence that the spirit has repeatedly triumphed even over the gloomiest of circumstances and has emerged in greater glory even from the most unhallowed situations. The atom bomb is challenging it once more. And it must be admitted that if there ever was an occasion to make the most determined and heroic effort to rise above the circumstances, and to dispel the most thickly accumulated smoke of doubt and despair that per-

vades the entire atmosphere, that occasion is undoubtedly now.

Fortunately, as Mrs. Stuart mentions, "in spite of difficulties and despair, there has never yet been such wise or such potentially helpful thinking done about human problems as is being done today." The book under review is one of the products of such thinking.

Destructive behaviour is one form of behaviour that is shared by men with the animals. Modern psychology has belied the all too common belief that men are governed by reason and animals by instinct. There is much that is instinctive in human activities. Many illustrations of this have been given in the book. Brute-like destructive tendencies are present in all men, but it is the growth of conscience within us that educates us to refrain from aggressive activities. The growth of conscience depends much on factors and conditions the nature of which we have learnt to appreciate only recently. We have at much cost to ourselves and to civilization, at last come to realise that in this matter of the growth of conscience, forces within us about which we are not conscious play the dominant part. Now that we have gained this insight it is incumbent on us to shape environmental conditions in such a way that the development of the Super Ego of our children may take place on desirable lines. Every chapter in the book helps us in achieving this objective. By removing false ideas about the development of the child mind and by compelling all to think anew about our sense and scale of values the authoress has made a definite contribution towards the attainment of that Peace so devoutly wished for by all. The book is a feast to the intellectuals and an inspiration to the troubled ones. The conscience will be inclined to behave more rationally and the reason tend to function more conscientiously of those who read and digest Mrs. Grace Stuart's *Conscience and Reason*.

S. C. MITRA

THE FOUNDATIONS OF INDIAN CULTURE:
By Sri Aurobindo. Published in 1953 by the Sri Aurobindo Library, Inc., New York City. (Demy 8vo.). Pp. 442.

The book consists of a series of articles that appeared in the *Arya* from 15th December, 1918 to 15th January, 1921, and later on were revised by the author. Sri Aurobindo is always brilliant in his essays. His interpretations of the Vedas and Upanishads, his essays on the Gita, his poetic criticism on the future poetry have no equal. In these essays he is in the role of a nation-builder. In them he has thrown his searchlight on the principles and foundations of Indian culture, Indian polity, Indian society, Indian religions, and Indian art. He has based his discourses on William Archer's *Is India Civilised?* and Sir John Woodroffe's reply to same. In course of writing he has touched on many eminent thinkers and writers in that line.

There was a time when Europeans entered the domain of Indian culture and such other matters with an attempt to prove that everything Indian was barbarous. They held, by civilization was meant superiority in science and earthly conditions. It was between 1830-1883 that great men like Raja Rammohun Roy, Brahmananda, Keshub Chunder Sen, Bhai Protap Chandra Majumdar bearded the lion in his own den, and tried to open the eyes of both the Europeans and the Americans to the special character of religion and spirituality of Indian culture and society. This

they did by lectures, by new interpretations of Indian literature specially religious and by their own lives. As early as that they had prescribed synthesis of the East and the West, of Spirit and Science for the salvation of the world.

This vindication of Indian history and culture soon took a militant character, of which Swami Vivekananda and Sri Aurobindo were the champions. Sri Aurobindo played his part in a superb style. The nation will ever treasure his studies of the past and thoughts on the future. Maybe, we may not agree with some of his theories but the way shown by him to awaken the spirit and the thinking power among us will remain a beacon-light to the coming generations, who by Providence are charged to build the future India. Bankruptcy of thought and spirituality means the doom of civilization, against which Sri Aurobindo raised his clarion voice just when New India was astir with the spirit of Nationalism. The printing, get-up and presentation of the book are excellent.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

OUR PATRIOTS OF WAX, IRON AND CLAY:
By T. N. Lahiri. U. N. Dhar and Sons, Ltd., 15, Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta-13. Price Rs. 3.

The author writes in the Preface: "This is a thumb-nail sketch of the main political forces which participated at various stages in the movement for Indian freedom from the point of view of a citizen of Bengal who came in contact with the revolutionary movement for a number of years."

The book is divided into five main chapters, viz., 1. The Background, 2. The Moderates, 3. The Revolutionaries, 4. The Middle Couriers—The Gandhian Phase of the Congress, 5. The Conclusion. In the course of these chapters the author has dealt with the various phases of our political struggle. In the Background he has dwelt on the causes that led to the rise of political consciousness and active political movements. The pioneers of the struggle for freedom have been dubbed by the author as 'Moderates,' which appellation they hardly deserve from their sensible countrymen. The author himself took part in the revolutionary phase of the struggle, and the chapter on this phase has necessarily been dealt in considerable detail. The Middle-couriers, as he calls the leaders of the Gandhian phase, have received scant justice at the hands of the author. And let us quote what he says about Mahatma Gandhi:

"On the touchstone of reality, the idealism and moral teachings of the high priest of the Congress proved no more than an evanescent haze. The forces he led, walked into power over the hecatomb of whole nationalities and the ruin and degradation of millions."

Reality par excellence!

JOGESH C. BAGAL

1. SWAMI SIVANANDA : MYSTIC, SAGE AND YOGI : By Swami Venkatesananda, Dr. Frederick Spiegelberg and others. Pp. 405, Price Rs. 4-8.

2. EVERYMAN'S PHILOSOPHY OF SWAMI SIVANANDA. Pp. 61. Price Re. 1.

3. SWAMI SIVANANDA AND THE MODERN MAN : Pp. 82. Price Re. 1.

The second and the third books are by Swami Omkar-ananda. All the three are published from the Yoga Vedanta Forest University, P.O. Sivananda Nagar, Rishikesh, Himalayas.

The first book contains among other things a psychological study of Swami Sivananda by Dr. Frederick Spiegelberg, Ph.D., a lecturer of Stanford University, California. This American savant came to India on a special mission from his University to investigate if spirituality was still alive in this country. He stayed for a week in the hermitage of Swami Sivananda at Rishikesh in the Himalayas and was highly impressed with his life and thought. He returned home and reported to the American people that spirituality was alive in India even today but emphasized at the same time that India was threatened all around by modern doctrines imported from the West.

Requested to write an essay about his impressions of Sivanandaji he sent the Standard test of ten ink-lock cards pertaining to the Rosschah Test as a means to gather facts in order to have a character evaluation of the dynamic monk. Dr. Rosschah, the Swiss Psychiatrist, developed this wonderful psychocagnostic test in the last century. After studying the reactions of Swami Sivananda to these psychological tests Dr. Spiegelberg came to the conclusion that Swami Sivananda is a personality of extraordinary gour and creative drive as well as highly artistic. At the end of this book are given in detail several astrological readings by eminent astrologers of Swami Sivananda's horoscope.

Swami Venkatesananda, Samananda, Omkaralinda, Saswatananda and others whose warm appreciations are collected in these three books are beloved disciples and enthusiastic workers of Swami Sivananda. Hence, their appreciations must be devotional outpourings and therefore, be considered as exaggerated accounts. As long as a monk is alive he should not be so much advertised and emblazoned as it definitely belittles the greatness of the man concerned. People are spontaneously drawn to one who possesses genuine worth and achievement.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

FRENCH

TEFEDEST : MEHAREE AU SAHARA CENTRAL : By Louis Carl Et Joseph Petit. Collection "Les Clés de l'Aventure," Arthaud, Paris. 1953. I. 262.

Tefedest is the chain of mountains which stretches northwards from the enormous basalt masses of the Hoggar country in the far south of Algeria. The Sahara, contrary to what many people imagine it to be a flat stretch of sand studded with a few oases—actually embraces many lofty plateaux strewn with rough blocks of granite and deep river valleys.

In October, 1949, four young Frenchmen left Paris to explore the dead and desolate region of the Tefedest massive to make a scientific study of the area which is known to be particularly rich in pre-historic rock paintings. In Europe, the pre-historic art is hidden mostly in subterranean caves. In the Sahara it is found mostly in the form of polychrome wall paintings on rock shelters situated in high places of difficult access. The style of these paintings is delicate and animated with great artistic sensibility. Preliminary work on the rock paintings had been done by the 1935 Coche Expedition and also by the 1945-47 Cousin and Lelubre Expedition. But it is to the 1950 Hoggar Expedition that the chief credit is due for systematizing the records of the paintings and engravings already discovered and for an exhaustive

survey of the area. The expedition had, of course, other objectives—zoological, botanical and topographical research on this yet unexplored region.

This book has been written by two members of the expedition to give an authoritative account of the expedition which lasted for six months. The narrative, vivid and vivacious, makes highly entertaining reading. The journey was undertaken with the minimum of resources, which put the will-power and the zest of the members to a severe test. Transporting the technical equipment to the high places where the rock paintings were located proved almost impossible. Most formidable of all was the task of providing food and water for the men and the camels in this difficult terrain. Many a time they escaped catastrophe by the narrowest margin.

But the hardships suffered were immensely rewarded. The expedition was able to make a very large collection of palaeontological material of great interest as well as rock paintings of high anthropological interest. At the time this book was written the various scientific recordings had not been fully analysed. It looks as though when this new corpus of knowledge has been properly assimilated and its significance mastered, solutions of many old questions will be found and perhaps new theories will suggest themselves not only about the ancient inhabitants of this area but also about the migration of prehistoric peoples in general.

Not the least interesting part of the book is the first-hand account of the mysterious nomadic Tuaregs—the veiled men—their food and music, their superstitions, present-day customs and their strict code of honour.

The book would have been of greater value to lay readers if the authors had annexed to it a detailed map of the region just as reproductions of some of the paintings which were discovered would have added to its interest. Also, the authors might have given a fuller account of some of the paintings that were discovered. Non-French readers who are less familiar with the history of North Africa would have been grateful, too, for an outline of the history of the early inhabitants.

MARGARET R. BASU

BENGALI

PREM-O-MRITYU ("Love and Death") : By Sri Aurobindo. Translated into Bengali by Prithivi Sinha Nahar. Published by Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pandicherry. Price Rs. 2-8.

This is one of the famous poems of Sri Aurobindo rendered into Bengali by Prithvisinha Nahar. Sri Aurobindo read the story of Ruru and Priyambada in the Mahabharata and wrote this poem "in a white heat of inspiration" where how love won death is described. The fact is, poetry can never be adequately rendered into another language, for it often fails to reproduce the power of language in giving the proper shade to its meaning. The rhythm, the harmonious movement and other things are also to be considered. Of course, a translation mostly depends on the ability of the translator.

The faults in the book under review are obvious. There are far too many compound adjectives, far too many compound nouns and a good deal of rhythmically unsound groups of words that hamper the movement of language. Quotation of a few lines from anywhere of the book will indicate how far this fault can go. The story itself is hardly discernible

from this maze woven out of worn-out words very badly used. However, undoubtedly this is an honest attempt.

KRISHNAMAY BHATTACHARYA

HINDI

PATH KI KHOJ : By Dr. Devaraj. *Buddhivadi Prakashgraha*, Lucknow. Parts I and II: "Vishvas aur Nirasha," pp. 412; "Swapna aur Jagaran," pp. 420. Price Rs. 4-8 each part.

This is a *brave* novel, rather a series of novelettes. For, like a magician, the author raises a number of multi-coloured balls in the air, one after another, with unusual dexterity and dynamism. In his handling of various situations and the characters participating in them his intellect has worked its way through with the skill of a deft surgeon, neatly and never-failingly. The story is of a young man who, while passing through a forest of traditions, teachings and truths, has to face many problems and perils in the course of his quest for an all-embracing Reality in time, as contradistinguished from the Reality in Eternity. For, one can live fully and freely only in this manner. Every reader will await the third part of this great work eagerly; nay, impatiently. Doctor Devaraj has, indeed, a world-wide vision of the cross-currents of life.

G. M.

GUJARATI

CHAMPO ANE KEL : By Chunilal Modia. Published by N. M. Tripathi and Co., Bombay-2. 1950. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board. Pp. 212. Price Rs. 3.

The *champa* flower and the plantain tree—what a more romantic title could be selected for the batch of the seventeen stories contained in this volume, written by a rising young writer of original tales, than this one! His description of village life, rustic manners, given in the original village dialect of Kathiawar is realistic and that is its best and outstanding merit. He is found to be popular and so he is.

APANI SHRESHTHA NAVALIKAO : By Gulabdas Broker. Published by the National Information and Publications, Ltd., Bombay-1. 1948. Illustrated jacket. Card-board cover. Pp. 208. Price Rs. 3-8.

"Our Best Short Stories," under this heading Shri Broker has reviewed the works of 14 best short story writers of modern Gujarat, prefacing it with a short Introduction on the subject of 'Short Stories.' Mr. Broker's task was none too enviable, but he has achieved his object in an impartial, efficient and able way, and shown how wide and deep his study has been.

RAINO PARVATNI SAMIKSHA : By Dr. B. J. Jhaveri. Published by Ramesh Book Depot, Bombay-2. 1950. Illustrated cover. Pp. 104.. Price Rs. 1-12.

Having obtained his Ph.D. degree by a thesis on the late Sir Ramanbhai Nilkanth's literary work. Dr. Jhaveri had naturally to study his outstanding work, the drama called *Raino Parvat*, wherein due to circumstances a gardener becomes a king. As a result of that study this comprehensive review including the genesis of the *natak* is published. The review has been made ably and informatively and from all points of view. It is a model review.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

The Vinoba Way

Bharat Sevak writes editorially :

Acharya Vinoba Bhav's *Bhoodan* or 'Land gift' movement, launched by him on 18th April 1951 in the country during his walking tour in Telangana area—the communist-infested part of Hyderabad—as a way of conquering hatred with love and class-conflict with class-kindness, co-operation and solidarity and self-giving, besides showing a new and revolutionary way of solving the knotty land problem, is of tremendous significance as it seeks to revive the great moral values of self-sacrifice instead of greed and self-aggrandisement; economic co-operation and mutual help instead of economic exploitation and class conflict.

The message of the movement has reached beyond the borders of Bharat across the seas to U.S.A., U.K., and other countries.

Thus the *London Economist* wrote on this subject: "A peaceful revolution is unfolding in India, Gandhian style; it is called *Bhoodan*."

And the *Time*, Weekly News-magazine of U.S.A. wrote: "The results of frail (86 lbs.), trusted and faithful disciple of Mahatma Gandhi, ascetic Vinoba Bhav's simple approach to man's better nature have been astonishing."

PSYCHOLOGICAL INSTEAD OF SOCIO-ECONOMIC APPROACH

It has been said that Acharya Vinoba Bhav, of whom the mantle of the Mahatma has fallen in the social and economic field, has realised that the rural problem is fundamentally spiritual and psychological, rather than a socio-economic one. He has also deeply imbibed Gandhiji's teaching that the means make the end, and that India's rural problem will not, in the last analysis, be finally or fully solved by Five-Year Plans or multi-purpose schemes, essential though these may be, but by a change of heart.

According to Austin A. D'Souza, "Bhoodan-Yajna . . . strikes at the root of the problem of rural reconstruction in India by creating the proper psychological climate of opinion and the necessary change of heart in landlords, tenants, and the nation as a whole, without which no final solution of the problem would be possible . . . And, what is perhaps more important is that *Bhoodan Yajna* is not merely the ideal of a visionary: it works . . ."

"*Bhoodan Yajna* is also true to the Gandhian tradition, in emphasising the vital importance of keeping the villager contented and prosperous in his villages instead of driving him to the town to swell the rootless urban proletariat and feeding him to the machines that have become man's masters in the industrial field. They may affect India's industrial expansion, but it will promote cottage industries and village well-being which are the bedrock of India's greatness and further progress . . ."

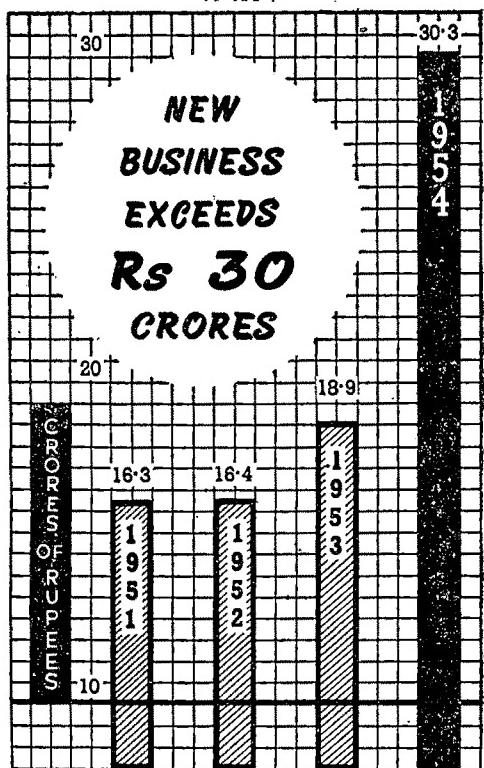
Acharya Vinoba Bhav, described by Gandhiji as an 'Ideal Satyagrahi' has been described in the West as "The god who gives away land."

The figures released by the Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangh indicating the receipts up to June 1955 are as in the table given here:

State	BHOODAN FIGURES	
	Up to June, 1950 <i>Collected Land</i> (acres)	Distributed Land (acres)
Bihar	23,56,156	25,270
Bengal	10,539	1,221
Punjab & PEPSU	13,983	792
Hyderabad	1,07,225	33,403
Mysore	6,680	—
Vindhya Pradesh	6,650	771
Uttar Pradesh	5,47,402	96,378
Rajasthan	3,45,975	10,428
Orissa	1,55,716	3,236
Madhya Pradesh	99,237	34,180
Madhya Bharat	51,987	311
Saurashtra	41,000	1,500
Gujarat	37,578	3,235
Tamilnad	37,882	530
Andhra	21,516	60
Kerala	25,113	315
Maharashtra	25,649	1,001
Delhi	9,245	90
Karnatak	2,803	—
Himachal Pradesh	2,025	—
Assam	1,950	—
Bombay	123	—
Total	39,06,434	2,12,721

These figures would be better judged in the light of Vinoba's target, which originally 25 lakh acres, was in view of the good response, later revised to "50 million acres—an area bigger than England and one-sixth of India's cultivable land—for its 60 million landless. The time-limit he has set himself is the end of 1957." As the *London Economist* puts it: "It was a proud target; people smiled at this blue-eyed Gandhian optimism." "If it reaches its target of 50 million, the Mission will have achieved the largest peaceful revolution in history," said Hallam Tennyson in a B. B. C. Broadcast.

Even if the target is not reached in time, as the American journalist Mr. Field has observed: "Vinoba's idea is taking hold and a climate is being created where more and more men are stepping forward to give land to the landless. Vinobaji's idea is beginning to catch the imagination of the high and low in India The message of love and co-operation may yet transform the face of the sub-continent and reach the hearts and minds of the world. A new light is beginning to glow in

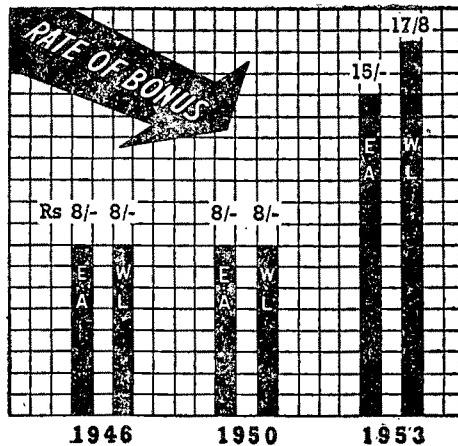


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the heart of Asia . . ." And the *London Economist* writes: "Mr. Bhave single-handed, has done more than all the State Governments to get land for the landless, and he has done it without red tape . . ."

WIDER APPEAL OF BHOO DAN

Indians are not the only nation which has been impressed by Acharya Vinoba. This is shown in a beautiful manner by Taya Zinkin, who writing in the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* concludes: 'Could Bhave be effective outside India?' The answer is yes. His being a scholar, dark-skinned, Gandhian, is all irrelevant. If one day he comes to London or Manchester half-naked, bare-foot, quiet, asking for a room in your house for the poor, you will give it—gladly or grumbly—but you will give it, just as the landlords of Bihar do, for Bhave is irresistible.' Mr. Alvin R. Field also believes the same when he says: "Vinoba is 5 feet 8 inches tall but his spiritual stature is so large that his shadow falls across the sub-continent. His message may yet travel across the ocean and around the world." In yet different words, Hallam Tennyson says: ". . . something in the enormous tranquillity of his patience and his faith . . . told me that Vinoba's message was not limited to the country in which it was uttered. The twentieth century may be rich in jet aeroplanes. But it is pretty poor in saints. We need to remember that what we call 'progress' is nothing if it leads to no corresponding inner change and Vinoba gives us this reminder in the one way which has power to move and impress."

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The Expansion of Ancient Indian Culture

The first part of the article by V. Raghavan in *The Vedanta Kesari* was reproduced in our August issue. The concluding portion is given below:

CHINA AND JAPAN

The silken bonds between India and China started with the exchange of Chinese silk and Indian philosophy from about the first century A.D. Buddhist priests started coming to China and establishing a monastery there. From this time onwards, for ten centuries India was the holy land to which the Chinese made pilgrimages, and the devotion with which the barriers of the mountains and seas were crossed for this spiritual quest forms a unique event in the whole history of learning. During this period when China was in active pupillage under India, 103 Sanskrit scholars from India went over to China and 2,184 Sanskrit works were translated into Chinese and these translations which included some non-Buddhistic works also, preserve today Sanskrit classics lost in their originals in India or available only in fragments. The full text of the most celebrated Sanskrit epic poem of Buddhism, Asvaghosha's *Buddhacharita* is available only here; in Samkhya philosophy, the Chinese translation has preserved the *Suvarnasaptati* and in Vaisesika School of atomic pluralism, the *Dasapadartha-sastra* of Maticandra.

In the beginning of the 6th century, the Indians in China had swelled in number so much that they began to enter Japan. All these were not solely engaged in religious pursuit, but all of them were spreading some aspect of Indian culture, Buddhism, Sanskrit, Indian music, etc. It became necessary for the Chinese to learn Sanskrit; in the beginning of the 6th century, there were 700 monks all of whom knew Sanskrit. Sanskrit names of high spiritual significance were assumed by the Chinese; e.g., Fa Hien was called Mokshacharya; Hieun Tsang, Mahayana-deva; Itsing, Paramarthadeva. Between the Chinese pupils and their Indian teachers, teaching as well as other communications by letters was carried on in Sanskrit. Sanskrit was taught in China till the beginning of the 15th century. Four Sanskrit Chinese dictionaries had been compiled between 7th and 9th centuries. It was with the help of Sanskrit that the arrangement by initials of the 36 letters of the Chinese alphabet was made. Besides the three famous pilgrims whom we have already named, several Chinese pilgrims regularly visited India; and at Buddha Gaya, there was built a special place for them called the Chinasangharama. They continued to come till the end of the 10th century.

It should not be supposed that this movement was solely Buddhistic. Several Brahmins were also in it, particularly in artistic activities like music and in the work of Sanskrit teaching or translation. In A.D. 657, the Chinese King desired some ritual to be performed for the strengthening of his life and sent one Wang-Hiun-tso to India to fetch a Brahman Tantrika who could perform it. In the middle of the 8th century, it has been recorded, there were three Brahman temples in Canton, and Brahman families resident there. China borrowed puppet and shadow plays from India. An Indian musician named Miao-ta was a celebrated figure in China between A.D. 550-577. In fact, Indian music had gained so much ground there that a futile attempt was even

made in the end of the 6th century by Emperor Kao-tsue to ban it by a decree; instead of dying, Indian music spread out to Japan. Three notes of the Chinese gamut bear Indian Svara-names: Panjam which is Panchama; She-li-she (the sound of the bull) is Rishava; Sha-da-lik or Sha-che, Shadja. Indian sculptors, architects and painters went over to excavate cave temples and carve out and paint images of the Buddhistic deities; there is a painting of Ganesa at Tung-Huang, executed in the 6th century. China became indebted to India in astrology and mathematics too. There were frequent requests for Indian astrologers, and the Indian astrological schools Kasyapa, Gautama and Kaumara were current there for three centuries. The Chinese calendar was from time to time revised by Indian astrological works and even calendars were rendered into Chinese. In medicine Ravana's Kumaratanttra on children and portions of Kasyapasamhita were translated, and a mission was sent to India for collecting Indian herbs. As South India had wide commercial and maritime activity, this Indo-Chinese relation comprised some special contacts in South India. Some of the leading Buddhists that went to China were from Kanchipura. Chinese coins are found in South Indian sites. Good-will missions and exchange of presents between China and South India are known from the first century onwards. In the 7th century, the Pallava King Rajasimha of Kanchi and the Chinese King kept such personal touch that at the request of the Pallava King, the Chinese Emperor christened the Pallava army and a temple built in Kanchi in honour of himself. During the Chola times three such missions were sent, and a similar contact existed also between the Pandyan King and Kublai Khan.

The school of Buddhism that spread to Japan is known as Zen: Zen is just *Dhyana*; and Bodhidharma who spread this was from Kanchipura.

SOUTH-EAST ASIA

Much more complete and enduring was the influence of India over *Cambodia, Siam and the islands of the archipelago*. Indeed, in these regions we had for several centuries Hindu kingdoms. No campaigns were undertaken but wave after wave of Hindus, merchants, scholars and others went, married locally, established dynasties, gave the peoples of these countries a script and literature, codes of conduct and government, religion and arts, and brought them up into the light of history. Today, as witness of this great Far East cultural colonial empire of India stand numberless Sanskrit inscriptions, Indian names of places and countries, Indian ceremonial, huge temples and carvings in Indian style and the art of dance and drama. This cultural movement, which went forward, not with flame and sword but with the Ramayana in one hand and Manu in the other, was under the direction of foremost scholars, for firstly the inscriptions found in all these places is not only in correct Sanskrit, but in beautiful poetic style which often-times excels models on the mainland of India; Sanskrit was so well established that some of the Chinese pilgrims who went to India, like Itsing, learned their Sanskrit in these countries before reaching India; secondly, very learned methods of worship and highly original scholarly imagination had been brought into play, with the result that a freedom of expression giving birth to new or fuller realization of forms is seen here. Tantrik worship, the cult of Devaraja, of Siva as the Lord of the mountains, of Vishnu were developed side by side with Buddhism which was



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more prevalent in the islands, and the Trimurtis of these countries comprised Siva, Vishnu and, not Brahma, but Buddha; it is always true that when the people of a country assemble in a distant foreign clime, a new spirit of unity and synthesis develops among them, consciously as well as unconsciously; in these regions of Greater India, there was a blending of Hinduism and Buddhism and a composite form of Siva-Buddha evolved. In India, we are familiar with the Buddha being counted as one of the *avatars* of Vishnu but in the Far East, the ascetic or yogic conceptions of Siva and the Buddha were much nearer and more helpful for mutual assimilation. Saivism was of course most widely prevalent in Cambodia. In its inscriptions figure a number of Saiva teachers of great learning and austerity, Vidya-pushpa, a Pasupata and poet Somasiva and his pupil Vamasiva, Rudracharya, and a Sivasoma who is said to have been a pupil of Bhagavan Sankara. Agastya was the patron sage of these parts. In temple-architecture too, huge proportions which were not quite common in India were resorted to, and the ideal of a temple as the *Meru*, rising tier upon tier, was realized here, and the supreme examples of which standing to this day are the Hindu Ankor Vat in Cambodia and the Buddhistic Borobudur in Java. In literature, on the analogy of the Ramayana they wrote the Krishnayana, and on the beautiful theme in Kalidasa's *Raghuvamsha* in which King Aja's queen Indumati passes away on the fall of a flowery garland from above, they reared the poem called 'the flowery death'—*Sumanasantaka*. It may be said that the whole civilization here was raised with the Ramayana. India may have produced the epic of Rama but it was in Greater India, in Ankor Vat and Prambanan that you have the richest sculptural representations of the Ramayana; the whole world of Javanese dance and drama is permeated with the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, which they do even now, though formally the peoples had been converted to Islam. In fact, according to some research scholars Lanka where Sita remained in captivity was near the Sunda islands. The mountains in the east described by Sugriva in the Ramayana as the habitat of sage Agastya are in the Indonesian islands. In Funan, a temple was built for Valmiki, the immortal sage who gave us the Ramayana, and copies of the Ramayana and the Mahabharata were presented to it for being recited and expounded to the public. The Brahmanda Purana was known in Java and Bali.

Besides the Sanskrit inscriptions, a number of sacred Sanskrit texts have been used and preserved in these parts; from Bali, Sanskrit hymns and religious texts were secured and edited by the French savant Sylvain Levi. Recently when I was in Paris, I read in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, photo-copies of a number of Sanskrit texts including Vedic mantras used in daily worship and the purificatory ceremony and coronation of the King in Siam; these were originally written and preserved in the South Indian Grantha script showing South Indian influence and are used by the priests who were Brahmins and still call themselves so, though they have since adopted Buddhism. In Borneo, in its eastern part, have been discovered seven stone Yugas or sacrificial posts; on these are found Sanskrit inscriptions which say that King Mulavarman of that country performed many gifts which were attended and honoured by many Brahmins from different countries.

In music, dance and drama, the Indian arts

travelled to Java and Bali so completely that not only do we derive help from the sculpture of these islands for the understanding of ancient Indian music and dance, but many departments of the music accompaniment of ancient Indian drama and of ancient Indian dance can be better understood and reconstructed by what survives in Javanese *wayangs* and Balinese dances.

Looking at the history of this expansion, we find that in the case of Java, both Gujarat and South India took part in this activity. Even now a newcomer is called in Java Kling, i.e., Kalinga, which is Orissa. One Kaundinya, a Brahman from the South, went forth to Cambodia and was responsible for laying the foundation of Hindu culture there. The heyday of the Hindu Brahmanical rulers of Cambodia extended from the 6th cent. to the 12th cent. From the 7th to the 14th cent. there was a powerful dynasty called the Sailendra which held sway over Sumatra and part of Malay; it came into friendly as well as hostile contact with the South Indian Chola kingdom and Rajendra Chola sent a maritime expedition against the Sailendra King Sangrama-vijayotungavarman and brought as trophy his arch of triumph. In Nagapattinam, on the coast in Tamil country, the Sailendra King built a Buddhistic monastery called Chudamani-varma-vihara. One of the Sailendras built also a monastery in the Buddhistic University of Nalanda in Bihar. Great builders, it is they that gave us the magnificent temple of many Buddhas,—Borobudur.

Ceylon, Burma and Tibet, three countries very much closer to India, simply grew like children nestling in the lap of the Mother. Buddhism was introduced into Ceylon in the time of Asoka; along with Burma it forms the greatest home of Pali Buddhism or the Hinayana school as against the Sanskrit Buddhism of the Mahayana which spread across to Central Asia and went to China. Ceylon, also connected legendarily with the Ramayana, was in close cultural contact with South India and the Tamil Chola Kings invaded it and annexed it. So that, from South India, Ceylon received Sanskrit and Tamil influence in literature, religion, dance and drama. Burma was referred to as Svarnabhumi and colonists went forth there from Bengal, Banaras and Ceylon. One of the derivations suggested for Burma is Brahma. Besides, Buddhism, Hinduism also had some vogue there and a Tamil inscription too has been

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found here. Tibet, like China, took to Buddhism; and in the large corpus of Tibetan translation, there are many Sanskrit works which are no longer available in their originals in India. Tibet became the home par excellence of Tantrik Buddhism.

SOUTH AMERICA

We cannot say anything definitely about Indian contacts of the far-flung *Polynesian islands*, except that the original inhabitants here turn towards India when they bow to their ancestral home. More has been written upon *South American civilization* and the possible Indian sources. I have gone through about 30 Archaeological Reports and books pertaining to this civilization and presented together in a Tamil contribution of mine all the available indications of Indianism in the remnants of the culture of the Mayas, Incas and Aztecs which have escaped destruction at the hands of Spanish missionary settlers who came there after the discovery by Columbus. The possibility of Indo-American contact in the geological period of the submerged Limuria, the Maya, Inca and Aztec memories of their having come by ships from the direction of India, resemblance of facial features, of streets and houses and of the magnificent temples and worship,—all dispose one to accept Indian connection rather than reject it.

Authorities on this subject like J. Eric Thompson, author of the *Archaeology of South America*, have also drawn attention to the find of Indian cotton, elephant drawings featuring the animal according to specimens known in India and Sumatra, the use of the Indian-discovered zero and decimal system, occurrence of Indian edible herbs and plants, and the art of dyeing—all of which point to a migration of culture from India through Indonesia. According to Hewitt, Mayas might have been the Maghas of Iran and India and Nahuas might be related to Nahusha. Pedra de Cieza says in his *Chronicle of Peru* that the 'Amanta' was a companion and guide and adviser of the King here; this corresponds to Amatya, the Sanskrit word meaning 'one who stands by the King' or the Minister. Harold T. Wilkins has worked out in his book on the *Mysteries of Ancient South America* the similarities of the South American letters and those found in Tibet and Indian inscriptions. George Torres Quintero points out in his study of Education among the Ancient Mexicans that the society was organized into four groups, Kings, Teachers, Cultivators and Workers, that vocation was hereditary, and that the first two groups were held to be higher in status and between them the King and the Teacher controlled everything—all of which strongly reminds one of India. They worshipped the Sun whom they called Vira which may be Viraj; in worship conches were blown, incense burnt and flowers profusely used. Omens in the sounds of birds and beast were believed

in; ear-boring was prevalent; a sacramental second name (Samskarnama or namakarana) was in vogue but what is more surprising is that, as Mr. Thompson says in his *Civilization of the Mayas*, this second naming was considered a second birth—a surprising parallel to our 'Dvi-ja'—the twice-born. Birth and death alike were considered as causing pollution *asaucha*; in separation by death, shaving of the head was known as a mark of grief; mensus-pollution was observed by women. Something like our Sraddha was also done for the dead ancestors. In higher though they believed in a Soul and in rebirth and a kind of penance and yogic discipline were also practised. In their temple architecture, we have striking resemblances to our Gopuras, Prakaras and thousand pillared halls. Like India, ancient South America worshipped the Sun; Incas called themselves descendants of the Sun; *Ina* in Sanskrit means Sun; apart from their adoration of the Sun, the snakes or Nagas or other deified beings like the Makara-fish, they believed in a higher impersonal Divine Being too which may not be much different from our Brahman. I may here narrate an illuminating conversation recorded by Ralph L. Roys in his book *Indian Background of Colonial Yucatan*. When the Spanish missionary first asked the native South Americans about their God, they replied: 'The real God is only one; He has neither form nor name; how could we have an image of Him when he has no body?' The reply might well hail from an Upanishad.

The above account would show how we had not been pure home-birds in the past. Today again we are, in the pursuit of different modern avocations, in all parts of the world. The scientific and technological advancement of the West has left us, the ancient *gurus*, very much behind. But the West still looks to us as the apostles of wisdom. Ever since the Gita and the Upanishads were made available in an European language, in 1785 and 1801, Indian philosophy has exerted visible as well as invisible influence on European thought and literature. The Vedanta and the Yoga of India are today studied all over the world. The yogic discipline, transcending the purely medical sphere, offers a unique method of regenerating and reconditioning the human system and the Vedanta teaches a universal oneness in which the world may end all its competition and enmity and realise in truth the peace of the 'one world' which is uttered as an airy slogan today. Several Hindu cultural missions are no doubt working in the different parts of the world spreading through art, literature and philosophy the message of India; but the fulfilment of this message is nearer when everyone of us abroad is imbued with the true spirit of Hindu culture and functions as a true embodiment and effective conductor of that energy.



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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Glimpses of the History of India

On the Russian Edition of Nehru's *Discovery of India*, N. Pastukhov writes as follows:

Wide circles of the Soviet public display a great and natural interest in the history of the great Indian people, their heroic struggle for freedom and independence and in their rich ancient culture and art. This interest has not been born overnight, it has aged traditions. A considerable number of Indian historic, journalistic and fiction writings has been translated into Russian.

The Soviet reader welcomes the appearance of *The Discovery of India* by Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India.

The history of India can provide a great number of splendid examples of heroism displayed by the Indian people in the course of their struggle against foreign oppressors, it speaks of their love for creative labour, freedom and peace. Nehru's book which has been published in the Russian translation by the Foreign Literature Publishing House treats of these characteristic features of the Indian people. In his foreword to the Russian edition Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru wrote on May 28, 1955:

"I am happy that my book *The Discovery of India* is being translated into the Russian language. This book was written twelve years ago when I was in prison and war was waging in a great part of the world. It reflects the mood and my thoughts of that period.

"These past ten years have brought great changes in the world and already we seem to be far removed from the early forties of this century. But the book deals chiefly with the long past of India, and it might help a little perhaps in understanding the background of this ancient country. Perhaps also it will help in giving some understanding of the events which conditioned the present generation in India.

"Within a few days I hope to travel myself to the great country, the Soviet Union, to see for myself what I have read about so much and to gain some understanding of the forces that have contributed to the building up, in the modern age, of this great and vast country which is exercising such a powerful influence over the destinies of the world. It is a special pleasure to me that this book, the product of the solitudes of my prison life, should now find a clothing in the Russian language."

Chapter One of the book recalls the grim years of the Second World War. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru condemns the Japanese aggression in China and the Italy's aggression in Ethiopia. He speaks wrathfully of fascism against which peoples of the anti-Hitler coalition were waging a courageous struggle at the time. The book exposes the policy of so-called "appeasement" carried out by Britain and France with respect to fascist Germany, and emphasises that "there was behind it not only a fear of Hitler, but a sneaking admiration for him."

Mr. Nehru was an uncompromising opponent of fascism. Despite "a pressing invitation" from Mussolini to see him Nehru bluntly rejected the proposal.

Chapter One, among other things, appraises the importance of the Great October Socialist Revolution and its influence on the destinies of the world. The October Revolution, in Nehru's opinion, "had advanced human society by a great leap."

The subsequent chapters are dedicated to the history of India from ancient times. The approach to the subject differs fundamentally in spirit from hundreds of books written by British authors, Elphinstone, Lyall, Vincent Smith, Moreland, the authors of the six volumes of *Cambridge History of India* and others. Nehru aptly remarks that "the histories of India that most of us have had to read, chiefly written by Englishmen, are usually long apologies for and panegyrics of British rule and a barely veiled contemptuous account of what happened here in the millennia preceding it. Indeed real history, for them, begins with the advent of the Englishman into India."

The chapters of the book dealing with the history of India abound in material of great cognitive value. They contain a description of those majestic architectural memorials of ancient India—Mohenjo-Daro,

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and Harappa—built over 3,000 years before our era. Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa maintained close ties with Persia, Mesopotamia and Egypt. Even at that remote period Indian cities used cotton for textiles; drainage system and public baths already existed; there were two-storeyed private houses made of baked bricks, with bathrooms and other subsidiary premises. "It is interesting to note," Nehru observes, "that at this dawn of India's story, she does not appear as a pulling infant, but already grown up in many ways."

The historic chapters tell of the birth of various religious dogmas in India, Hinduism in particular; the Vedic period in the history of India is dwelt upon, as is the Upanishadas period; the emergence of castes and the spreading of the caste system is described. The book provides interesting information about the development of science and arts in ancient India. As early as the sixth or seventh century before our era Panini, a scholar of the ancient times, wrote his great grammar of the Sanskrit language. The book lays an emphasis on the fact that Professor Th. Scherbatzky referred to the book as "one of the greatest productions of the human mind."

The appearance of such epic works as the Ramayana and the Mahabharata was a glorious landmark in the history of India. The Ramayana is an epic poem, the Mahabharata is a collection of ancient lore. Both epics took their final form by the beginning of our era. "It is really the Mahabharata that is one of the outstanding books of the world," Nehru points out. "It is a colossal work, an encyclopedia of tradition and legend, and political and social institutions of ancient India."

India's ancient culture is, first and foremost, a monument to Indian people's love of labour, to their wisdom and talent. Afanasi Nikitin, the first Russian traveller to visit India, remarked several centuries ago on these traits of character of the Indian people. Soviet people who had a chance to visit India speak and write of this, too.

Those who admired the wonderful frescoes of Ajanta and Ellora, the intricate marble lacework of the Taj Mahal, a pride of Indian architecture, Jaipur palaces and the temple of goddess Minakshi in Madura, are unanimous in their conclusion: the people who built all this with their own hands have not only a great past but a wonderful future ahead of them, too.

The book further narrates the historic developments in India of the middle ages, up to the invasion of the country by European colonisers.

The book furnishes material valuable from the cognitive point of view, and many of its chapters are dedicated to the problems of the development of society. It should be mentioned here that the Soviet reader will not agree with the treatment of some cardinal problems of the development of society. This refers in particular to the negation of the role the class-struggle plays in the development of society, to the appraisal of the role of the working class,

peasantry and the Communist Party in the national-liberation movement, and to some other questions.

The book, however, contains valuable material making it easier for the Soviet reader to understand the historic destinies of the great Indian people. *The Discovery of India* tells the reader of the grim colonial heritage left over to the Indian people by foreign oppressors. Chapters on the two-centuries long rule of the British imperialists in India provide the Soviet reader with a better outlook of the greatness of the struggle waged by the Indian people in our days for the elimination of the consequences of colonial rule and for all-round development of their country.

The British colonisers, writes Nehru, ruined the Indian textile industry. Throughout the 19th century other Indian industries were also broken—ship-building, metalwork, glass, paper and many crafts. Analysing the level and consequences of colonial domination the author draws the following conclusion: "The classic type of modern colonial economy was built up, India becoming an agricultural colony of industrial England, supplying raw materials and providing markets for England's industrial goods."

The consequences of the British colonial rule in India are described in the following words: "Nearly all our major problems today have grown up during British rule and as a direct result of British policy: the princes; the minority problem; various vested interests, foreign and Indian; the lack of industry and the neglect of agriculture; the extreme backwardness in the social services; and above all, the tragic poverty of the people . . . Imperialism must function in this way or else it ceases to be imperialism."

For ages the peoples of India had been discriminated against by the colonial powers. Until now the Indians, just as Negroes and other "coloured" people, are persecuted on account of their race in countries where colonial regimes have yet been preserved. Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru wrathfully condemns racial discrimination, this condemnation being expressed in *The Discovery of India* and in his subsequent political statement. ". . . We in India," writes Mr. Nehru, "have known racism in all its forms ever since the commencement of British rule. The whole ideology of this rule was that of the *Herrenvolk* and the master race, and the structure of government was based upon it; indeed the idea of a master race is inherent in imperialism."

As vividly shown in the book the freedom-loving Indian people have never reconciled themselves to the colonial subjugation. The history of India knows of many bright instances of a heroic struggle waged by her finest representatives against the foreign oppressors. This struggle invariably roused the admiration of the Soviet people. The book emphasises the fact that the Soviet Union exerted a tremendous influence on Indian fighters for peace and independence.

"But most of all we had the example of the Soviet Union, which in two brief decades full of war



and civil strife, and in the face of what appeared to be insurmountable difficulties, had made tremendous progress. Some were attracted to Communism, others were not, but all were fascinated by the advance of the Soviet Union in education and culture and medical care and physical fitness and in the solution of the problems of nationalities—by the amazing and prodigious effort to create a new world out of the dregs of the old."

The defeat of Hitler Germany, fascist Italy and militarist Japan in the Second World War weakened the camp of imperialism. A mighty national-liberation movement developed in the countries of Asia and Africa, whose peoples advanced the demand for freedom and independence of their countries.

The British imperialists were not willing, however, to surrender their colonial positions in India. Churchill, who was at the time the inspirer of British imperialist policy in India, admitted cynically that Britain had no intention whatsoever of parting with India. Churchill's words to this effect are cited in the book: "We have no intention of casting away that most truly bright and precious jewel in the crown of the king, which more than all our Dominions and dependencies, constitutes the glory and strength of the British Empire."

Commenting on this statement Mr. Nehru writes: "India was the empire, it was her possession and exploitation that gave glory and strength to England and made her a great power. Mr. Churchill could not conceive of England except as the head and possessor of a vast empire, and so he could not conceive of India free."

The tempestuous growth of the anti-imperialist movement in India threatened to develop into a general uprising of the Indian people against the colonisers. To avoid this Britain granted India in 1947 the rights of a Dominion following the division of her into two parts—India and Pakistan. National governments were set up in both Dominions. The Indian National Congress Party came to power in India, and the Muslim League in Pakistan. Since 1950, India is a Republic in the British Commonwealth.

The appearance of *The Discovery of India* in the Russian translation is an important event. The acquaintance of the broad Soviet public with the book written by the outstanding Indian statesman will help to promote friendship, co-operation and mutual understanding between the two great nations for the benefit of universal peace and security.—*Pravda*, June 5, 1955.

Indians in Mauritius

B. Bissoondoyal writes in *Contemporary Review*, June, 1955 :

There are today some four million Indians outside India who have settled for the most part in British colonies. One of every twelve overseas Indians lives in the little South Indian Ocean island known by the name of Mauritius. This Crown colony was the first to receive Indian immigrants in the early thirties of the last century. Slavery had been abolished and manumitted slaves had developed so great a disgust for all agricultural work that they decided not to till

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the soil any more. History records that half of them died as a direct result of this misplaced aversion. Mauritian planters were faced with ruin. It is then that they had the idea of getting cheap labour from India, an agricultural country where labourers had low wages. Even before the advent of the British this island had a sprinkling of Indians. The French occupied the island in the first decades of the eighteenth century. They were fortunate in having Labourdonnais as one of their early governors, Labourdonnais, "the greatest of all governors of Mauritius," turned the island from a wild forest into an inhabitable spot. And in this stupendous task he had the willing co-operation of Indian artisans he had brought from Pondicherry and other parts of French India that is now fast disappearing.

The latter gave so good an account of themselves that Godeheu wrote in his diary—a historical document of no mean importance—that they richly deserved a long leave that could enable them to go back home where their countrymen would be prevailed upon to go out to Mauritius in greater numbers.

It is in 1810 that the British captured Mauritius or, to be more exact, *Île-de-France*. They came all the way, from India and had thousands of sepoys with them. The General that led the expedition congratulated "both the officers and the soldiers, whether they were Indian or European" on their feat. So before the advent of labourers, Indian artisans and soldiers had reached Mauritian shores. The first British Governor came from India. While he was in the Indian Civil Service he had ample opportunity to see that Indians could only be a valuable asset as they were spendthrift and industrious. It occurred to him that even convicts from India could help to develop the land. Indian convicts came as early as 1815 and they justified his hope. Stalwart Indians were seen constructing the main roads. Darwin felt drawn to them during his historic stay. The convicts were for the most part "Sepoys who had been guilty of military insubordination or political offences." They bore their exile with all the indifference of their race. The only crime of which they were known to be guilty was the murder of one or two of their inspectors, by whom they had been treated with cruelty." There were too some Indians who were plying their trade in Port Louis the capital. They had come mostly from the Punjab and Gujarat. "Skilled craftsmen and engineers from Madras and Pondicherry" also were contributing their mite.

As we have seen, the crying need for Indian labour was responsible for the arrival of another

class of Indians. Nor were they less useful. Their piety, patience, temperance, gentleness and courtesy at once earned them the praise of those under whom they worked. The efforts they put forth led the planters to apply for more labourers. Tens of thousands of Indian immigrants arrived in quick succession so that one fine morning in the second half of the nineteenth century the Indian minority became a majority. The immigrants came to stay. Their children began to go to school. In 1865, the then Superintendent of Government Schools wrote that "their mental capacities are of no inferior order." The son of an immigrant topped the list of the successful candidates that sat for the "Pupil Teachers' Comparative Examination" held in 1864. Despite the progress achieved by a handful of

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Indians the masses remained inarticulate for more than half a century. If the world came to know at times that the masters were not always kind to them it was thanks to the humanitarianism of the members of the Anti-Slavery Society that would not brook the inhumanity of men who ought to have known better than to bully genuine co-operators who could turn every idle hour to account. The indignities suffered by the immigrants were materials that were made common coin by numerous contributors to *The British Friend of India*, a London periodical. Once numerous Indians resolved to suffer imprisonment in pursuit of justice.

The period that preceded the arrival of Gandhi was markedly dull. His visit is a landmark in the history of Mauritius Indians. He landed here towards the close of 1901. Hindus and Muslims vied with each other to welcome him. His fame had spread far and wide as a consequence of the victories he had scored in South Africa. The newspapers of the day shed their chauvinism for once. The honour of his visit overwhelmed all Mauritians. Mauritius Indians stepped into a new era. Their illustrious countryman was given a warm welcome wherever he went. The press agreed that his stay was a historic one although he was our honoured guest for only a fortnight. Gandhi walked out, as it were, a programme for the future. He admonished the Indian traders and labourers to send their children to school. The traders were absorbed in their business and never so much as dreamt that education was desirable. Anybody else's admonition would have left them cold. Mr. Gandhi was a genuine guide, so the lesson was not lost upon them. He did not come on a fruitless errand. Our guest had said in a memorable speech that was as lengthy as it was interesting that Indians had come of age and should accordingly be interested in Mauritian politics. He spoke with unrestricted frankness. His words came as a very invigorating tonic.

This well-meant and timely advice helped Mauritius Indians out of their difficulty. But for three decades or so all about the visit paid to Mauritius was clean forgotten. Years passed uneventfully. Many Indian planters had grown rich after World War I when there was a phenomenal rise in the price of sugar. Except for the generous act of the Indo-Mauritian planter who spent tens of thousands of rupees to erect a magnificent building that housed a school in his native village, the Indians were practically inactive.

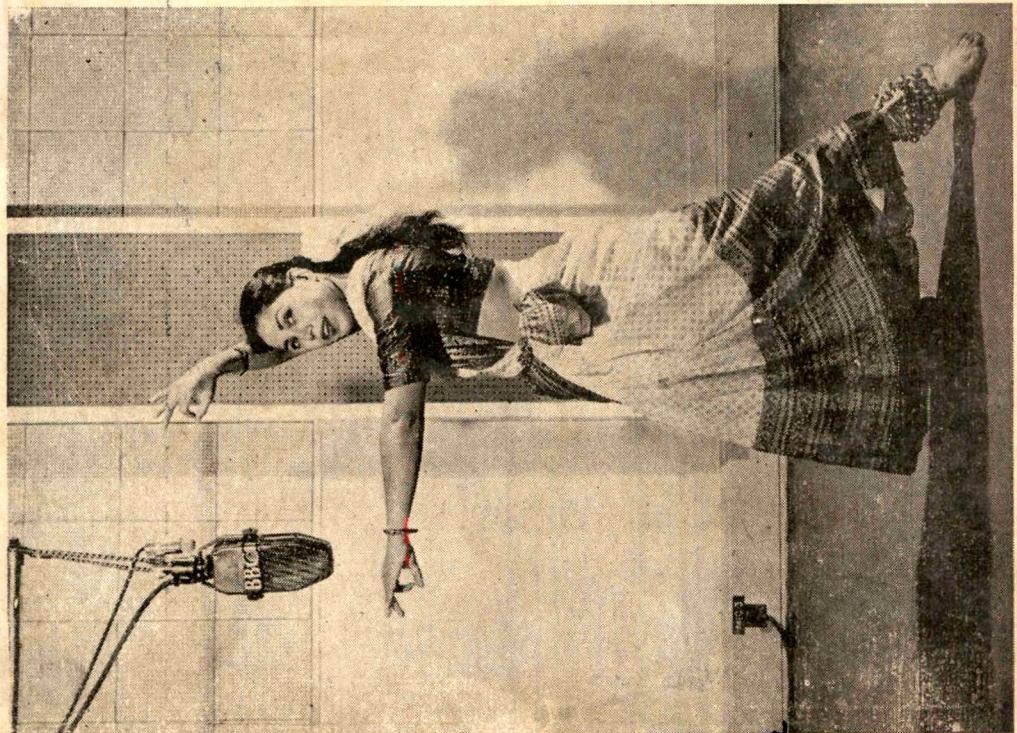
An interval elapsed between Mahatma Gandhi's visit and the new awakening witnessed among the Indo-Mauritians of late. The relentless efforts made in almost all fields of activity by an element that was politically non-existent at last bore fruit. The country was awarded a new constitution in 1947. The important Indian languages that are spoken in the island obtained official recognition. Adults of both the sexes who can read and write simple sentences not only in English or in French but also in Hindi, Tamil or Gujarati can now become electors. The number of electors increased six-fold, rising from 12,000 to 72,000. The Indo-Mauritians captured 11 seats, the Coloured 7, and the Whites obtained 1 seat at the General Elections held in 1948. The 1953 Elections had the same results with this difference that instead of 11 Hindus this time 10 Hindus and 1 Muslim were returned. The elders had had their innings. The con-

temporaries followed in their footsteps. At one time they became a force in the country. A new epoch in. Nor do the latter as a whole prove unworthy the trust placed in them. Their heart bleeds w. the common fatherland does not receive its due. 1 year; some members of the Legislative Council pressed the wish to send a delegation to London. Indo-Mauritian member who has a good gra questions relating to Mauritian affairs hinted that if the delegation were to reach London, the ap of the British press would nullify the effect it c produce; if that press remained what it is it wo. only place a tiny and neglected colony like Mauri. at a great disadvantoge. That idea had been expres sincerely. And it did not go unnoticed: a Brit weekly wrote: "He (the Indo-Mauritian memb. shows an unfailing knowledge of our press and attitude to colonial problems." He who is too anxious to serve his fatherland shows the same so' tude that his immigrant forefathers showed in gone by.

Gandhi was of the definite opinion that Indo should throw in their lot with their non-Indo neighbours. He said once: "When I was in S-Africa, I tried to use as many things as I could r by African hands." Except for a spell, his mes has, across the decades, kindled in the Indo-Mauritian's heart the desire to be of some service to land of his adoption. This is why he has ceased to a mere looker-on. It is the Mahatma's libe mindedness that endeared him to one and all. words are echoed and re-echoed today; but unq nately for us few are the Indo-Mauritian leaders w. gestures are approved of by the non-Indian p. The others are too often thrown off their bal. They fall foul of a certain section of the Mau community only because that section happens to long exclusively to one race, and are full of for another only because it differs racially fro. one that is looked down upon. The redeeming featu is that the masses are not prepared to do the bidd. of those who think in terms of race or the like. this critical juncture communal harmony is a desideratum that cannot be valued too highly. It must not be merely a pious wish. Indo-Mauritians a 335,000 strong as against non-Indians number 165,000, i.e., they number 67 per cent of the tota population. Any rash act that can lead non-Indians to believe that they are being overpowered by sheer numerical strength will have disastrous results. Indo-Mauritians have no wish to migrate to India, the country of their forbears. They have made their own the island that required their labour. So far they hav not been guilty of any offence that can mark them out as enemies of the land. If they do not allow themselves to be misguided by the counsel of despair, their presence will no doubt be hailed as a blessing. It is a happy sign of the times that the good example set by Mahatma Gandhi is influencing in the right direction all those who are here not to disturb the peace of the island. Nor is the interference of the disturbing element, undesirable as that is, felt as a serious difficulty. Spade-work -has been done with astonishing rapidity. It now remains for all elements to be tolerant enough to let a country that is only a speck on the globe continue to enjoy the reputation of being a tiny and quiet spot.



Chinese actress on BBC Television



Sitaradevi, well-known exponent of Kathak dance, in the BBC Hindi Service



Prabasi Press, Calcutta.

MAHISHAMARDINI
By Prabhadevsekhār Majumdar

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NOTES

Moral Values

A few years ago we saw a book that gave a survey of *Morals* in Britain, in the fifty years from 1900—1950. Sex-morals were included but in a minor way. The measurements taken were principally of Moral values, as obtaining at the turn of the century and as prevailing today, where Britain was concerned. Needless to say, the survey, which was made by a group of eminent research workers in social and economic affairs, indicated a change for the worse in every way, although the findings were as cold, dispassionate and unbiased, as should be, from the point of view of a detached sociological study.

It is about time such a survey was made in India, of Moral values, by a group of completely impartial research workers. We believe the results would be startling.

We are not writing a denunciatory sermon, nor are we launching upon a tirade against the powers-that-be. We are constrained to write in this tone because we find that the foul murders recently committed in Barabanki, do not seem to have left any impression on the minds of the thinking public, nor did it attract the attention of Authority, excepting an almost casual reference, in the best official pattern, in the Uttar Pradesh Assembly. We quote the report in the daily press:

"Lucknow, Oct. 17.—Yet another member of the U.P. Assembly has been killed, and again in Barabanki district.

The victim of yesterday's mob violence in the village of Baddupur on the Barabanki-Sitapur border, was Mr. Avadh Saran Verma who belonged to the P.S. Party... It was a case of double murder, the other victim being Mr. Siaram, a local P.S.P. worker.

According to first reports the incident took place at a public meeting which was raided by an armed mob of 500. The murderers took away the bodies of their victims.

"Mr. Avadh Saran Verma died while trying to save the life of Mr. Siaram. While the meeting had been in progress for some time it was suddenly overwhelmed by the mob armed with lathis and shouting that they wanted to kill Mr. Siaram who was at the meeting. The mob yelled the warning that nobody should come in its way and demanded Mr. Siaram. Mr. Verma rose to the defence of Mr. Siaram, who was being attacked. He covered Mr. Siaram with his body. Both were cruelly done to death.

"On September 7 Mr. Bhagwati Prasad Shukla, a Congress M.L.A., was shot dead in broad daylight in Barabanki town.

"News of the latest outrage was given to the House by Mr. Sampurnanand, the Chief Minister, and on his request the Speaker adjourned the sitting for the rest of the morning.

"Mr. Sampurnanand said that Mr. Avadh Saran Verma was 40. He was a prominent nationalist worker of the district and had been to prison twice. He had a pleasant disposition and a

remarkable gift for making friends which he said other members of the House would testify. The manner in which he met his death was in keeping with his character. He died while trying to save another person."

The scanty reports that have appeared in the Press indicate, beyond all doubt, that the murders were premeditated and that the plans were known to the local authorities in charge of law and order prior to the mass-attack.

It has been made out that the murders were the outcome of a private feud. But it seems most curious that a private feud should result in a mass-attack on a political assemblage in a public place and in broad daylight. As investigations are presumably proceeding we shall not expand on the matter.

What we would like to impress on Pandit Nehru, who after all is a Uttar Pradeshi whatever his Brahmin sub-caste might signify, that it is about time to enquire as to why moral values are degenerating in his home province. We do not mean to say that any other province is better placed in that respect, but the Uttar Pradesh, being the biggest, should naturally be the best example of progress, of social and moral uplift and of culture. It is up to Pandit Nehru and other prominent representatives of the Uttar Pradesh, to find out which way their province is proceeding.

The Man Singh chapter has not yet been closed. An unbiased historian, if allowed to investigate the causative and subsidiary factors that led to the immense growth of power and influence of that band of freebooters, would unearth factual material that would astonish and shock all right-thinking men. The complicity of men in authority, the direct contact with Congress leaders and the wholesale corruption of the lower ranks of services, that enabled Man Singh's myrmidons to levy tribute over three States, is common knowledge in all that area.

But why pick up the Uttar Pradesh? There is a general down-the-grade movement all-round and all over India. Corruption, theft and bribery is rife in the railways, as never before. The Police record, bad as it was in the past, has reached a "new low" in majority of States, although individuals are trying their best to reform and reorganise that body where corruption has been endemic since the days of John Company. In this work they are actively

hampered by Congress bosses, most of whom are no better than the worst gaol-birds, where integrity and moral purity is concerned.

The Post Office, which had a fine record of service in the not-so-distant past, has degenerated beyond count. It is now "self before service" in every case, and time has become a secondary consideration in all cases excepting that of pay. The telephone service also has degenerated beyond measure.

What is the root cause of this flood of corruption that is tending to plunge the entire country into a morass of evil urges and indiscipline? We believe it lies in party-politics and the consequent degeneration of the Congress. For the Congress today is like a festering marsh of corruption in all States and at the centre. And the evil is spreading even into the realms of Sarvodaya and the allied programmes.

Khaddar used to be a symbol of Truth, Pure Ideals and Self-Abnegation. Today it stands for corruption and rapacious self-interest in the vast majority of cases. Those at the top are satisfied with self-aggrandisement, being drugged with flattery to a state of ecstatic Narcissism. But their myrmidons are wide-awake to the main chance, and no ethical consideration is allowed to stand in the way of those vile blood-suckers.

Millions are being spent for the spread of the *khaddar*, spinning as well as weaving. It pains people like ourselves, who have tried to abjure all evil passions, to the best of our conscious powers, with the wearing of *khaddar*, to see that 90 per cent of the money is on the way of being wasted, through misappropriation and through waste. A check survey by any group of non-political auditors would confirm our statement. And the same is the case of every Congress or Congress-Government-sponsored betterment effort, be it Cottage Industry or Community Projects. The men in charge, almost without exception, do not believe in anything else but self-interest and self-advancement.

India is progressing, in the terms of concrete and steel and material output. But the very soul of India is being corrupted, through the total rejection of moral values, as being of no account in this world of Statistics and Plans.

We have adopted the old Tammany Hall methods as our ideals, so what else could be expected? Unless the Congress is purged free

of all the intrusive elements of evil, the future is black indeed.

The Barabanki incidents are merely indicators, as were the acts of violence perpetrated by Hitler's supporters like Roehm, in the early days of the Nazi Party. We are not inclined to believe the story of private feuds, unless substantial proof is forthcoming. Indeed, we shall be very pleasantly surprised—and astounded—if the real culprits are ever brought to book in this case.

It is no use prating about *Sarvodaya*, about soul-force and about India's mission of world uplift, unless the speakers are willing to foreswear the vices of self-aggrandisement, addiction to flattery and fetishism. Where the Nation is concerned, these vices are even worse than alcoholism or plain theft. Super-Brahmins of the old days brought seven centuries of slavery and abject degradation on an India that was materially the most prosperous and advanced in the world of the early mediaeval days. Our Super-Brahmins, through their craze for fetishes and a totally un-Gandhian lack of humility and self-introspection, are leading the country the same way.

The writing is on the wall. Would our Nebuchadnezzars take a lesson in history from the ancients?

The Sugar and Wheat Racket

Calcutta is a city where the markets are in charge of groups of racketeers, the equal of whom is hard to find anywhere else. Last year the citizens of Calcutta were mulcted to the tune of over a crore of rupees through the black-marketing of wheat, sugar and cloth. This year there is a repeat performance. The State authorities, be it said to their credit, took firm action in the matter of cloth. But in sugar and wheat they were powerless as the following news report indicates:

"Calcutta's sugar market has been showing signs of instability during the last few days. This is suspected to be the result of speculation by traders taking advantage of the increased Puja demand."

"During the last four or five days, the price in the wholesale market has increased by over 8 annas a maund. As is always the case, the increase in the retail price has been disproportionately high—about one anna a seer, or Rs. 2-8 a maund."

"To check the rise and help stabilize the market, the Government of India has decided to release imported sugar from its stocks in the city at a reduced price, the reduction being 8 annas a maund."

"For similar reasons the Government of India has agreed to resume direct sale of imported wheat from storage depots in Calcutta."

Last year representations were made to the then Minister-in-Charge at Centre, the late lamented Rafi Ahmed Kidwai, and he was finally convinced of the necessity to investigate whether those in charge of distribution were involved in the racket. Unfortunately his sudden demise upset all the programme.

We would like to enquire whether the Centre still has the same officers in charge and control in Calcutta as it had last year. It is most curious that the racket developed and went along the identical lines as in last year. This year too the public has been defrauded out of their hard-earned moneys to the same tune and on the same items.

In any case, we consider that there is a case for enquiry at the top. This racket could not have been repeated without those in control being either totally inefficient and careless about public interest, or being corrupt.

States Reorganisation

If inconsistency is a virtue of the great then the members of the States Reorganisation Commission have certainly attained greatness through their report. For that document may be regarded as being remarkable in its inconsistencies and illogical deductions. The only consistency lies in the adherence to the principle, "What is sauce for the gander is not sauce for the goose."

Let us not cavil at the start on account of those incongruities and inconsistencies. It should be taken into account that the Commission had been set a very hard task, and it should also be put to the credit side that they have worked hard in striving for a solution, in the face of claims and counter-claims.

That they have not succeeded in formulating an impartial solution, in which strict justice had been meted out, is due mostly to the political and parochial hulabaloo that had been set up by those who wanted to stick to their possessions, justice or humane considerations notwithstanding.

What is more difficult to excuse, is the constant shifting of ground in order to suit the requirements of political exigency. The shift starts right from the formulation of the main premises, in which linguistic considerations were pushed aside, as being of no consequence. In this matter let us quote Gandhiji and Pandit Nehru, as given in the columns of the *Harijan*, in the matter of languages and linguistic redistribution:

"The redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis was necessary if provincial languages were to grow to their full height. Hindustani was to be the *lingua franca—Rashtra Bhasha*—of India, but it could not take the place of the provincial tongues. It could not be the medium of instruction in the provinces—much less English. Its function was to make them realize their organic relationship with India."

I may note here an observation of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru which is very apt and pertinent in this connection. He said that all our Indian languages are our national languages; Hindi as defined in Article 351 of the Constitution of India will have the distinction of being used for inter-State and all-India intercourse, as it is known to the largest bulk of our people."

Now Pandit Nehru is attempting to further the argument advanced by the Commission. On October 30, he made the following statement in a public address at Surat:

"Shri Nehru asked the people to eschew petty things, parochialism, casteism and narrow outlooks.

"Shri Nehru deprecated bickerings in the name of religion, region or language which, he said, would hamper the nation's progress.

"Shri Nehru said: 'We have made some progress during the past few years. Given some time, we shall achieve more. But it is not the progress of a few. It is the progress of everyone. In a democracy in a people's Raj, the people have a greater responsibility. Unless they understand and fulfil their responsibilities, we cannot progress.'

"We should not, therefore, be lost in futile controversies and rivalries and lose sight of the goal."

"Shri Nehru characterised 'talk of socialism and revolution as childish' and said, 'Many talk freely of a militant policy, a struggle and a revolt

against the existing order of things. A socialistic pattern of society means equal opportunities for everyone and a welfare State. For this we have to work. Mere struggles and movements are counter-revolutionary. How can you bring socialism in a poor country? We have to first work and produce the goods we need. Then we can talk of distribution. Can we divide and distribute poverty amongst our people?"

"Shri Nehru said that those who talked in the name of a region or language forgot for the time that we had to rise or fall as a nation. 'Everyone of our languages has to be cultivated. We shall have to, of course, adopt one language for the whole country. We shall have to learn even foreign languages, especially English, if we have to know the world.'

"The reorganisation of the States is just for administrative convenience. We do not become a separate State and independent of India, if we are organised on the basis of a language. 'We should not get lost in small quarrels. We should put down in a determined way such parochial tendencies.'"

Prior to that address, he had made a statement in which he expressed himself as being strongly in favour of the Centre acquiring powers to safeguard the rights of minorities in every State, which is one of the recommendations of the Commission.

Both the recommendation and its support by Pandit Nehru can have only one meaning, which is that in certain States linguistic minorities are being denied their constitutional and fundamental rights by the State Governments concerned. It also means that the Commission was convinced of the correctness of that accusation against those State authorities and that Pandit Nehru is also aware of that fact.

It is about time Pandit Nehru understood that the Union cannot be established on firm foundations unless Party-Caucus rule is replaced by a truly democratic form of Government. In most States, as at the Centre, everything is run on party lines.

If that be so, then what is the point in talking of People's Raj, of the nation's progress and so on and so forth? In a country where any substantial minority has outrages perpetrated on them by those in power, all talk of progress and of People's Raj is just moonshine.

Problems of Indian Shipping

India is a maritime country with a coastline of about 3,500 miles ; but India hardly owns 2 per cent of the world shipping tonnage. The second world war gave a crushing blow to the Indian shipping strength as it came down from 125,000 GRT in 1939 to a mere 75,000 GRT at the end of the war. In coastal trade the share of the Indian shipping was only 12 per cent and in foreign trade it was barely 2 per cent. Since the attainment of independence, the Government of India took up the cause of Indian shipping and announced a national shipping policy. The tonnage was raised to 280,000 and the share of Indian shipping in the coastal trade increased to nearly 25 per cent. The Shipping Policy Committee in 1947 recommended a target of 2 million tons. Under the First Five-Year Plan, the shipping target was placed at 600,000 GRT to be attained by 1955-56. The total tonnage at the end of the fourth year of the Plan is expected to reach 4,81,739 GRT. There will be further additional tonnage following the acquisition of several vessels by some shipping companies. For the expansion of shipping a sum of Rs. 19.45 crores was originally provided in the First Five-Year Plan and this was subsequently raised to Rs. 23.16 crores.

The following table will give an idea of the comparative tonnage of merchant fleets of the countries of the world : (In thousand tons)

	No.	Gross Tons	DWT Tons.
U.S.A.	3,346	25,483	35,930
U.K.	2,538	17,522	22,876
Norway	1,056	6,559	9,379
Japan	598	3,242	4,760
France	589	3,540	4,330
Italy	581	3,634	4,688
USSR	581	1,729	2,284
Sweden	576	2,492	3,684
Germany	558	1,992	3,098
Panama	519	3,935	3,925
Ne herlands	507	3,083	4,042
Liberia	363	3,487	5,452
Spain	285	1,070	1,420
Denmark	315	1,451	2,099
Finland	215	643	967
Brazil	192	753	1,058
Greece	198	1,148	1,707
Argentine	146	908	1,171
China	143	424	601
Australia	131	480	644
Turkey	129	459	631

India	97	458	674
Portugal	92	441	540
Canada	86	353	403
Belgium	76	439	602
Others	876	3,528	7,789
Total	14,793	89,258	124,754

During the first three years of the Plan, only a sum of Rs. 6.54 crores was employed in the ship-building industry. With the subsequent relaxation in the terms of the loans given by the Government of India to the shipping companies, the latter have availed themselves of Rs. 23 crores as loans. From the year 1946 to March 1955, 15 ships have been constructed by the Hindusthan Shipyard which is now owned jointly by the Government of India and the Scindias. The progress of the Hindusthan Shipyard is not very satisfactory and its plan is said to be faulty by experts. The team of French experts that was appointed by the Government of India did not much improve the productive capacity of the shipyard. Recently there has been a change in the design and type of vessels that are constructed in the shipyard. The estimated cost of construction of the new type of ship is nearly Rs. 113 lakhs as compared with Rs. 74 lakhs for the older type.

The Plan frame for the second five-year Plan has placed a target of 1.5 million GRT. The Ministry of Transport has drawn up a plan for the building of 72 ships at a cost of Rs. 80 crores. But how would be the capital raised to the extent of Rs. 80 crores ? According to the Study Group (composed of representatives of shipowners) the private sector can provide at most Rs. 10 crores only during the second five-year Plan period. The balance shall have to be provided by the Government. As already noticed, the Government have advanced a sum of Rs. 23 crores to shipowners. The interest charged is 4.5 per cent on loans for developing coastal trade and 2.5 per cent on those for expanding overseas trade. The period of repayment varies between 10 to 12 years. At present nearly 75 per cent of the cost of the ships are advanced as loans by the Government, while the shipowners demand a loan of 90 per cent of the cost of the vessel.

Under the second five-year Plan about Rs. 70 crores shall have to be provided by the Government to the private sector for the purpose

of constructing vessels. Now the question is, will it not be desirable for the authorities to start new shipbuilding yards for constructing more vessels, rather than lend such a huge sum to the private sector and allow it to earn profit at the cost of the State? In the early days of the Company rule Calcutta was famous for its shipbuilding yards and ships. Now that the Government are contemplating the establishment of a second shipyard, it should be set up on the river Hooghly near Calcutta. It should be provided with modern equipments and it should be a cent per cent Government concern. The resources of the private sector are much too inadequate to undertake shipbuilding on a large scale and we do not think it desirable that the State should lend a sum of about Rs. 70 crores to the private sector for this purpose.

The Industrial Finance Corporation

The latest annual report of the Industrial Finance Corporation shows considerable progress in its activities for the year ended June 30, 1955. Since its inception to June 30, 1955, the Corporation has sanctioned loans aggregating Rs. 28.08 crores. The amount actually disbursed to the borrowing concerns was Rs. 14.53 crores or nearly 50 per cent of the total granted. Of the undisbursed amount, Rs. 3.78 crores have been declined by the applicants. This is a normal practice every year that some of the applicants decline the loan sanctioned to them. They do this on account of some favourable changes in their financial position or changes in their plan. Financial assistance has been rendered to various industries including cotton textiles, chemicals, cement, sugar, automobiles and paper. The Corporation gave loans for the purpose of setting up new industrial concerns and also for raising the installed capacity of the existing ones. Loans were given also for renovation and modernisation of industrial undertakings and for conversion of uneconomic units into economic ones.

Of the total amount of Rs. 28.08 crores sanctioned during the last seven years, the sugar industry heads the list with a loan amount of Rs. 4.43 crores, followed next by the textile industry with Rs. 4.11 crores. The cement industry occupies the third place among the recipients of loans with a loan amount of Rs. 3.15 crores, followed by the paper industry with Rs. 3.11 crores, chemicals Rs. 2.81 crores, ceramic and glass Rs. 1.45 crores, electrical

engineering Rs. 1.36 crores, iron and steel Rs. 1.23 crores, automobile tractor Rs. 1.12 crores, and rayon industry Rs. 1.10 crores. Two co-operative sugar-manufacturing concerns, each with a crushing capacity of 800/1,000 tons of sugarcane a day, received loans for Rs. 83,00,000.

The Corporation's gross profit during the year ended June 30, 1955 rose from Rs. 2.51 lakhs to Rs. 24.70 lakhs. This is the highest gross profit earned by the Corporation in any single year since it started operations. But in spite of this rise in the gross profit, the Corporation had approached the Government of India for a subvention of Rs. 11.25 lakhs to meet the entire guaranteed dividend, as compared with Rs. 4.06 lakhs in 1953-54. The total subvention received from the Government of India will thus stand at Rs. 42.20 lakhs. This subvention was required as the Board of Directors decided to transfer a sum of Rs. 15 lakhs to the reserve for doubtful and bad debts as against only Rs. 5 lakhs transferred in 1953-54.

(A notable feature of the working of the Corporation during 1954-55 is its disposal of the Sodepur Glass Works over which it lost much in terms of money and prestige. (On this transaction the Corporation had to incur a net loss of Rs. 50 lakhs for which provision shall have to be made from the future profits. The Glass Works has been sold to Messrs. Asahi Glass Company of Tokyo at Rs. 62 lakhs. The price will be paid in instalments spread over a period of 17 years, together with interest on the unpaid balances at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent a year.) The Vendee Company will form an Indian company immediately to take over the assets and work the plant so as to be able to bring the factory into production early next year. The Asahi Glass Company has the reputation of being one of the largest and most efficient glass-manufacturing concerns of the world today.

International Finance Corporation

The P.T.I. reports that Mr. G. L. Mehta, India's Ambassador in the U.S.A., signed on 19th October, 1955, the Charter of the International Finance Corporation on behalf of the Indian Government at the International Bank. The Corporation has been established to promote the international movement of private capital in productive enterprises in underdeveloped areas of the world. Early this year the Charter of the Corporation was sent to member-Governments

for their consideration and acceptance. The Corporation will come into being when at least 30 Governments have subscribed the minimum capital requirements of \$75 million. The USA is the largest shareholder in the Corporation followed next by the United Kingdom. The following list will show the share capital of some of the important members: (The figures are in thousands of U.S. dollars) :

United States 35,168; United Kingdom 14,400; China 6,646; France 5,815; India 4,431; Germany 3,655; Canada 3,600; Netherlands 3,046; Belgium 2,492; Japan 2,769; Australia 2,215; Italy 1,994; Indonesia 1,218; Brazil 1,163; Pakistan 1,108; Sweden 1,108; South Africa 1,108; Denmark 753.

The basic objective of the Corporation is to supplement the activities of the World Bank by encouraging the growth of productive private enterprise in member-countries, particularly in less developed areas. It will work in association with private investors, assist in financing the establishment, improvement and expansion of productive private enterprises which would contribute to the development of its member-countries by making investments, without guarantee of repayment by the member-Government concerned, in cases where sufficient private capital is not available on reasonable terms. The Corporation will seek to bring together investment opportunities, domestic and foreign private capital, and experienced management. It will also seek to stimulate, and to help create conditions conducive to, the flow of private capital, domestic and foreign, into productive investment in IFC member-countries.

The membership to the Corporation is open to Governments which are members of the World Bank. The Corporation has an authorised capital of \$100 million, available for subscription by members in amounts proportionate to their subscription to the capital of the World Bank. Subscriptions are to be paid either in gold or the US dollars. The authorised capital is divided into 100,000 shares of \$1,000 each. The IFC is affiliated to the World Bank in the following ways : (i) Membership in the World Bank is a prerequisite to membership in the Corporation ; (ii) Each Governor of the Bank representing a Government which joins the Corporation becomes a member of the Board of Governors of the Corporation ; (iii) The IFC's Board of Directors shall consist of those executive directors of the Bank who represent at

least one Government which has joined the new institution ; and (iv) The President of the World Bank, who is Chairman of the Bank's executive directors, will also be Chairman of the Corporation's Board of Directors.

The Corporation is, however, a separate body quite distinct from the Bank. The assets of the two institutions will be kept entirely separate, and the Corporation is prohibited from borrowing from the Bank. The Corporation has its own President appointed by its Board of Directors on the nomination of the Chairman of the World Bank. Subject to the policy direction of the Board and the Chairman, the President is responsible for the conduct of the Corporation's business.

The Corporation is authorised to make its investments without governmental guarantee. It can make loans on fixed interest and also investments of other kinds. The Corporation may purchase securities which will give it a right to participate in the profits of an enterprise and such securities, when sold by the IFC, can be converted by the purchasers into capital stock. The Corporation, however, is not empowered to invest in capital stock, nor can it assume responsibility for managing the enterprises in which it invests. The Corporation has been given greater freedom than the World Bank in financing private enterprises. The World Bank can lend to private borrowers only on governmental guarantee and has a discouraging effect both on private entrepreneurs and governments in approaching the Bank for loans. Further, the Bank can make only fixed-interest bearing loans ; but the private enterprise often requires venture capital as well as fixed-interest bearing loans ; but private enterprise often requires venture capital as well as fixed obligations for the purpose of establishment or expansion of industrial undertakings. The Corporation can render financial assistance to any kind of productive private enterprise, including agricultural, financial and commercial undertakings. Besides, the Corporation will serve as a clearing institution to bring together investment opportunities, private capital and experienced management.

Where an entrepreneur is in need of capital and technical skill from abroad, the Corporation will endeavour to interest investors outside the country who are in a position to provide capital and management experience. Again, where an entrepreneur seeks to establish or expand industrial undertakings abroad, the Corporation will

make efforts to recruit domestic capital and local partners in the country of investment. In such enterprises, the Corporation itself may invest. It should however be remembered that the Corporation will not supplant private investment, but it will supplement it. It is the supplier of finance in the last resort; where other sources of capital are available, it will not step in.

The IFC can revolve its funds by selling its investments to private investors on satisfactory terms. It has the power to raise additional funds by selling its own obligations in the market. By reason of investments by the IFC, private enterprise will not have any special status under domestic laws and regulations. In matters of transfer of earnings and repayments of principal on its investments, the IFC will be in the position of a private investor and will be subject to the domestic regulations on foreign exchange.

Government of India's Coal Policy

For some time past the coal industry in the private sector is not feeling happy over its future prospects. The rumour is in the air that the Government of India is contemplating to nationalise the coal industry. In the last week of August this year, Mr. K. C. Reddy, Minister for Production, disclosed during question hour in Parliament that the Union Government was considering the question of nationalisation of coal mines. The Government proposes to carry out all prospecting and establishment of new coal mines as a public enterprise. The private collieries also apprehend that the development of new coal mines will be so defined as to cover even sinking of new shafts and the result will be that the private sector will have very little scope for expansion.

The Government is considering the procedure for cancelling unexploited leases held by existing coal-mine owners and this will facilitate new prospecting and mining by the Government. At present the State Governments are owners of mines in their respective regions and if the coal-mining industry is nationalised, the State Governments will have also shares in the nationalised industry. The Union Government shall have to take leases from the State Governments for exploiting new coal mines. For the present, therefore, there will be partial nationalisation of the coal industry, and the private sector in this field shall have to die a natural death not being allowed to exploit new mines. The Union Government is also

considering to revise the target of production in private as well as in the public sector of coal mining industry.

In June last a conference was held between the Planning Commission and the coal interests and it was decided there to permit the private sector to expand its production by 11 million tons and the public sector would raise its production by 12 million tons—the total increase envisaged was 23 million tons. The overall target for the industry was placed at 60 million tons to be reached by March 1961. Now the Government is considering reduction of the target in the private sector to 8 million tons and increasing that of the public sector to 15 million tons.

Under the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1948, the coal industry was granted an immunity for ten years. There are still three years to go to complete the said period of ten years, but meanwhile the industry has been thrown into uncertainty as to its future. The private owners of coal mines are further concerned, now that the compensation has been rendered a non-justiciable issue. With the future doubtful the private sector will hesitate to provide the large capital needed for mechanisation of mining operations, stowing and installation of washeries.

The output of coal in 1954 was 37 million tons, of which metallurgical coal accounted for 13.67 million tons. Of the new target of 60 million tons to be attained by 1960, the share of metallurgical coal is placed at 16.5 million tons. The uncertainty about the future of the coal industry has been further aggravated by the fifteenth report of the Estimates Committee of the Parliament on the working of the Ministry of Production. The report was placed before the House of the People on 27th September, 1955. In the opinion of the Estimates Committee, the nationalisation of the coal industry is essential in the long run in the interest of industrial development of the country. The Estimates Committee, however, feels that the Government may not have sufficiency of technical manpower at its disposal just at the moment to take over all the collieries at a time and nationalisation will have to be spread over a number of years. In the meantime, the private sector may be allowed a fresh lease of life for a fixed period to run the private collieries on the following terms:

(a) That adequate capital is invested by them with a view to stepping up production to

the limits laid down by Government for each colliery ; (b) that scientific methods are employed in raising coal; (c) that as far as possible, mechanisation and safety measures are to be introduced for quicker and better output ; and (d) that labour conditions are improved according to the standards laid down by the Government in this respect.

The Estimates Committee observes that in exploiting natural resources the private owners are guided sometimes by short-sighted policies of quick returns rather than by considerations of maximum economic exploitation and preservation of national assets. It is well known that for more than a century the Indian coal mines have been subjected to destructive exploitation by the over-greedy private owners with colossal wastage of lower grade coal and bye products. The Estimates Committee has rightly suggested that to prevent destructive exploitation, the following measures should be adopted by the Government :

(i) All new collieries should be State-owned and managed under the ultimate control of the Coal Commission, which should be set up immediately ; (ii) the State, should, as far as practicable, take over all private collieries which wholly or to a large extent are engaged in raising metallurgical or high grade coal ; and (iii) steps should be taken to vest the Coal Commission with powers to take over all those collieries, at present under private management which do not follow its directions and do not function according to the standards laid down by it, or which cannot function economically and satisfactorily due to any reason whatsoever.

The Coal Commission should have power to determine whether the management of the private-owned collieries should be acquired by the State for a limited period or indefinitely with a view to imparting efficiency and economy in the working of the colliery. The Commission may also decide whether in the circumstances of individual cases, the State should nationalise particular collieries and in that case compensation according to the general procedure and principle shall have to be paid to the private owners. The Estimates Committee thinks that the constitution of the Coal Commission is only a preliminary step towards nationalisation and towards organising the coal industry on sound and efficient basis. The Commission will take steps for raising production and ensuring quicker distri-

bution of coal at cheaper rates through introduction of new and up-to-date methods of coal raising, and of better labour welfare measures. The Committee suggests that the Commission should be constituted on the lines of the Tennessee Valley Authority so as to make it clothed with power of Government but possessed of flexibility and initiative of a private enterprise. In this connection, the Committee has recommended the observation of the Indian Coalfields Committee, 1946, which runs as follows : "The managerial autonomy essential for business demands freedom from political considerations and control. This does not imply that the Government or the Legislature should exercise no control over fundamental policies. A determination as to whether a particular coal-field shall be developed and necessary railway facilities arranged involves question of broad policy and hence of economic planning for the Government and the Legislature to decide. But once such a decision has been taken, the opening up of the field, etc., is a task to which political consideration ought to be completely unrelated."

The S.R.C. Report

Under the scheme of reorganisation proposed by the Commission, the Indian Union will consist of 16 States as against the existing 27 and there will be 3 Centrally Administered Areas, that is Delhi, Manipur and the Andamans.

The prospective units, their area and population will be as follows :

	STATES	Area (In sq. miles)	Population (In millions)
Madras	50,170	30.0	
Kerala	14,980	13.6	
Karnataka	72,730	19.0	
Hyderabad	45,300	11.3	
Andhra	64,950	20.9	
Bombay	151,360	40.2	
Vidarbha	36,880	7.6	
Madhya Pradesh	171,200	26.1	
Rajasthan	132,300	16.0	
Punjab	58,140	17.2	
Uttar Pradesh	113,410	63.2	
Bihar	66,520	38.5	
West Bengal	34,509	26.5	
Assam	89,040	9.7	
Orissa	60,140	14.6	
Jammu & Kashmir	92,780	4.4	

TERRITORIES	(Actual numbers)	
Delhi	578	1,744,072
Manipur	8,628	577,635
Andamans and Nicobars	3,215	30,971

The States Reorganisation Commission was appointed on December 29, 1953 by a Government of India Resolution to examine "the whole question of the reorganisation of the States of the Indian Union objectively and dispassionately so that the welfare of the people of each constituent unit, as well as of the nation as a whole, is promoted."

The Commission consisted of Shri Saiyid Fazl Ali, Chairman, and Shri Hriday Nath Kunzru, Member of the Council of States, and Shri K. M. Panikkar as Members.

The existing structure of the States of the Indian Union, states the Report, "is partly the result of accident and the circumstances attending the growth of the British power in India and partly a by-product of the historic process of the integration of former Indian States. The division of India during the British period into British provinces and Indian States was itself fortuitous and had no basis in Indian history. The formation of provinces had been mainly governed by considerations of administrative convenience and economy and by reasons of military strategy and security.

FACTORS BEARING ON REORGANISATION

The Commission observe that an essential consideration is that no change should be made unless it is a distinct improvement in the existing position, and unless the advantages which result from it, in terms of the promotion of the "welfare of the people of each constituent unit, as well as the nation as a whole," the objectives set before the Commission by the Government of India, are such as to compensate for the heavy burden on the administrative and financial resources of the country, which reorganisation of the existing units must entail.

The Commission consider that in the interests of national unity the administrative and political structure of the country should be based on the primacy of the nation. The administrative set-up in strategic areas should be determined primarily by considerations of national security. When border areas are not under the direct control of the Centre it would

be safer to have large and resourceful units.

The Commission state it is neither possible nor desirable to reorganise States on the basis of a single test of either language or culture. A balanced approach to the problem is clearly necessary, and such a balanced approach would appear to be—

- (i) to recognise linguistic homogeneity as an important factor conducive to administrative convenience and efficiency, but not to consider it as an exclusive and binding principle, over-riding all other considerations, administrative, financial or political; to ensure that communicational, educational and cultural needs of the different language groups, whether resident in predominantly unilingual or composite administrative units, are adequately met;
- (ii) where satisfactory conditions exist, and the balance of economic, political and administrative considerations favour composite States, to continue them with the necessary safeguards to ensure that all sections enjoy equal rights and opportunities;
- (iii) to repudiate the "home land" concept, which negates one of the fundamental principles of the Indian Constitution namely, equal opportunities and equal rights for all citizens throughout the length and breadth of the Union;
- (iv) to reject the theory of "one language one State," which is neither justified on grounds of linguistic homogeneity, because there can be more than one State speaking the same language without offending the linguistic principle, nor practicable, since different language groups, including the vast Hindi-speaking population of the Indian Union, cannot always be consolidated to form distinct linguistic units; and
- (v) finally, to the extent that the realisation of unilinguism at State level would tend to breed a particularist feeling, to counter-balance that feeling by positive measures calculated to give a deeper content to Indian nationalism.

Financial viability has an important bearing on reorganisation proposals, but it has to be considered along with other relevant factors. The units should, as far as possible, be self-supporting. They should be so constituted that they have an incentive to raise and are able to raise, on their own initiative, at least a part of the resources needed for their development.

The States cannot be so reorganised as to conform to economic regions. Nor can the principle of economic self-sufficiency within an administrative unit be regarded as a clear criterion. Consistently with these principles, however, it would be desirable to avoid as far as possible wide disparities in resources between the various States.

The units should be large enough to ensure administrative efficiency and the co-ordination of economic development and welfare activities.

The wishes of the people should be regarded as an important factor bearing on reorganisation, but they have to be considered along with other relevant factors.

The facts of the existing situation are more important than the previous historical associations of different areas. Undue importance cannot be attached, therefore, to historical arguments.

Geographical contiguity of the units is important from the point of view of administrative convenience. Other geographical factors have to be regarded as secondary.

PATTERN OF COMPONENT UNITS

The present classification of States into three categories known as Part A, Part B and Part C States was adopted essentially as a transitional expedient, and was not intended to be a permanent feature of the constitutional structure of this country. The Commission, therefore, recommends that the existing constitutional disparity between the different constituent units of the Indian Union should disappear as a necessary consequence of reorganisation.

Part B States can be equated to Part A States by omitting Article 371 of the Constitution. The institution of the Rajpramukh should also be abolished, as large sections of public opinion view with disfavour its continuance, on the ground that it ill accords with the essentially democratic framework of the country.

As regards Part C States, there is a general

consensus of opinion that the existing set-up of these States is unsatisfactory. These small units will continue to be economically unbalanced, financially weak and administratively and politically unstable. Taking all the factors into consideration, the conclusion reached by the Commission is that there is no adequate recompense for all the financial, administrative and constitutional difficulties which the present structure of these States presents, and that, with the exception of two, to be centrally administered, the merger of the existing Part C States with the adjoining States is the only solution of their problems.

In respect of Himachal Pradesh, Kutch and Tripura, the Commission recommend that the Central Government should retain supervisory power for a specified period to maintain their present pace of development. Such of the existing Part C States as cannot be merged in the adjoining areas for security and other imperative considerations should be administered by the Centre as territories.

The component units of Indian Union will thus consist of—

- (a) "States" forming primary federating units of the Indian Union; and
- (b) "Territories" which are centrally-administered.

TERRITORIES

The units or areas which have not been dealt with so far will be directly administered by the Centre and will be known as territories.

1. *Delhi* : If Delhi is to continue to be the seat of the Central Government, it must adopt a model which is sound in principle and administratively workable in practice. The people belonging to centrally-administered territories in India are more advantageously placed than those of centrally-administered areas in other important federal countries, in that full representation in the Union Parliament has been provided for under the Indian Constitution.

2. *Manipur* : Manipur should be a centrally-administered territory for the time being. The ultimate merger of this State in Assam should be kept in view.

3. *Andaman and Nicobar Islands* : The *status quo* in the Andaman and Nicobar Islands should continue.

The arrangements in regard to areas which have been or may be brought under Central administration in future, either before or after

becoming *de jure* part of the territory of India, must be flexible, until the position is finally clarified.

SAFEGUARDS

Constitutional recognition should be given to the right of linguistic minorities to have instruction in their mother-tongues at the primary school stage subject to a sufficient number of students being available. The Central Government should acquire power to enforce this right on the lines of the provisions contained in Article 347 of the Constitution.

The Government of India should adopt, in consultation with the State Governments, a clear code to govern the use of different languages at different levels of State administrations and take steps, under Article 347, to ensure that this code is followed.

The domicile tests in force in certain States operate to the disadvantage of minority groups. The Government of India should, therefore, undertake legislation under Article 16(3) of the Constitution in order to simplify and liberalise the requirements as to residence.

In examinations regulating entry into the public services of the States, a candidate should have the option to elect as the medium, apart from the main language of the State, the Union language, namely, English or Hindi, or the language of a minority constituting about fifteen to twenty per cent or more of the population to the State.

S. R. C. Report and Maharashtra

The S.R.C. recommendations have caused wide repercussions, of which the most forceful were those in Bombay. We append below a report of a meeting addressed by Shri Shanker Rao Deo :

"Addressing a public meeting at Shivaji Park on the evening of 23rd October, Mr. Deo warned Maharashtrians against any acts of violence or slogan-shouting to achieve their goal.

"Their demand, he stated, was just and right and Maharashtrians would not try to snatch anything from others. They would take it only after convincing their opponents of the rightness of their demand.

"Mr. Deo assured Maharashtrians that he would leave no stone unturned to achieve a separate linguistic State.

"The Congress High Command had accepted the justness of the Maharashtrian demand for the City of Bombay, but, because of certain difficulties, it could not be joined to Maharashtra.

"On the question of Bombay City there could not be any compromise.

"When the Maharashtrian deputation met Mr. Nehru and other Congress leaders in New Delhi, it tried to convince them that there was no need for minorities to fear as their rights were safeguarded in the Constitution and by a special chapter of the SRC report itself.

"He referred to a remark in the report about Maharashtra that there was "fear and misgiving" among the city's minorities if Bombay was made the capital of a united Maharashtra State.

"He said, it was a grave injustice and a dis-honour to Maharashtrians."

The "Slow-down" Policy

The Industrial Tribunal that sat over the adjudication on the slow-down and strike in the Indian Iron and Steel gave its award in the first week of October. We reproduce part of the report below as it is a clear indictment of "slow-down" methods in industry :

"The fifth Industrial Tribunal adjudicating on the slow-down in the hot mills (sheet mills section) of the Indian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd., Burnpur, in 1953 has given its award in favour of the management in all the four issues referred to the tribunal.

"As a result of the go-slow, there had been a loss of approximately 100,000 tons of finished and semifinished steel to the country from this mill, which had been declared a public utility concern since 1951.

"The tribunal said : 'A slow-down can never be justified under any conceivable circumstances. It is a misconduct, as it interferes with and pushes down production. It is an insidious process which not only does hamper production but also acts unfairly to the employer. The workers get pay, and so they are duty bound to give production. But if they do not give that amount of production which they are normally expected to give but move slowly and sit idle, then they should not earn wages. To earn wages and not to give production can never be justified.'

Nehru's Speech at Perambur

We append below part of Pandit Nehru speech at the opening of the Coach Factory at Perambur, as it clearly shows his attitude towards basic industries :

"In the speech, explaining Gandhiji's ideals further, Mr. Nehru said the Mahatma would have been glad about the opening of this factory.

"Like all other factories it did not come in the way of development of village industries and generally raising the standard of the rural and urban population. Some people took a rather narrow, lopsided view of Gandhiji's ideals, without understanding all the aspects of their many-sided character.

"Many, he thought, laid emphasis on the philosophy for which the Mahatma stood, without understanding the spirit underlying it. For the functioning of a great movement in India, and as the leader of the great struggle against a mighty Empire, he laid stress on village industries. Curiously enough, those who were sceptical of him then, now stood for development of village industries.

"But today," said Mr. Nehru, "we stand on the threshold of an atomic era. Atomic energy is an enormous new source of power at our disposal and you cannot ignore it. Even if you ignore it, others will not ignore it but will use it to their advantage. Therefore, we have to use this source of power when the time comes. At the same time, everything has ultimately to be judged in terms of human welfare—in terms of the welfare of the millions of our country."

"Therefore, he said, it was fitting that this day should be chosen for the factory's opening.

"This Integral Coach Factory, he said, was a symbol of something bigger—some bigger integration—that was taking place. In the factory they were making integral coaches by a process of welding. 'Some of us are also engineers—human engineers—trying our utmost to weld and integrate the nation.'

"We, as a nation, suffer from some kind of split personality. We talk in terms of high ideals and act in a completely opposite way. No one in the world talks of higher ideals than we do, but our deeds do not wholly conform to our talk."

"He said there were powerful forces—forces working for integration and consolidation—while others were working for disintegration and disruption. There was bound to be a conflict between such forces more especially at the time of transition.

"The new integral-type of coach is a light-weight all-welded steel coach. The factory, initiated by the late Mr. N. Gopalaswamy Iyengar, three years ago, is designed to meet the country's increasing needs in respect of passenger coaches, while the Chittaranjan Factory takes care of the locomotives.

"The Rs. 7.35-crore factory will assemble 20 coaches in the first year, this figure rising to 350 coaches under a phased programme. The factory will provide employment to over 4,000 workers ultimately."

Nehru at Indian Industries Fair

Pandit Nehru spoke much in the same vein as at Perambur, at the Indian Industries Fair as the following report indicates:

"New Delhi, October 29: Mr. Nehru, who visited the Indian Industries Fair for over two hours in the morning, later formally opened it and said: 'It is truly an international exhibition.'

"Credit for giving it this character deservedly went to the foreign countries which had so eagerly participated in it. It was due to them, said the Prime Minister, that the exhibition had become so unusual, not only for India but for the whole of Asia.

"It contained pavilions from diverse countries including 'those which were not considered friendly by some others.' The exhibition, therefore, had become an experiment in co-existence, added Mr. Nehru.

"India, he said, was also changing in the rapidly changing world. Anybody returning to India after two or three years could easily notice the difference.

"The new technical changes, he said, were promising the world an age of abundance for every individual. Yet, at the present moment, some countries not only lived in scarcity but in extreme poverty. The fact remained that in theory, the truth of which could be demonstrated, there was no justification for continuing poverty.

"So far as India was concerned, it stood on the threshold of industrial revolution or a big-scale change, and it was time, he added, it did so. It could not be forgotten, however, that when India did cross the threshold of industrialization, other countries would think in terms of atomic power. Thus, if India took ten steps towards her goal, other countries would be able to move much faster. It was, therefore, necessary that the tempo of progress should be increased if India was to overtake the more advanced countries.

"Mr. Nehru said he was a firm believer in the utility of machines. He wanted them to be bigger and better. The only question was how far the machine could be controlled or was it

likely to be allowed to dominate man or his mind.

"It was clear that India could not run away from the machine. It solved many problems of the day. Therefore, India must have machines, the purpose being advancement of the lot of man. If India had to have machines it must have the latest and best machines.

"Though the machine was inevitable, 'it cannot be allowed to run away with you.' It was necessary to utilize it with understanding, tolerance and compassion.

"While in other countries there was conflict between ideals and objectives, India had yet to satisfy the primary needs of her people and the secondary needs of some of them."

Prohibition.

We append below the news-item giving a summary of recommendations of the Prohibition Enquiry Committee.

We have italicized the second paragraph of this news-item in order to lay emphasis on the extremely doubtful procedure of enquiry adopted by the Committee..

Let us state to start with that the policy of this journal is, and always has been pro-prohibition. We have no use for alcohol as a beverage ourselves nor do we like the use of it by others.

But that does not alter the fact that the Committee's assertion that there is strong support for nationwide prohibition in every State, is just a figment of fancy. How do they know it without making a nationwide enquiry at all? It is a total untruth to say that anything like that has been made. We do not like the gilding of truth; or its assumption by fanciful fanatics, and that is the long and short of it.

"New Delhi, October 25: 'We recommend that the target date for completing nationwide prohibition should be April 1, 1958,' says the Prohibition Inquiry Committee appointed by the Planning Commission in its report, issued today.

"The committee points out that there is strong support for such a nationwide prohibition policy in every State it visited and also a demand to put that policy into effect as early as possible.

"We are of the opinion that to focus the attention of all States to this end and to mobilize popular sympathy in favour of prohibi-

bition, it is necessary to fix a definite target date to bring into effect complete prohibition throughout the country,' the committee adds.

"On the experience of prohibition in States like Bombay and Madras, the committee says that 'prohibition is not only a sound policy but also a practical proposition. The aim should be to promote nationwide prohibition and to achieve better and more lasting results through effective implementation.'

"In recommending the target date—April 1, 1958—for nationwide prohibition, the committee explains that it has taken into consideration both the urgency of the situation and the practical difficulties which have to be overcome by the State Govtrnments concerned."

"New Delhi, October 24: In a dissenting minute to the Prohibition Inquiry Committee Report, Mr. Kodanda Rao says that there is something wrong with orthodox prohibition when several Governments stimulate consumption for the sake of public revenue and profit, the Congress High Command and the Government of India advise the State Governments to 'go slow' with prohibition and the police are not keen in enforcing prohibition and the magistrates unenthusiastic about deterrent sentences.

"He regrets that the Prohibition Inquiry Committee should have been asked to review only the administration and not the policy concerning prohibition. He suggests that the policy of prohibition should be reviewed by a high-powered commission representing all shades of opinion, similar to the American Wickersham Commission.

"He disagrees with the majority report which stigmatizes consumption of liquor as 'moral turpitude, a vice, a sin.'

"Excessive consumption offends the moral conscience of the world but not moderate consumption,' he adds.

"He refers to the example of progressive nations which treat moderate consumption of liquor as harmless, normal and even an honourable social custom.

"Mr. Rao adds: 'If their great and enviable progress in a variety of directions was compatible with such consumption; if foreigners and Indians may consume liquor in foreign countries and foreigners may do so in India and only Indians in India may not; if some communities do not feel any moral compunc-

tion in consuming liquor; if some of the most respected Indians, official and non-official, take liquor without moral qualms; if liquor is used for sacramental purposes among certain religions, the moral elevation claimed for prohibition is somewhat weakened.'

"In its very nature, he says, the appraisal of prohibition policy lends itself more to subjective pre-conception than to objective conclusions. In the circumstances, he adds, it would be presumptuous to dogmatize.

"He also reveals that instead of asking other States to follow their example, both Bombay and Madras had, in fact, somewhat 'warned them off' although the advice was urged 'with a view to furthering prohibition.'

"Mr. Rao also regrets that the Committee had ignored the advice of Bombay and Madras—the two States whose experience was most valuable in considering extension of prohibition to other States."

Goa

The question of Goa is still in a liquid state. Ferocious sentences are being imposed on *satyagrahis*, Indian and Goanese, by the degenerate Portuguese colonial government.

Indeed, nothing better could be expected from a nation whose entire colonial record is of undiluted brute passions, black treachery and arrant cowardice in the face of a superior force.

The Hindu in an editorial on the 30th of October gives the present position as is given *infra*:

"As early as May of last year our Prime Minister made it clear in Parliament that the Portuguese claim for military aid, from the signatories to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation, for retaining her colonial possessions in Asia cannot affect our claim for the re-union of Goa with free India. Mr. Nehru proclaimed categorically that 'to us it is quite clear that those alliances do not concern any foreign establishment in India.' Since then France has voluntarily surrendered her sovereignty over her settlements in this country without calling on any NATO Power to come to her aid for resisting the just claims of the people of the settlements. But Portugal continues to be adamant and there is reason to believe that she may be banking on outside help. For, in April of this year, Mr. Nehru reverted to the subject at the Afro-Asian Conference during the debate on

colonialism in Asia. He commented on the extraordinary stand taken by some members of NATO. Following Portugal's request to them to tell us, 'You should do this and that', India was getting letters from some of the so-called Big Powers along those lines. He did not mention which Powers wrote but it must be mentioned that the United States has never given countenance to the Portuguese stand on Goa. If anything, her leaders have openly and more than once come out against colonialism under any guise. We have already noted the Canadian Prime Minister's declaration that NATO could not be invoked by Portugal for this purpose. Mr. Nehru has observed that it does not matter who these Powers are, 'but it is gross impertinence and the new Republic of India has told them that it is gross impertinence.'

Macao and Goa

The Portuguese colony of Macao, on the mainland of China, has been the worst plague-spot in Asia for centuries. It is a huge conglomeration of brothels, gambling dens and resorts of international drug and opium smugglers. The Chinese have declared their policy regarding Macao, as the following news-item indicates.

It is to be noted that subsequent reports indicate that this note of displeasure was enough to force the panic-stricken Portuguese to abandon the "celebrations":

"Hongkong, October 25: Peking Radio said today that China had the right to demand the return of the Portuguese colony of Macao which adjoins the Chinese mainland.

"The broadcast in English was described as 'a late message.' It said: 'Macao is Chinese territory and the Chinese people have a right to demand the return of their territory from the hands of the Portuguese colonialists.'

"The radio broadcast a report which, it said, had been received from Canton saying that the Portuguese authorities were compelled last week to announce cancellation of their plans for the celebration of the 400th anniversary of the opening of Macao as a port.

"Mr. Chou En-lai, the Chinese Prime Minister, declared his support for India's stand over Goa and asked for the prevention of extensive celebrations planned in Macao of the 400th anniversary of the founding of this tiny colony on the Chinese mainland, according to authoritative sources here today.

"Mr. Chou, according to the sources, told Mr. O'Neill, British Charge d'Affaires in Peking and Sir Alexander Grantham, Governor of Hongkong, at a luncheon in the Chinese capital early this month that the people of China and the Chinese in both Macao and Hongkong would be 'very displeased' with the celebrations.

"The sources said that Mr. O'Neill had reported this to the British Foreign Office which in turn had sent a report to the Portuguese Government through the British Ambassador in Lisbon."

Buraimi Oasis

The Persian Gulf is the key to the vast British (and allied) petroleum concessions in Iran, Bahrein and the neighbouring territories. There has been a long-standing dispute, between Saudi Arabia and the potentates of the oil areas of the Gulf, regarding the demarcation of frontiers. Recently there has been a resort to arms as the following news-item indicates. Fighting has broken out after the occupation:

"London, Oct. 26.—Troops of the Sultan of Muscat and of the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi, Arab rulers of Persian Gulf States in treaty relations with Britain, today occupied the disputed Buraimi Oasis which has been claimed by Saudi Arabia, Sir Anthony Eden, the British Prime Minister told the House of Commons today.

"Sir Anthony said that the troops had occupied the oasis up to a line proposed by Britain in 1935 but further modified in favour of Saudi Arabia in 1937.

"The Prime Minister told Parliament that the decision to move in troops had been taken because of the breakdown of the recent arbitration proceedings in Geneva on the status of the oasis.

"Announcing the breakdown of proceedings before the tribunal Sir Anthony said the actions of the Saudi Arabian authorities in the disputed area and during the arbitration 'amount to a repudiation of the arbitration agreement and have made a continuation of the arbitration impossible.'

"He said the Saudi Arabian Government was being informed of the decision to reoccupy the oasis up the modified 1935 frontier line.

"I hope in time the Saudi Arabian Government will accept the solution we have had to declare," he concluded."

South Viet Nam

In Indo-China the last traces of French colonialism has been eliminated apparently as the news-item below would indicate. The French puppet Bao-Dai has lost his last throw:

"Saigon, Oct. 26.—Mr. Ngo Dinh Diem, the Prime Minister, today proclaimed South Viet Nam to be a republic. The proclamation follows last Sunday's nationwide referendum in which a large majority of the voters chose Mr. Diem to replace Bao Dai as Head of State.

"The Premier read the proclamation to more than 30,000 people from the balcony of his official residence.

"It followed a Cabinet meeting which discussed the referendum results.

"The day has been declared a public holiday in celebration of the event.

"Mr. Diem told the crowd outside his residence: 'In the darkest hours of our history our people have always joined together, and now in a moment of supreme unity we have broken the bands of iron and fibre which encircled us, taking the path of independence and liberty.'

"We shall see a unified, free and prosperous Viet Nam emerge triumphantly.

"Thailand and Japan today recognized Mr. Diem as Head of State."

French North Africa

French colonialism is still trying to retain its hold on North Africa, now by an attempt at compromise. The French *colonies* still want forcible suppression of the demand for liberty, and on the other side are the implacable foes of colonialism in the shape of the children of the soil. Prime Minister Faure is now taking desperate chances in mediation. The reaction, as indicated in the news below, is still unfavourable:

"Casablanca, Oct. 18.—A fresh upsurge of terrorism in French North Africa has taken a toll of 21 lives during the past 24 hours.

"In a new series of attacks and rioting in the principal cities of Morocco, eight Moroccans had been killed by tonight and a number of Moroccans and Europeans injured.

"Algerian rebels claimed 13 victims, seven of them Europeans, when a band of 100 attacked a packed bus on the Bone-Berbillon road yesterday.

"Marakesh, Morocco's third largest city, has been the scene of the worst disorders in the protectorate.

"For the fifth day running bands of youths roamed the streets of the Arab quarter, setting the torch to shops and knocking down telephone poles. Saboteurs cut the telephone cable between Morocco and Algeria tonight.

"The demonstrations are in protest against the composition of the Moroccan Throne Council to replace Sultan Ben Arafa."

Apartheid

The U.N. Commission has given a mild report on the apartheid policy of the degenerate anti-diluvians of "Africans" South Africa. We append the news-item below, for all its worth:

"New York, Oct. 12.—The general lines of South Africa's policy of apartheid had not changed during the past year, the U.N. commission of inquiry into the racial situation in South Africa said in a 15,000-word report presented today to the current session of the General Assembly.

"During the year, a series of legislative measures were enacted which were consistent neither with the obligations assumed by the Union of South Africa under the Charter nor with certain provisions of the universal declaration of human rights, the commission said.

"At the same time, the commission said that the programme of apartheid had during the past year been proceeding extremely slowly, cautiously and carefully. 'At the rate at which the Government is promoting each day a fuller measure of apartheid, it may well take many years before the theories of the new apartheid bear even a modest resemblance to actual fact. By then, the succession of generations, white and black, will have changed the course of events.'

"The South African Government is the only Government in the world which believes that it can carry out such a fabulous experiment successfully,' the report said in another reference to apartheid.

"The members of the comission are Dr. Herman Santa Cruz, of Chile (chairman); Mr. Dantes Bellegarde, of Haiti; and Mr. Lagier, of France."

Pakistan and Afghanistan

The uneasy truce in the Pak-Afghan disputes has again been broken up, over the issue of Pakhtoonistan. The news report given below summarizes the situation:

"Karachi, Oct. 18.—The Pakistani Government this evening announced its decision to withdraw its Ambassador in Kabul, Col. A. S. B. Shah,

following Afghanistan's decision to recall her Minister from Karachi.

"Government sources said that Col. A. S. B. Shah would soon return to Karachi. The immediate cause for the recall of the Afghan Minister was the refusal by Pakistan to discuss the formation of a One-Unit West Pakistan Province.

"Afghanistan is opposed to the integration of Pakistan's tribal areas and parts of the former North-West Frontier Province inhabited by Pakhtoons in West Pakistan Province without ascertaining the wishes of Pakhtoons.

"A Pakistani Government spokesman said that although the country had decided to recall its Ambassador at Kabul, Pakistan would, 'as in the past, always be ready to discuss and amicably settle with the Afghan Government all matters of common interest.'

"But he wished to make it clear that Pakistan could in no circumstances discuss with Afghanistan internal matters like the merging of West Pakistan Provinces and States into a single unit.

"The Afghan National Assembly, meeting at Kabul yesterday, approved the Government's policy on the issue of 'Pakhtoonistan.'

"Reporting this, a Kabul Radio broadcast last evening said that the Afghan Prime Minister, Sardar Daud Khan, explained in detail to the Assembly the Government's stand concerning a homeland for Pathans residing in what now constitutes Pakistan's tribal areas and parts of the former North-West Frontier Province.

"The Assembly, the broadcast said, offered its full co-operation in whatever steps the Government takes to vindicate its stand."

Result of Saar Referendum

There was a referendum in the highly industrialised area of the Saar, on the Franco-German border. The choice before the people of the Saar was between international control in the guise of a Europeanised Saar, and merge with Western Germany. They decided overwhelmingly in favour of merger. The reactions of that decision are given in the news below:

"The German Federal Chancellor, Dr. Adenauer, declared his 'firm conviction that the outcome of the referendum should not, and will not, prejudice the good relations between our two countries,' and added: 'Knowing that both governments sought a settlement in the spirit of European solidarity and have loyally observed their obligations, I am certain that

in the future, too, they will go the way of harmony and friendship.'

"The French Prime Minister, M. Faure, replied : 'Like you, I am convinced that the results of the Saar referendum cannot divert our two governments from the path they have taken. The new difficulties in our way . . . will not weaken our common will to serve the cause of Europe and of understanding between our two peoples.'

"The steps now to be taken about the Saar, London observers point out, are a subject for joint discussion between the French and German Governments. The Saar agreement of last October was at once a consolidation and a symbol of Franco-German *rapprochement*. The manner in which the two governments are approaching the new problem raised by the referendum result is regarded as of good augury."

Egypt and Israel

The mounting tension between Egypt and Israel—indeed between Israel and all the Arab world—has reached the breaking point consequent on Egypt's decision to purchase arms, which they could not get from the U.S. group, from Czechoslovakia. The position is well-presented in an editorial in the *New York Times*, international edition, for the 16th of October. We append a long extract:

"Israel and Egypt both maintain they want no war. Yet the pressures for war are strong.

"At present there is believed to be at least a rough military balance between Israel and the Arabs. Israel is reported to be superior in manpower ; she has a well-trained army of 50,000 and a reserve force of 200,000. Together the Arab armies are numerically superior—Egypt alone has 50,000 to 60,000 men—but their training is considered poor and they have no reserves.

"In weapons, however, the Arabs may have an edge over Israel. Egypt has 100 combat planes including a squadron of jets and well over 100 tanks ; Israel has a small number of planes, including some jets ; there are no reliable reports on the strength of her tank force.

"Egypt's Premier Adbel Gamal Nasser contends he is buying Communist jets, tanks, heavy artillery and naval craft solely for 'defense' purposes because, he says, Israel is militarily superior to Egypt and might attack Egypt. Repeatedly Colonel Nasser has assured the West he does not want to fight Israel.

ISRAEL'S VIEW

In Israel, the Arab-Communist arms deal is regarded as the gravest threat to the Jewish state since its birth seven years ago. At that time the Arab states were weak ; Israel's forces were vastly superior. The war between them was bloody and difficult but the outcome was never seriously in doubt.

But today, Israel contends, the Arabs are superior to her in weapons ; she points out that, notwithstanding his assertions now, Premier Nasser last July said his army was stronger than Israel's. Once Egypt starts getting Soviet Migs and other Communist heavy weapons, Israel will be hard put to defend herself.

"Accordingly, there is some pressure for launching a preventive war against the Arabs now, while Israel has the stuff to ensure victory. It is hard to assess the importance of this sentiment. In Israel's parliamentary elections last summer the biggest gains were scored by the two parties which stood for tough action against the Arabs—Herut and the Workers party. They won about 22 per cent of the vote, and that was long before anyone in Israel suspected that the Arabs would receive new supplies of arms.

"Tomorrow Israel is to get a new government. Its political composition will be about the same as at present, but changes of individual members are certain to affect its collective attitude. The most important change will be the return of former Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion to the Premiership next week; he is now resting under doctors' orders. Mr. Ben-Gurion, a firm believer in the Old Testament principle of an-eye-for-an-eye where the Arabs are concerned, is not a man to sit back idly and wait for an Arab attack on his country.

"What then can he do ? He seems to have three possible courses of action: (1) purchase of arms from the Communists; (2) enlistment of Western help in the form of arms to even the balance and or a Western guarantee of Israel's borders; (3) preventive war.

CONFERENCE IN WASHINGTON

"Israel has apparently rejected the first course. Reports last week that Moscow was offering to sell arms to the Jewish state met with a hostile "No thanks" from Tel Aviv officials. Israel would have a hard time paying for Communist arms, if she tried, she would alienate important friends in the United States.

"The second course is obviously Israel's best

bet. Last week in Washington her Ambassador, Abba Eban, called on the Assistant Secretary of State for Near Eastern Affairs, George V. Allen, Mr. Eban did not ask for any specific amount or type of arms. But he urged the U. S. to pledge to help Israel match whatever arms Egypt receives from the Communists. Mr. Eban also asked the U. S. to put into effect the guarantees of the borders between Israel and Arabs that Secretary of State Dulles had proposed last summer.

"As for Course No. 3—preventive war—the majority of Israelis obviously oppose it. But there is the possibility that if the West refuses to help Israel, she might feel herself forced to go to war. As Mr. Eban put it, Israel will not sit like a rabbit waiting for the snake to get big enough to swallow her."

Relief of Arab Refugees

Vast numbers of Arabs were displaced by the formation of Israel. Their homeland occupied by the Israeli immigrants, without any question of compensation or rehabilitation, the plight of these poor displaced people is miserable in the extreme, as the following extract indicates:

The *Manchester Guardian* (October 24) writes: "The report of Mr. Labouisse, Director of the United Nations Relief Agency for Arab Refugees, will receive the more attention because of the new dangers in the Middle East. Over 800,000 refugees are still being fed, and of these nearly 100,000 are still living in tents.

"Mr. Labouisse thinks that new irrigation projects might give livelihood for 200,000. Unhappily, the rejection of the Johnston scheme for Jordan irrigation now puts this in doubt.

"Mr. Labouisse says that the desire for repatriation continues as strong as ever, and he adds an important comment: 'For the majority, repatriation means a return to the conditions they knew in Palestine prior to 1948. It is not possible to know how many of them would, in fact, accept the opportunity to be repatriated if that repatriation would mean something different from their old homes and their former way of life.'

"No prediction can be made until the refugees have been given the opportunity of choosing between distinguishable alternatives—namely, on the one hand, repatriation whose true nature is clearly understood at the time of choice; and on the other, the amount and

form of the compensation that would be offered instead."

"He says that if a major part of the refugees do not become self-supporting soon, the cost of relief will grow. There does not look to be much hope of any improvement soon, though 110,000 have been allowed to return to Israel under the scheme for reuniting families, and Israel is unfreezing the refugees' blocked assets.

"But this only touches the fringe of the problem. Mr. Dulles's recent proposal of a loan to Israel for paying compensation has been accepted by Israel in principle, but on condition that the Arab blockade is lifted.

"The United Nations may see that the refugees do not actually starve, and some of the Arabs may now have grown used to their way of life (and may be apathetically content, though the ration gives only 1,500 calories a day). But to be a refugee is still one of the hardest misfortunes of the modern world."

Turkey To-day

Adversity, it is said, makes strange bedfellows. So does, it seems, unreasoned belligerency.

Turkey is the strongest bastion in the "Northern Tier" of the Middle East. It is well known, likewise, that the present-day rulers of Turkey are not of the same ilk as Kamal Ata-Turk, or his followers. They are more a throwback to the old Turkey. The following extract from *Time* of October 24, is illuminating, coming as it does from the most reactionary and bellicose of all U.S. journals:

"Oil for the machines of Turkey lay bottled in the bowels of tankers last June while representatives of four big oil companies served notice on the Turkish government: unless some \$50 million in past oil bills was settled, the new shipments would not be unloaded. With only a week's oil in reserve, the government did some frantic juggling and scraped together a payment.

"The U.S.'s strongest ally in the Middle East is so strapped that it can barely pay its day-to-day bills.

"A newspaper editor reported one day last summer that while Premier Adnan Menderes was off on a trip, some political scalawagging was going on inside the ruling Democratic Party. 'While the cat's away,' wrote the editor, 'the mice will play.' The editor was arrested,

and only by appeal to a higher court escaped a jail sentence of six months. His crime: imputing animal characteristics to the Premier.

"In Turkey," said a troubled Istanbul man, "it is still possible to be a free man, a free journalist, or a free judge—if you are willing to take the risk."

"Only yesterday Turkey had seemed a solid rock in the free world's sea of uncertainties. Now it is a bothered bastion. Its economy is sick and its government is flirting with bankruptcy. Its brief but intense experience with democracy is afflicted with a return of the familiar weapons of autocracy.

"What has gone wrong, and what can be done about it? These questions, raised for months past, concern more than tough debonair Adnan Menderes, his government and his 23 million countrymen. All the other allies of NATO have cause to worry about the health of the member that anchors NATO's Eastern wing, provides the allies' largest single bloc of soldiers (the entire Turkish army of 500,000 men), and stands stoutly across the Black Sea from Russia. The U.S., in particular, has cause for concern. It cannot let Turkey sink, and Turkey insists that the U.S. owes it the means to stay afloat. The proposed means: a \$300 million loan, no strings attached. The U.S. reply: no more loans until Turkey puts its economic house in order. The question: Who will back down first?"

Syngman Rhee Portrayed

Another queer *protege* of the U.S. is that obnoxious little autocrat who now rules South-Korea through the grace of the U.N. We append a sketch of this character from the back columns of the *Worldover Press* of August 26:

"The big issues in Korea are in danger of being lost to sight. When thousands of our allies, the South Koreans, stage repeated and frenzied attacks on American troops defending the safety of the truce commissioners, it is dramatic and distressing. But even if the terms of the commission's mandate now need revision, some sort of supervisory body must do the same job, and it must be representative of both sides. And Syngman Rhee has made it clear that he really opposes any truce commission. For reasons of strategy, he has concentrated his attacks on the Communist members from Poland and Czechoslovakia, but a while ago

he was bitterly assailing the Swedes and the Swiss.

"If Rhee's record is reviewed, the urgent necessity of squelching him becomes apparent. Nine months ago, Rhee gave the Polish and Czechoslovak members of the truce commission a week to get out of Korea, thus acting to break the international truce unilaterally. What was the result? He was 'warned' by the United Nations Command that the truce team would be protected. If sterner action had then been taken against Rhee, this August would not have witnessed the wounding of many U.N. troops and the loss of South Korean lives in demonstrations. Rhee had the nerve to call 'spontaneous' (in good old Nazi style), when they were actually whipped up on his personal orders. Rhee backed down temporarily; but he never departs from his fundamental aim of a new Asian war with the United States committed as the major belligerent.

"Even before the war in Korea, Rhee was a hopelessly undemocratic ruler. In the 1948 elections, there was scant freedom; he systematically disposed of his popular opponents. During the first two years of his presidency, there were 89,710 arrests, including 10 members of the National Assembly and the nation's Vice-President. The Chief Justice of the country asserted: 'Any individual Korean is at the mercy of the police.' Seven newspapers were closed down and their staffs jailed. Political prisoners were treated brutally and often tortured. Some of the victims were not free from the taint of Communism; many were.

"Defying the U.N. Command in early 1954, Rhee was only stopped at the last moment from using ROK troops and U.N. funds and equipment to seize by force, from the U.N. Command itself, a large area north of the 38th parallel. Rhee's intention was nothing less than to annex this area, extending 58 miles north of the parallel.

"The Communists are hard enough to handle without the benefit they derive from the impression, throughout the neutral and uncertain world populations, that Communist sins have their equivalents on the anti-Communist side. Syngman Rhee is no friend of democracy, peace and freedom, and it is high time the U.S. and the U.N. made unmistakable to world opinion their recognition of this truth."

MUST INDIA DISINTEGRATE ?

By PROF. JADUNATH SARKAR, Hon. D.Litt., Hon. M.R.A.S. (London)

1. HISTORIC ORIGIN OF OUR PROVINCES

NATURE has formed India into a self-contained block of land, living in isolation from the rest of the world. Two vast oceans guard her flanks, while her head and shoulders are fenced round by the tallest mountain in the world. But the unity born of this sheltered self-sufficient life has been spiritual, not political. Sanskrit learning and Hindu religion have imposed a cultural uniformity over all the provinces of India, but they have not been welded into one State; a sub-continent cannot quickly be. Indeed, most of India's provinces, though each as large and populous as many a sovereign State of Europe, have failed to acquire a compact frame with oneness of language, tradition and manner of life clearly marking each off from its neighbouring provinces, such as history imposed on Burgundy, Provence, or Lorraine. Our provincial boundaries have constantly changed, since the remotest antiquity, owing to conquest or loss and not to linguistic disharmony. We have a proverb that in this country the local dialect or *patois* changes every ten *kos* !

How the different provinces of India have grown to their present shape on our maps, is a matter of known history. The kernel of each province has remained fairly constant, but its borders have been very elastic, sometimes evanescent. Each has expanded (or shrunk) under the pressure of historical or economic forces, and formed a larger (or smaller) political unit by coalescence (or attrition). Sir Richard Temple in his *Journal* has traced every step of the formation of Kashmir and Jammu (only a hundred years old). The piecing together of the mosaic conveniently called Assam, began even later and has not yet been finalised. Even the changing boundaries of the State of Delhi (I mean the *subah* and not the capital city) is a headache to the compiler of a Historical Atlas of India. The Bombay Presidency, a little older in time, is no better off in this respect.

In the earliest Hindu age traceable in history, each political unit (however small, like the city republics of the Panjab described by Alexander's companions), originated from the settlement of one clan or profession (i.e., caste) and took its name from that body of ruling people. Such was the origin of Malwa (the new home of the *Malloi* tribe encountered by the Macedonians in the Panjab), Gujarat (the Indian colony of the Gurjar or Gujari nomads), and so on. Their bond of union was ethnic, not political, nor linguistic oneness, because two or three clans spoke the same language and yet lived apart in spite of this affinity of speech. Later, in the course of ages, our Hindu empires began to grow and unite several provinces under one political rule, though few of them could retain this union after three generations. Within the empire the diverse subject population held together because the suzerain allowed each locality to follow its own customs, the State's sole concern being to put down rivals and rebels and take one-sixth of the crops for its service,—hence the Hindu king's Sanskrit title of *Sadangsha-bhak* or the owner of one-sixth.

2. UNIFYING WORK OF EMPIRES

After the Muslim conquest of Delhi (*circa* 1200 A.D.) the States became larger; in many cases each of them embraced two or even more provinces as we now understand that term; but there was as yet no political homogeneity in Muslim India. Under the Mughal empire (a live force from 1575 to 1750), the true political integration of India took place and the provinces became really limbs of one empire. By an imperial edict, issued on 24th November, 1586, Akbar imposed the same type of administrative organisation on each of the provinces (called *subahs*) under his rule.

"Two hundred years of Mughal rule gave to the whole of Northern India and to much of the Deccan also, oneness of official language, administrative system, and coinage, and also a popular *lingua franca*

for all classes except the Hindu priests and the stationary village folk. . . . All the twenty Indian *subahs* of the Mughal empire were governed by means of exactly the same administrative machinery, with exactly the same procedure and official titles. Persian was the one language used in all official records and letters. Officials and soldiers were frequently transferred from one *subah* to another; travellers and traders passed freely from one city to another, one *subah* to another."

The British paramountcy only extended and perfected this process of political unification. The official languages (Persian in the middle ages and English in the 19th century) were extremely simple and easy to learn, except for those who want to make a rhetorical parade; they gave the key to the cultural heritage of Asia and Europe respectively. Thus, all our administrative work at the highest level was performed very smoothly and universally, during the Muslim and British regimes, and linguistic difference did not then raise its head as a disintegrating force.

3. GEOGRAPHICAL CHANGES INEVITABLE, WHY

Not only have our provinces changed their frontiers within historic times, but the centre of gravity of many of them has also shifted in an incredible degree. Pataliputra (Patna), the colossal capital of the Maurya emperors as seen by the Greek ambassador Megasthenes in 290 B.C., had become a desolate hamlet in 630 A.D. Kanauj, the famous capital of Harsha, which the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Yuan Chwang glorified in 640, was later "so completely destroyed that nothing beyond rubbish heaps remain." (V. A. Smith). As for the imperial city where Shah Jahan gloried and drank deep, the very title of Dr. Spears' charming book, *Twilight of the Mughals*, indicates its condition in the British period.

The civilisers and kingdom-builders came to Bengal by the land-route from the west, via Anga (Bhagalpur) and Gaur (Malda). In the early Muslim period they moved east, again by land, through Ghoraghata (Bogra-Rangpur) to Mymensingh and then southwards by land through Egara-sundar, Rampal and Bhawal to

Vikrampur (Dacca). The river highway to East Bengal was opened in the 15th century after the coming of foreign traders (Chinese, Persian and Portuguese), when Hugli (Satgaon) grew into our greatest seaport, second only to Chatgaon, the "Great Port" of the Portuguese writers. The real conquest of Bengal by Islam Khan (Jahangir's governor, 1609-13) moved the capital of subah Bengal from Rajmahal to Dacca; and in the early 18th century, Murshidabad replaced Dacca, only to give way to Calcutta in 1774.

Under British rule, administrative convenience had led to Bengal, Bihar and Orissa being lumped together as one political unit, as had been the case for a few years in Shah Jahan's reign also. But there was no fusion of these component elements.

Thus the chequered board of India's political map has never attained to finality. Administrative (particularly strategic) convenience has always been the deciding factor in changing our boundaries.

Today the exclusive use of the local vernacular in the official work of each province is being proclaimed, as the highest form of patriotism. It will lead to a great loss of time and money to the Government and the public alike. Even the administration will jog on, like the creaking discarded old motor buses in which I have travelled on the wretched roads (rather ruts) in the interior of the Hyderabad State. But how will this new patriotic policy work if the same narrow parochial outlook dominates the field of our education? Can our grandsons under a purely vernacular education attain to sufficient efficiency for standing up against their rivals in the modern world of competition? How will a free India, with her citizens trained on this pure *sanatani* model, hold herself erect in World War No. III? War is the supreme test of a nation's efficiency.

4. FUTILITY OF THE ONE-LANGUAGE PROVINCE THEORY

Let us consider two illustrations. The State of Bombay as drawn on our maps is a purely British creation, without any historical, ethnic or linguistic unity of its own. It has

six cultural languages, none of which can be ignored,—Marathi (spoken by less than 50 per cent of the people even in the capital, Bombay City), Gujrati (the speech of the richest and brainiest portion of the population, besides being the home language of the Parsis), Kanarese (the heritage of an intransigent minority with millions of brothers across the border), Portuguese and (or) English (for the large Goan population, because more of the educated and enterprising subjects of Portuguese India live outside Goa territory than within it), and Persian (for the ancient cultural heritage of the Parsis and the daily life of the new immigrants, called Iranis, who are prominent in every commercial quarter and even railway station store). Which of these six languages can you safely exclude from free choice by some section or other of the Presidency's population, as the medium of their education? Remember, these classes form the upper layer of society: they are not Chinese coolies of Hongkong and Canton who speak a broken tongue called *pidgin English*, like the *midgin Hindi* which we use in railway travel. Their cultural ambition will be frustrated and these very important sections of the State population will be rightly antagonised towards the present rulers of Bombay if the monolingual tyranny continues. I have seen B. G. Kher and G. V. Mavalankar speak Marathi and Gujrati (besides English) with equal fluency and correctness. But they are exceptional men and even they have not gone beyond three languages.

5. LINGUISTIC INTRICACY OF N.-E. INDIA INSOLUBLE

Let us pass on to the diametrically opposite side of India. Geography has made our north-eastern corner the most vulnerable point in the country's defence front. Here our boundary with Eastern Pakistan runs in a criss-cross line several hundred miles in length, which cuts Assam and other districts off from the sea to its south by way of the oceanic river Brahmaputra. Its races and languages are as diversified as its geography. The population is made up of pure Bengalis (in Kuch-Bihar

and Tippera), cultural converts to Bengali for over four centuries (in Manipur, Kamrup—Goalpara and Dhubri), Indian natives of the old Ahom kingdom (called *Kolitas* and admitted as Bengalis by the Persian historians), Ahom immigrants of Shan stock now completely Indianized, besides a dozen wild tribes of remote antiquity and historical importance. The language called *Assami* is written in Bengali characters, and its grammar is Bengali, though the vocabulary contains a small number of non-Bengali (Mongoloid?) words also. If grammar and vocabulary be the essence of a language, then *Assami* is only a dialect of Bengali, as Konkani (the Goa vernacular) is of the Marathi language.

Less than 30 per cent of the people of this north-eastern block speak and write *Assami*. The various other tongues when each of them is taken separately, are spoken by even smaller percentages. Among the English-educated people living in this composite province probably as many know Bengali as do *Assami* or both for literary purposes. How can linguistic monopoly be imposed on such a mosaic of tongues and races? And the monopoly of *which* of the local languages?

In war-time our entire north-eastern corner's transport and public services must be run by one united command. Such unity of administration cannot be improvised after the war-clouds have burst; it must be a previously perfected and tested machine.

6. STATESMANSHIP AND COURAGE CAN SAVE UNITY OF INDIA

The conclusion is inescapable that in N.-E. India, as in Bombay, there should be a super-State authority, functioning at the expense of "State rights" which is merely a mask for parochialism and the fissiparous spirit. The whole trend of the history of the U.S.A. has been to curtail the State (*i.e.*, provincial) rights and give the Federal Government more and more power of control in the 33 once-independent colonies. The U.S.A. was saved from the fate of Latin America and prevented from breaking up into the Disunited States of (North) America, only at the expense of a

five years' war, which cost the victor 359,528 lives and the losing side 258,000,—the victims being mostly "the young, the proud, the brave" of the nation.

True leaders must *lead* and not follow the mob like slaves under the lash. Let our ruling V.I.P.'s take warning before the situation, had already, becomes uncontrollable. It will not "outlast my time."

I am sure that half the present bitterness between nationals and undomiciled (foreign locusts! as I have heard the term used), and all the clamour for the transfer of fringe areas to form mono-lingual States, will die out, if we can provide equal opportunities for all citizens of India in all provinces and thus make them realise in their daily lives that "the Republic is one and indivisible" and that the quarrel between the native and the undomiciled (*mulki* and *ghair mulki* in Hyderabad) is only the quarrel of private greed and not one due to political disability imposed by a dominant majority (in the case of N.E. India, by a minority of 30 per cent only) over all others within the State.

7. COMPROMISE PROPOSALS

True statesmanship can prescribe only one remedy. And I shall here repeat an appeal I made elsewhere before:—

I. The youth of the province (both domiciled and new-comers) not speaking the local vernacular, should be left free to study in high

schools and colleges with the English medium (and primary schools teaching their own mother tongue), if they can conduct such institutions for themselves.

2. This academic freedom should be guaranteed by the Constitution (*pace* State rights in respect of education as a transferred subject), and such 'foreign' colleges should be recognised as competent to grant degrees recognisable elsewhere in India. The Union must create a special University Board of its own to supervise, correct and finance them.

3. An equitable subsidy, at the same rate *per capita* of pupils on the rolls as prevails elsewhere in that State, should be paid by the province concerned to such 'foreign' schools and colleges, and the payment enforced by the Union.

4. Catch the most promising lads of every province when young, throw them together in common mess life in the same (Central) institutions as in the case of military cadets, give them the same education at the same place, and then let them compete for the higher administrative services, which are all-Indian. Thus only can our future leaders be fused into one brotherhood, and India escape the Balkanisation on a colossal scale towards which we are rushing amidst the soul-enchanting music of *Ramdhun* and the rattle of a thousand *charkhas* coming from our Raj Bhavans.



A NEW FORCE FOR PEACE

BY SOONG CHING LING (Mme. Sun Yat-sen)

THE old Asia is no more. The new Asia has arisen.

This is a fact of immense importance, encompassing the radically changed status of almost half the world's population. Whoever wants to judge events correctly must make it the premise of his judgment. The vast multitudes of Asia are moving forward to see that long-delayed justice is done, to better their fortunes according to their own design. Nothing can stop them from fulfilling these sacred obligations to themselves, to their countries and to history.

Arising from circumstances brought about by the character and results of World War II, a considerable group of newly-independent countries has emerged in Asia. The conditions under which they won their freedom, and the methods by which it was achieved, were different in many cases. Yet there was a factor common to all: the protracted and unremitting struggle of the peoples against the foreign oppressors of their lands. This had revived on a new foundation, despite all obstacles, the ties that had bound these countries together from remote antiquity. Since winning independence, basing themselves on this priceless heritage, they have forged fresh links—born of the similarity of the problems they face in safeguarding their hard-won freedom, and of their peoples' efforts to throw off the blight of poverty and ignorance.

Having so much in common in their past and present, these nations find themselves of one mind on many vital issues as they take their place in regional and world affairs today. In expressing their own needs and aspirations, they invariably reflect those of the whole of resurgent Asia. This similarity of viewpoint, it is already apparent, is a new force which has come out of the East to influence the affairs of the entire world. Founded on the struggle for the right of self-determination by each people, it asserts the inseparable connection of this goal with the achievement of world peace. With the interweaving of these two struggles, history has entered on a new course.

In times past, it was typical for each nation to fend for itself. The new attitude is

a product of our own epoch, when the interdependence of peoples, nations and regions has been made sharply evident by the scientific advances of Man. It is highlighted with especial sharpness by the facts of life in Asia, where the peoples have suffered so long from outside intrusion and are still suffering from it, where all burn with the desire to lift themselves out of economic and cultural backwardness. As a result, countless millions have come, almost simultaneously, to high political understanding. They know that their progress must be based on a double foundation—independence, which releases the will and genius of each nation; and world peace, which makes possible the co-operation of equals for joint benefit.

The renowned Five Principles, or Panch Shila as they have come to be known in India, are the highest embodiment of this new force for peace. They are:

Mutual respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty ;
Non-aggression ;
Non-interference in each other's internal affairs ;
Equality and mutual benefit :
Peaceful co-existence.

The first international documents to make the Five Principles a guide to relations among States were the joint declarations issued by the Premiers of China, India and Burma in June, 1954. These historic statements grew from both the old and new links between Asian countries. They showed what role these countries have undertaken in present-day world affairs. From the outset, the Five Principles were advanced as a code of conduct not for Asian nations alone but for all nations. Since then, governments everywhere have been urged to state their attitude toward these principles, which can do so much to normalize conditions in the world, avert war, and open up bright prospects for the peoples. As Prime Minister Nehru has put it, Panch Shila is a challenge of Asia to the rest of the world and "each country will have to give a direct answer."

The Democratic Republic of Vietnam responded immediately. In the past year and a half, the Five Principles have been incor-

porated, in letter or spirit, in joint statements by China and the Soviet Union; China and Indonesia; India and Yugoslavia; Burma and Yugoslavia; the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia; the Soviet Union and India; Poland and India; China and Vietnam; the Soviet Union and Vietnam. Many other events have testified to their value, to the responsible chord they have struck among the peoples of the East and the West.

It was the idea of the Five Principles that formed the basis for the restoration of peace in Indo-China through agreements reached at Geneva in 1954. This settlement stipulated respect for the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the three States involved, and non-interference in their internal affairs. That the fuse sputtering in Indo-China did not set off a world-wide explosion was due in a large measure to the positive contributions of Asian States, mainly the Colombo Powers and China. Clearly, the Geneva settlement was reached in the spirit of the Five Principles. Clearly, it is in this spirit that it is meant to be carried out.

India, Burma and Indonesia, three countries which subscribed to the Five Principles, joined with two other Asian States, Pakistan and Ceylon, to call the historic Asian-African Conference. Everyone feels now that this gathering has had worldwide influence. The Bandung Declaration on the Promotion of World Peace and Co-operation included ten principles which were an extension and development of the original five. It gave further evidence that the concept of peaceful co-existence, in the minds of the vast populations of Asia and Africa, is directly linked with their own national demands.

The Five Principles, and the results reached in Asia by their application, had their deep effect in helping to bring about the long-awaited meeting of the heads of governments of the Soviet Union, the United States, Britain and France at Geneva last July. One cannot separate from them the fact that the ambassadors of the United States and China sat down, in August, at the same table to discuss immediate outstanding problems.

What is the great hope that the Five Principles, reflecting the new forces for peace, arouse among the peoples? What is it that wins such world-wide confidence in these ideas, not entirely new in themselves, which have issued from the heart of Asia at this particular juncture in history?

The answers to these questions are connected with the facts of our time. True, such principles had been voiced as policy before, in the United Nations Charter for instance. But the peoples had seen them announced only to be side-tracked; they had seen the United Nations turned into a voting machine to rubber-stamp the actions of certain ambitious powers. They saw the resolving of important international problems impeded instead of being promoted. They saw relations between States deteriorate. They saw the Far East ablaze with two wars. The world seemed headed for a holocaust. But this ran counter to the hope and desire of the peoples, who had had more than enough of war. Because there had been an immense political awakening in all corners of the earth, the peoples began to speak out. A peace movement of tremendous proportions developed. There were States of a new type in the world, whose own interests required that the people's voice be heard at all times, that the nations return to negotiations as a way of settling problems, that every government pledge itself not to resort to force.

Taking impetus from the actions of the world-wide peace movement and of these States, the Five Principles emerged from the East. They appeared at a moment when the peoples, wearied by tension and fear, were seeking for an end to the "cold war" that poisoned all things, and an end to the monstrous threat of atomic slaughter. Moreover, the leaders and nations who put forward the Five Principles were obviously sincere. These ancient Asian lands, which have a long history of amicable relations with each other, and which need peace today for their own progress, were proposing a fair, simple way for all nations to live together in peace.

The answer to the peoples' urgent search for avoidance of world catastrophe came from an entirely believable source. It was no preaching from suspect mouths, no piece of fine-sounding but empty oratory. It was advanced as a guide to action by those already acting on it. The peoples, judging it to be a constructive step to peace, gave it confidence and support. Events soon proved them right, because the Five Principles not only sound well but, as the past year's events have shown, are very practical politics.

What has the application of the Five Principles proved? First, it has shown the validity of their basic premise: that while all peoples seek a fruitful, healthy existence, each

wants to pursue this goal in its own way, consonant with its own history and conditions. If this premise is accepted, all countries which observe the Five Principles in letter or spirit, no matter how they may differ in structure and customs, are honour-bound to treat and respect others as equals.

Secondly, practice has shown that where respect and equality exist, what the peoples have in common is stressed, and differences are not allowed to grow into antagonisms. When none wishes conflict, outstanding questions between States can be sincerely negotiated. What is more, observance of the Five Principles does not merely prevent antagonism and conflict. It leads positively to the enrichment of mutual understanding, it increases co-operation, it benefits the peoples, and it consolidates international peace.

This is the heart of the Five Principles. This is why they have captured public imagination on all continents and come to the forefront of the world scene.

It was three Asian States—China, India and Burma—which voiced the principles that have won such broad and growing support. In making their big contribution to extending the area of peace in the world, they greatly enhanced their own international position. Never in the modern era have the nations of Asia stood so firmly on their own feet as they do now, defending their own rights and at the same time showing how tolerance and wisdom may be exercised in foreign affairs. Asia has broken with the past, entered an entirely new phase of historical development, and in so doing helped the whole world in the solution of its problems.

Gone for ever are the times when Asian peoples had to tolerate dictation from the outside. Asia is no longer an echo in foreign policy, in deciding which way the world, of which it is so large a part, shall travel. Asia

has ideas of her own. They harmonize with those of others who seek peace, justice and co-operation among peoples. They are directly opposed to those of any government that seeks domination over the rest, that sees peoples and regions as war material for its own ends.

This harmony and (this opposition) are (not) fortuitous. (They spring from) life (itself.) They are a manifestation of the great positive fact of our twentieth century, the standing up of the peoples against oppression wherever and in whatever guise it appears.

It was in the process of the struggle to drive imperialist oppression from their soil and open the path to progress for their peoples that China, India, Burma and other Asian nations revived old links and forged the new ones from which the Five Principles sprang. Our friendship, maturing today, was born in that fiery crucible. Needing peace, knowing that peace coincides with the desires of the majority of mankind, our Asian nations have found how to use their own extensive areas of agreement to generate a new force for world tranquillity.

This has helped to create the climate for further relaxation of international tensions. We are proud that we have played our part in easing the hearts of the peoples. The way we advocate respects the sovereign rights of nations, and regards all as equal. We are sure, therefore, that it will make ceaseless headway in the settlement of outstanding problems.

My own country, China, will continue to seek good relations in this spirit with all nations, East and West. By word and deed, we will strive for the building of mutual confidence and for a relaxed world atmosphere. We will continue to act as the peoples of the world wish, and as the times demand. We will work for peace on earth, for the enjoyment by all peoples of the fruits of their labour and the joy of life.

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DEMOCRATISATION OF EDUCATION

By SUSHAMA SEN GUPTA, M.A.,
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RECENTLY I came across a publication entitled *Seven Years of Freedom*, published by the Ministry of Education, Government of India, about a year ago. There is one chapter in it entitled "The Democratisation of Education." It says that

"With Independence and the Constitution that

embodied its triumph the democratisation of education had begun. This process of flinging wide the gates of learning to the millions is many-sided, and one of the most important of its aspects is the introduction on a large scale of scholarships at all stages of education."

Going through the article, I looked up the dictionary for the meaning of the word "democracy." I am a student of politics and

at one time, learnt the definition of the term and in these days of controversy between democracy and totalitarianism, there is no one in the world from the President to the *panwalla* who does not have a say about the word. Each of the two great political groups in which the world is divided today, calls itself "democratic" and there is no third superior body that may settle the dispute or convince either about the truth or otherwise of their claims and the common man is bewildered. Being a student of politics and also one of the crowd, I too have my ideas about this much-talked-of word, but still there may be other meanings which might have escaped me and so I consulted the dictionary. The dictionary says that it means *government of the people* and also *the principle that all citizens have equal political rights*. The word "democracy" though originally having only political significance has now come to be used also in the general sense of having equal rights and I take it that it was in this sense that the article mentioned above, has been written and so I shall discuss its contents in that light.

I find that the achievements in the field of this democratisation of education claimed by the ministry is divided into two parts, one is the "flinging wide" of "the gates of learning to millions" and the other is the provision of scholarships on a large scale for specialised education.

Unfortunately it is too well-known, how wide these gates of learning have been flung open for our millions. Not to speak of the poorer sections (the so-called lower classes) who yet do not bother about education or realise that education is a vital necessity for the fulfilment of man's aspirations and the realisation of his ultimate self, even the middle class people, the so-called *bhadra loks*, are at their wit's end when faced with the problem of educating two, three or four children, which they feel they must. I myself am the head of a Secondary school and I know how many children have to be refused free admission every year and how many are unable to pay regularly even when admitted as regular paying students and this is the case with every school and then there are not enough schools even for the children whose parents can pay.

If all our children and all our adults who had not the opportunity of education during an alien rule, have the equal right to education now, how is our government discharging their duty in the realisation of that right? We do not find the answer to that in this chapter,

which is entitled "democratisation of education."

The fact that the number of educational institutions has multiplied after the Independence and with it the number of pupils who are taught therein, has been proudly stated in the appendices given at the end of the book giving statistical figures. Do these figures mean anything? Schools have been established here and there, but not with a definite State policy, aiming at liquidation of illiteracy or providing adequate education for the masses, neither are most of these schools opened by the government. In this big city of Calcutta there are only four government schools for boys and two for girls and the rest are run by private enterprise. Some of these receive Government subventions which cover but a very small percentage of the total expenditure of these schools. But with all this enhanced number, it does not provide free education to children. Education is still out of reach of most of the common men, and keen as the middle classes are for giving education to their children, it is managed somehow at the cost of the health of children, by underfeeding them and denying them the minimum demands required for their health. The health of most of the school children is poor. Have the Government any reason to be proud of the increase of the general education of our children in this way?

True, for more than a quarter of a century, the Corporations, Municipalities and District Boards are entrusted with the task of providing free education to the children, but the number of the schools run by them is insufficient, and so far as Calcutta is concerned we know that the schools are ill-housed, ill-equipped and ill-cared-for, so that many who really care for their children's education are unwilling to send them there.

Where the children are given free education those who receive always suffer from an inferiority complex and those who impart it suffer from a sense of lofty superiority of doing charity. The poorer classes receiving free education, do not feel that they are enjoying a right and not receiving charity and so they are ashamed to complain, obliged as they feel for the little good that is done them.

This is how the gates of learning have been flung open to our millions. Then coming to the other aspects of democratisation, we find in existence in this country, various types of schools, the Government schools, the P.M. schools "run on lines of English Public schools," where they have "the chance to develop quali-

ties of leadership" and schools claiming high fees backed by rich people that have good buildings, better paid staff and equipments and then there are missionary schools and convents, etc., etc. Can we call this equal right and equal opportunity for all citizens to receive good education? Why the Government of India even after the achievement of Independence should allow all this distinction to remain is hard for the people to comprehend? Why should there be any school marked "Government schools" in a country that calls itself democratic? Is it not the government "of the people" and "for the people"? Has not the Government a duty and obligation to educate all its citizens and give all of them equally good education? Why should the Government provide all expenditure of some schools termed "Government schools" and why should the organisers of other schools who have spent their life-time in the cause of education, have to go about with a begging bowl throughout their life to improve the institutions built up by them? Good or bad work is not recognised, originality, freshness and vitality is not given any recognition, in the words of a Bengali proverb there is "the same rate for *muri* and *murki*."

Our Ministry informs us that the Public schools offer "the Secondary school child the special benefits of character-training, training in citizenship and the chance to develop qualities of leadership." Without going into the merits of the necessity of the existence of such highly expensive schools in the present background, it can be safely stated that the special chance of that special training is available only to a handful. The Ministry informs us that entry into this *sanctum sanctorum* has been made available by scholarships and in the year 1953-54, 57 candidates were selected out of a thousand candidates. About the total seats in the school there is no mention. The paper goes on to speak of other scholarships also, about research scholarship in humanities, science and technology, foreign scholarships, etc., and there the article ends, giving at the last paragraph again a statistical report of the increase in women's education, leaving us bewildered in a labyrinth to find our way to the democratisation of education.

These scholarships granted to meritorious students to secure places so far closely preserved for a favoured section of the people is regarded by our Ministry of Education as the *summum bonum* of democratisation and that is what made me look up my dictionary and

I leave it to my readers to judge how far the equal right of all to education has been recognised or followed according to this report and what is the sense of this glorious caption.

We do not understand why any special institution should be allowed to remain in this country which calls itself democratic. If any special educational method is invented to prepare a better kind of character or citizen, why that knowledge should not be made known or the method introduced in every school, passes our comprehension. Why even in these days of democracy "Vedas" which mean knowledge should be deemed to be unsuitable for "Sudras" which in modern days mean the unfortunate poor? As for the justification of the existence of these special institutions for preparing leaders, does it not sound like a huge joke to think of adorning the top floor, without laying the foundation? Great leaders in history sprang from the people and were not brought out ready-made from factories.

Coming recently from a country, the U.S.S.R., which is called an undemocratic country, I cannot but here put in a few words about what I have noticed there regarding education. There all the schools are run by Government, no private or special schools are allowed, there is no difference in the curriculum of any school, there are no different schools for man or woman, high or low, no school for preparing leaders though that country believed in dictatorship. There are one hundred and twelve languages in the U.S.S.R. and there are schools imparting education through the medium of all these languages. There are scholarships at the University stage, where education is not compulsory and 96 per cent of the University students are given scholarships. Education is at present compulsory for 7 years from the age of seven to fourteen and during the next five years' plan, from 1956 to 1960, the State is bringing in the whole of ten years' school-course within the span of its compulsory educational scheme. For those who have to leave school at the end of seven or ten years to earn a livelihood, there are elaborate arrangements of special education of various types, and people in great numbers at the field, factory or office avail themselves of the opportunity thus afforded. Examples are not rare where an ordinary labourer has risen to be the director of the firm by learning while earning. The people all over are enthused with a great thirst for knowledge and the State has made ample provision for them to quench their thirst. New

attempts and experiments are being made every day on a huge scale to bring all the branches and stages of education within the reach of all. We could not but be struck with the real "democratisation" so far as education is concerned, that is going on there.

Twenty-five years ago, when Tagore visited that country he was struck with the vigorous attempt of that State, which was still in its infancy, in spreading education far and wide, not excluding the nomadic Mongolian tribes of the desert countries of Central Asia and he thought that there lay their salvation. He disliked dictatorship, but he said that if they wanted the continuance of dictatorship, if they wanted to continue methods of violence and oppression which was a natural consequence of revolution, disorder and turmoil, they would not have launched upon this huge programme of education of their people. And that is what we also heard today. When we asked the people of the U.S.S.R., if their State believed in democracy, they said:

"If our State did not believe in democracy it would not have cared to educate us in this way, we would have been kept ignorant as we had been kept during the Tsarist regime. Education develops power of understanding and people educated would naturally understand the difference between good and evil and criticise."

We have, however, seen them thirty-two years after they could stabilise themselves after the revolution, which they did in 1923. But it must be remembered that during this period their people had to withstand the holocaust that came in the trail of the onslaught of the mightiest military power ever conceived of. In spite of that they are now cent per cent educated, versed not only in 3 R's but educated in the real sense of the term that enables one to realise his position in a modern State. Even the blind and crippled are not lost sight of and we have seen how meticulously and tenderly these unfortunate children's education is looked after. Education to sick children who are suffering from chronic maladies is imparted at hospitals and along with doctors and nurses these hospitals are provided with teachers. We visited such institutions.

After a hundred and fifty years of slavery and servitude we have attained freedom. Now is the time to eradicate the evils of ignorance and illiteracy and that must be given top priority. We do not all at once want our children to have pilau and kabab, but rice and dal should first be provided to all, followed as

quickly as possible by fish, meat, milk, vegetables and fruits. Then and then only can we think of delicacies.

So in the case of education, is there any necessity in this poor country of ours for "Public schools after English models" at this stage? If we want to democratise education should not our first charge be free and compulsory education for all, and then when that has been achieved to go up step by step? To say that Indians are so fond of education that "compulsion" in education is not necessary, is to wink at facts. A poor parent would rather have his very young son and daughter earn something rather than study at school, they would also sometimes be afraid that by being educated their children might not want to take up 'low' work. So compulsion is necessary. While in U.S.S.R. we were asked over and over again what the Indian Government has done about educating the masses after the departure of the English. We were at a loss what to say, so we made excuses about our difficulties and so on and said that we are improving and hope to improve as time goes on. But at heart we were thoroughly ashamed and felt that we had nothing to say, nothing to be satisfied or speak about.

Our shortcomings are sought to be justified on the plea of the extreme youth of the State. But at the age of eight a child takes care of many of its things and it begins to show its genius.

What is to be mostly deplored is not that we have not achieved great things in so short a time, but there is no sign of a proper beginning. We may not expect a tree, but where is the shoot? The shortcomings or difficulties of the Government could have been appreciated if these were acknowledged with understanding, but the most dangerous thing is this self-satisfaction, this attempt to deceive self and others of having done a lot while doing practically nothing. This self-complacency of those in power makes us feel that we have very little to expect from our present Government.

We know that the first thing to make Independence and Democracy successful after providing food to its people is to provide education. All the peoples of the world, democratic or undemocratic, have accepted it and we wonder when India would fall in line with this great march of races towards knowledge and more knowledge, and knowledge as we in India know also is the only source of strength and salvation.

GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT OF INDIA

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III

Flora and Fauna

FORESTS : TYPES AND RESOURCES

INDIA is very rich in forests, which cover 18 per cent of the total area (2,65,932 sq. miles) of the country. It is estimated that 25 per cent of the land area of a country under forests is normally adequate. North America covers 33.3 per cent; Central and S. America 38.9 per cent; U.S.S.R. 45 per cent; N. Europe 48 per cent; Central and S. Europe 22 per cent and Western Europe 17.7 per cent; Africa (excluding N. Africa) 22 per cent; S. and East Asia 23 per cent, and Pacific area 6.3 per cent,¹ while Indian forests cover only 18 per cent of the total land area. Compared with other countries this is a low proportion. Also the distribution of forests is erratic, e.g., the eastern region has 36.4 million acres or 20.63 per cent of land under forests while the north-western region only 29.87 million acres or 10.70 per cent; the central region 39.69 million acres or 29.92 per cent and southern region 43.5 million acres or 18.82 per cent.²

Let us have a brief idea of the forest types available in India. From the slopes of the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, and from the dry tracts of Rajasthan to the eastern limits of the Assam hills, there is an infinite variety of forest types.

(i) Where rainfall is adequate and its distribution satisfactory *Evergreen Forests* develop, consisting of lofty, dense and evergreen trees with numerous epiphytic ferns, mosses, orchids and aroids. These forests are found throughout the Western Ghats from Bombay southwards to North and South Kanara, Tinnevelly, Mysore, Coorg, Coimbatore, Travancore and the Andamans; and in North-east India in sub-montane divisions of North Bengal, and the coastal strips of Orissa and Assam. The trees of economic importance are ebony, palm, bamboo, mahogany and sandalwood.

1. *The National Forest Policy of India* (1952), pp. 4-5.

2. *The First Five-Year Plan* (1951), p. 295.

(i) The Eastern Region covers Assam, Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal, Manipur, Tripura and Andaman and Nicobar Islands;

(ii) The Central Region covers M.P., M.B., Bhopal and Vidhya Pradesh; (iii) The North-western Region covers V.P., Kashmir, Pepsu, Rajasthan, Saurashtra, Ajmer, Bilaspur, Delhi, Kutch and Himachal Pradesh; (iv) The Southern Region covers Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad, Mysore, Travancore-Cochin and Coorg.

Vide India, 1954, p. 8.

(ii) Under less copious rainfall *Deciduous Forests* occur, containing teak or *sal*, rosewood, kine, bamboo, terminalias, mulberry, *susu*, myrabolans and a large number of valuable trees. This type is generally found along the eastern side of Western Ghats, in portions of M.P., Bombay and Madras and in drier parts of Coorg, the western portions of Mysore, Cochin and Travancore. In the north this type is distributed practically throughout Northern India, especially in U.P., Bihar, Orissa, West Bengal and Assam.

(iii) Where rainfall is still less, *Thorn Forests* appear in which the vegetation becomes sparse and consists of acacias, prosopis, tamarix and albizzias and other thorny bushes. This type occurs in Central India throughout the dry region of the Indian peninsula, to the lee of the Western Ghats, from the extreme south up to Indore and Bhopal, being prominent in Madras, Mysore, Hyderabad and Bombay; and in the S.-W. Punjab, Rajasthan and in portions of U.P.

(iv) In the *Himalayan Temperate and Alpine Forests*, pines, spruce, cypress, junipers, deodars, firs, oaks and chestnut flourish according to elevation and aspect.

Besides these types, there also occur four additional types of forests which are determined by edaphic factors. They are:

(v) The *Beach Forests* which extend all along the coast where a sandy beach occurs. Strong salt-laden winds render the habitat xerophytic. At other places, small evergreen and deciduous trees and numerous shrubs occur; where open, the maritime grass and other surface creepers which bind the sand are conspicuous.

(vi) *Tidal Forests* are found on ground near the sea coast which is flooded with slightly brackish water at high tide. Such forests occur at the mouths of the Mahanadi, the Krishna and the Godavari and in the Ganges and Brahmaputra deltas. The forest is closed evergreen, having species like *garjan*, *bogla*, *sundri*, etc.

(vii) *Fresh Water Swamp Forests* occur above the salt water limit on wet alluvium at the head of big deltas of rivers in parts of Assam, Bengal, U.P. and Madras. These forests are rather an open crop of evergreen trees containing *kadam*, *pandanus*, etc.

(viii) *Riverine Forests* are confined to the banks of larger rivers consisting of new or fresh alluvium. The most characteristic trees are *khair*, *sissoo*, tamarix, growing throughout the northern belt from the Punjab to Assam.

EFFECTS OF FORESTS

Indian flora is rich both in composition and value. India has 2,500 species of wood of which about 450 are commercially used for extracting acetic acid, acetone, methyl alcohol, oils, valuable creosote and valuable drugs like sulphonamide and chloroform. Forests are indispensable for national development and for the full growth of civilization. "Indeed, civilization has been nursed, nourished and grown to manhood in the regions of temperate natural vegetation." A French proverb rightly says, "Forests precede civilisation but deserts precede them." To an agricultural country like India, the importance of forests can hardly be exaggerated. They increase the fertility of the soil on which they grow. They have a moderating effect on temperature. Trees act as pumps tapping the ground water from considerable depths and transferring it as moisture to the air, thus increasing humidity. The sudden change in the climate of many parts of India is largely due to indiscriminate destruction of forests. By draining the marshy swamps they increase the water-holding capacity of dry soil and prevent floods.³ Apart from these indirect advantages, their direct advantages are also very numerous. Indian forests provide employment to millions of people such as wood-cutters, sawyers, carters, carriers and raftsmen.⁴ They provide fodder for about 13 million cattle, 3 million buffaloes and 9 million other animals. Grazing in States forests yields about Rs. 95 lakhs of revenue annually.⁵ They also give habitation to a number of hill-tribes and provide about 1.8 million tons of timber every year and other major forest-produce of the value of Rs. 171,648 besides supplying various raw materials like tans, dyes, bamboos, cane fibre, flosses and grasses, honey, lac, resin, wax, gums, etc., for our industries.

But in spite of so much importance to the national economy of India, the forest resources have not been fully exploited. The

basic causes responsible for the state of affairs are: Colossal destruction of forests by proprietary rights; inadequate protection from fire; plant diseases; over-grazing of cattle; incomplete utilisation of forest wealth due to the lack of a well-conceived system of working plans; general absence of facilities for seasoning and preserving timbers; inadequate research with regard to utilisation of forest produce; and above all the want of adequate trained personnel for conserving and developing forest wealth; lack of information regarding quantities of timber; undeveloped means of transport of the forest products available in our forests including high freight charged by railway for them and the inaccessibility of forest areas.⁶

In connection with forests, the most important problem in India is to increase the area under forests, to preserve the existing species of trees available in this country, and to introduce new possible species. In May 1952, the forest policy resolution of Government of India emphasized the need of developing and reserving Indian forests. The aim is to maintain one-third of the total area in the country under forests. In the Himalayas, the Deccan and the mountainous regions the proportion of land under forests will be as high as 80 per cent while in plains it would be about 20 per cent of the total. In its policy of forest development, the First Five-Year Plan provides for renovation of areas which were exploited during the war years; afforestation of badly eroded areas; development of forest communications; development of village plantations for overcoming the shortage of fuel; and increasing the use of non-conventional species after proper seasoning and treatment of chemical methods.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

India produces a wide variety of crops not only of the tropical and sub-tropical but also of the temperate zones. The most important among the tropical products are rice, coffee, millets, sugarcane, tapioca, pine-apple, jute, spices, cinchona and banana. The chief sub-tropical crops are cotton, tea, opium and tobacco. Of the products of the temperate zone, the most important are wheat, maize, barley, pulses, potato, hemp, flax and various kinds of fruits.

The periodicity of the season often allows of two and in a few cases three harvests in the year. The total cultivated area annually is

3. According to Mr. C. R. Ranganathan, President, F.R.I. and Colleges, Dehradun, "In defending the land against the evils of erosion, aridity and climatic excesses, forests perform services no less valuable and no more expressible in terms of money than those rendered by the defence forces of a country."—Vide *Our Forests*.

4. *Census of India, 1951, Vol. I, A.P.*

5. *The First Five-Year Plan, p. 291.*

6. G. B. Mamoria : *Agricultural Problems of India*, pp. 101-2.

266 million acres. Double cropping is possible in about 36 million acres of the total cultivated area of India. The two main crops are *kharif* and *rabi*. The main *kharif* crops are rice, jawar, bazra, maize, cotton, sugarcane, sesamum, urd, mung, tobacco, forage grasses and leafy vegetables, and the main *rabi* crops are wheat, barley, gram, linseed, rape and mustard, peas and beans, scrub-fodder root and tuber vegetables. In humid regions, *zaid* or *catch* crops are also raised; the crops being melon, water melon, cucumber and leafy and tuber vegetables.

It is interesting to note that in India we have regional specialisation of crops. Rice is grown in the Ganges valley, the mountainous districts of the Punjab, U.P., Bihar, West Bengal, Assam, Western Ghats and the coastal belts of Orissa and Madras. Wheat is extensively cultivated in the Punjab, Pepsu, U.P., M.P., M.B., Ajmer and Eastern Rajasthan. Sugarcane is grown in the Gangetic Plain, Madras, Mysore, Orissa, Hyderabad and the Punjab. Oilseeds such as groundnut, linseed, castor, beans, rape and sesamum are grown in northern Madras and S.E. Rajasthan. Cotton happens to be a special product in specific regions of Bombay, M.P., M.B., Rajasthan, Mysore and the Punjab. Tea is cultivated mainly in the Assam Hills and the Darjeeling and Nilgiri Hills, while coffee is of special interest in Coorg, Madras and Mysore. Tobacco has spread itself over the whole of India, major contributions generally coming from West Bengal, Bihar, U.P. and Rajasthan. Jute is largely grown in Cooch-Bihar, Assam, West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa coastal regions. Rubber, pepper and cardamom plantations are to be found in the Annamalai and Cardamom Hills. Thick coconut groves along the Malabar coast yield coir and copra; the bulk of the country's supply of cashew nuts also comes from these parts.⁷

LIVE-STOCK

India is rich in live-stock and possesses nearly 1/7th of the live-stock population of the world excluding U.S.S.R. According to the 1951 Cattle Census, the total live-stock population in India is 292 $\frac{1}{4}$ million, of which cattle are 155 million, buffaloes 43 $\frac{1}{2}$ million, sheep nearly 39 million, goats 47 million, pigs less than 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ million, horses and ponies 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ million and donkeys 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ million. camels 629,000 and mules 69,000. In addition to this we have 67.13 million fowls and 6.26 million ducks. But on

the whole, the quality of cattle and other live-stock in India is very poor. The average yield of milk per cow per annum in India is only 413 lbs. as against 2000-7000 lbs. in other countries of the world. There are in India some good-quality cattle. Among the best cows in India are *Sahiwal* (Punjab) and *Gir* (Saurashtra). The important breeds of bullocks are *Hisar* and *Hansi* (Punjab), *Nellore* (Madras), *Amrit Mahal* (Mysore), *Kankres* (Gujarat), *Kangyam* (Madras), *Malwi* and *Nimari* (M.P.), *Malwi*, *Nagori* and *Tharparkar* (Rajasthan). The best breeds of buffaloes are *Murrah* (Punjab), *Jeffrabadi* (Saurashtra), *Mehasana* and *Surti* (Bombay). At the same time a large percentage of population is non-descript. They are uneconomic producers. Malnutrition is perhaps the greatest single factor responsible for the degeneration of cattle to their present state. Improper and insufficient care, ignorance and lethargy of the people and promiscuous mating are some of the atrocities which are also responsible for this degeneration. The result is that the ill-famished cattle are a drain on country's resources as they cannot drag the heavy plough nor work efficiently as draught animals.

Then there are a large variety of wild animals and birds but unfortunately "some of our notable animals such as, lions, rhinoceros, tragopan, cheetah are on the verge of extinction."

FISHERIES

The long coastline of India has numerous estuaries, salt water lakes and back waters for marine fish, and rivers, canals, tanks and inundated tracts for fresh water fish. Fisheries contribute to about Rs. 10 crores annually to the national income of India. The production of sea fish in India amounts to nearly 100 lakh mds. per annum while that of fresh water fish amounts to less than 50 lakh mds. per annum. Including imports the total supply of fish in India is nearly 270 lakh mds. per annum, out of which nearly 70 per cent is sea and estuarine fish and 30 per cent is fresh water fish. This gives a supply of 34 lbs. of fish per capita per annum which is completely insufficient. The per capita consumption of fish in Travancore-Cochin, West Bengal and Bombay is higher than in U.P., Bihar and the Punjab and negligible in M.B., M.P. and Rajasthan, etc. Of the total population only about 32 million people consisting of Vaisyas, Brahmins and Jains do not take fish because of religious injunctions. In many cases among the non-vegetarians, the

⁷ Mamoria: *Op. cit.*, p. 38 and *India Reference Annual*, 1954, p. 9.

reference for vegetarian diet is due to non-availability of fish or its high price.

WATER RESOURCES

In India, there are enormous water resources as there are many rivers and some water-falls, but unfortunately they are not being properly harnessed for more than one reasons. Most part of the rainfall is concentrated in a comparatively short period. The rivers carry large volumes of water during this period, a large portion of which goes unutilized because it is neither physically possible to divert, nor economic to store, all but a small portion of this flow. Secondly, the volume of water, in the rivers, also varies from year to year, whereas development schemes can be executed only when the supply is assured for continuous use. Thirdly, in areas of high rainfall, irrigation is either not necessary or is needed only to a very limited extent. Nearly 1356 million acre feet of water flows down the rivers of India per year but only 76 million acre feet or 5.6 per cent of it is used for irrigation purposes. It is estimated that nearly 450 million acre feet of water can be utilised for purposes of irrigation. The area irrigated in India is nearly 51½ million acres, out of which nearly 21 million acres (41.2 per cent) are irrigated by canals, less than 15 m. acres (31 per cent) by wells, less than 9 m. acres (16.7 per cent) by tanks and a little more than 7 m. acres (11 per cent) from other sources. Out of this total irrigated area, grain crops occupy more than 30 m. acres. 41.4 per cent of the total irrigated area is under rice; 15.4 per cent under wheat; 23.6 per cent under other cereals and pulses; 5.9 per cent under sugarcane; 2.4 per cent under cotton and 11 per cent under other crops.⁸

As India is essentially an agricultural country, the need for sufficient water supply is always great. The uncertainty of rainfall distribution as regards both time and place and the irregularity in distribution throughout the year, the absence of winter rains and the necessity for more water for some crops like rice and sugarcane, are the chief reasons which make irrigation necessary. India occupies an important place in irrigation in the whole world. Roughly about one-third of the total irrigated areas of the world lies in India. The physical factors responsible for such development are:

(i) The rivers rising from the Himalayas are perennial and hence provide a constant supply of water.

8. *Agricultural Situation in India* (November, 1954), p. 70.

(ii) The slope of the plain is so gradual that the canals which are taken out in the upper courses of the rivers can easily irrigate the land in the lower valleys.

(iii) There is an absolute lack of rocky ground in Northern India, and therefore canals are easily dug, but in Southern India, presence of rocky surface favours the construction of tanks and embankments.

(iv) The soil is fertile which makes the greatest use of irrigation for raising both food and non-food crops required for feeding the country's vast population and the newly developed industries.

These geographical factors have determined the predominance of particular types of irrigation in particular portions of the country. It is for this reason that the alluvial tract of North India, *viz.*, U.P., Punjab, West Bengal, Bihar, etc., is specially suitable for canals and wells; in crystalline tracts like those of Mysore, Hyderabad, Madras, S.-E. Rajasthan, irrigation from tanks and embankments is most extensive; and in certain other parts, especially East U.P., East Punjab, Rajasthan, Bombay, Madras, W. Punjab and M.B., considerable areas are cultivated under wells. The areas irrigated in India are distributed as 2.6 m. acres in the Himalayan regions, 25.2 m. acres in Northern Plain regions, 9.3 m. acres in Peninsular Hills and Plateau regions; 1.6 m. acres in the Western Ghats and Coastal regions and 10.0 m. acres in the Eastern Ghats and Coastal regions. In spite of it, India is not able to satisfy her entire demand for irrigation. Only 18 per cent of her total cultivated land gets irrigation.⁹ Greater emphasis has, therefore, been laid on the extension of irrigation. By 1955-56 the schemes included under the Five-Year Plan will add 19.7 m. acres to 51½ m. acres already under irrigation, of which major irrigation projects would irrigate 8.5 m. acres and minor irrigation projects 11.2 m. acres.

Irrigation facilities have tremendously affected agriculture, population and trade in places of habitually deficient rainfall and the areas that lie in the famine zone. They have averted the great disaster that might have been brought about by chronic droughts and have saved millions of people from death. In fact, they have banished the grim spectre of famine, and brought peace, prosperity and a higher standard of living to the whole country.¹⁰

• Secondly, increase in irrigated land has been a boon to the cultivators, for not only

9. The comparative figures for Japan are 55 per cent, Pakistan 48 per cent, China 46 per cent, Indonesia and Malaya, each 60 per cent and Ceylon 17 per cent.—*United Asia, Food Supplement, 1950*, p. 158.

10. Bernard Darley in *Economic Problems of Modern India*, Vol. I, p. 167.

the output of their fields is ensured in ordinary years of drought, but also the amount of produce is very largely increased in ordinary years at a comparatively low cost.¹¹

Thirdly, commercial crops have monopolised the irrigated zones, e.g., jute is confined to the fertile deltas of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra and sugarcane to U.P. and Bihar.¹² In a way, India adds, by means of canals, every year an Egypt to its land.

Fourthly, besides the above benefits, irrigation yields a handsome profit of 7 to 8 per cent¹³ to the Government.

WATER POWER

India's water power potential is estimated at 40 million k.w.; but the installed capacity amounted to only 2.30 million k.w.s. on January 1, 1954. This shows that having regard to the vast area of the country, its vast population and its great potential water power resources a very insignificant amount has been exploited so far. The ratio between the total water power development in various countries and their estimated power is : U.S.S.R. 34 per cent; France 32 per cent; Germany 54 per cent; Switzerland 67 per cent; Sweden 27 per cent; Norway 53 per cent; Canada 34 per cent; U.S.A. 24 per cent and India only 1 per cent. The per capita electricity production in Norway is 5,529 kwt.; in Canada 4,282 kwt.; in Sweden 2,904 kwt. and in U.S.A. 2,541 kwt. The use of electricity in India is very limited at present. The average per capita consumption of electricity is only 14 kwt. per year, as compared to 1,100 kwt. in the U.K., 2,207 kwt. in U.S.A. and 3,905 kwt in Canada.¹⁴ In Switzerland, the production of electricity is 2,252 kwt.; in New Zealand 1,519 kwt.; in U.K. 1,229 kwt.; in Japan 505 kwt., while in India it is only 17 kwt.¹⁵ This is but natural in

11. The Advisory Board of I.C.A.R. holds that the production of irrigated crops per acre is on an average 50 or 100 per cent higher than that of unirrigated crops in the same locality (Vide, Mamoria: *Op. cit.*, p. 293).

12. C. W. E. Cotton: *Handbook of Commercial Information for India*, p. 146, p. 156.

13. C. A. Knowles: *Economic Development of British Empire Overseas*, Vol. I, pp. 367-68.

Cf. In some cases it is even more, e.g., in Madras, Cavery Delta System yields about 14 per cent on the capital outlay; Krishna Delta System, 16 per cent; Upper Bari Doab in Punjab, 21 per cent; Eastern Jamuna Canal and the Ganga Canals in U.P., 63 per cent and 25 per cent respectively.—Vide, *The First Five-Year Plan*, p. 371.

14. *The Five-Year Plan*, p. 345.

15. *United Nations Monthly Bulletin of Statistics for August, 1953*. In India, of the total production of electricity, 78 per cent is consumed as domestic light; 16 per cent as commercial light; 4 per cent as industrial light and only 2 per cent for irrigation.

Vide *India 1954*, p. 181.

the present state of industrial backwardness. The exploitation of hydro-power depends not only on the flow of water at the hydraulic head, but also upon the accessibility of the site to heavy machinery and its distance from load centres, the cost of storage and the manner in which it is proposed to use the power. The seasonal variation in the flow of most Indian rivers is a particularly important factor. The construction of dams to ensure an even supply of water throughout the year also adds considerably to the capital outlay.

The following power zones may be noticed :

(1) The most important region of potential hydro-electric power lies along the foot of the Himalayas from East Punjab to Assam. Here the snow-fed streams debouch on the Indian plains and while descending they form waterfalls suitable for the generation of power. But having regard to the economic limitations of long distance power transmission it will not be possible for some time to come, to feed India's present major industrial centres with Himalayan power.

(2) The second power zone lies along the western boundary of the great Deccan Plateau. This region has contributed to about 80 per cent to India's total power production.

(3) The third water power region of much lesser intensity in comparison with the first two lies along the Satpura, Vindhya, Mahadeo, and Maikal Ranges in Central India and M. Pradesh.

(4) The fourth region, really speaking, is the thermal power region. It extends from Calcutta in the east to Nagpur in the west and embraces mostly the coalfields of Gondwana belt lying in West Bengal, S. Bihar, Eastern M.B. and M.P. This thermal power region overlaps a major part of the third hydel power region.¹⁶

Possibilities are, therefore, immense in India for the development of water power. It is estimated that the generating capacity would be increased by 1.1 m. kwt. within the Plan period and by 1.4 m. kwt. when the projects in hand are completed. The problem in India is not only to increase the supply of electric energy but to make it available at cheap rates so that the cultivator, the artisan and the factories might get an adequate supply of cheap power.

(To be continued)

16. The important Hydro-electric works in India with generating capacity are :

(a) In W. India : (i) Tata Hydro-electric Works, Bombay, 60,000 kw.; (ii) Andhra Valley Power Co., Bombay, 66,000 kw.; (iii) Tata Power Co., Bombay, 10,000 kw.

(b) In S. India : (i) Pyakara Power Project, Madras, 38,750 kw.; (ii) Mettur Hydro-electric Works, 40,000 kw.; (iii) Papanasam Project, 17,400 kw.; (iv) Pallivasal Hydro-electric Works in Travancore, 13,500 kw.; (v) Sivasamudram Hydro-electric Works, Mysore, 42,000 kw.

INDIAN FEDERATION

PROF. JATINDRA RANJAN DE, M.A.

"UNITARIANISM" means, according to Professor Dicey, "the habitual exercise of Supreme legislative authority by one central power" (*Law of the Constitution*, p. 139). The Central authority may delegate powers to local authorities. The relation between the Central and Local authorities then is the relation of principal and delegate. The local authorities owe their existence to and receive their authority from the centre. They exist and function at the discretion of the centre. They cannot claim any separate identity. The central authority is absolute and supreme. Its internal sovereignty is undivided. It is exercised by the Central law-making body and there are no subsidiary semi-sovereign law-making bodies. This is Unitary Government.

As opposed to this, "Federalism means the distribution of the forces of the State among a number of co-ordinate bodies each originating in and controlled by the constitution" (Dicey, p. 157). The constitution assigns power to both Governments—Central and State. Both are independent in their respective domain. The power of the Centre thus is limited by the autonomy of the State. The line of demarcation is defined by the constitution. Both owe their existence to and receive their authority from the constitution. This constitution is the main source of power of both. Hence in a federation firstly there is the supremacy of the constitution; secondly, there is the distribution of powers between the Centre and States which cannot be changed except on the authority of the constitution; and thirdly, one supreme Judicial authority to decide constitutional disputes that may arise over the domain of both Governments. In short we might say in a federation the internal sovereignty of the State is shared by two authorities—Central and local, and the Central authority does not exercise unfettered authority over the whole state. It is limited by some semi-sovereign bodies. This is federation.

Though the Swiss confederation (which took its birth in the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648 and since then it has a continuous life, being transformed in 1848 into a federal state and thoroughly revised in 1874) is the oldest of existing federal states, the U.S.A. Federal Constitution is the most complete one. Federations vary from state to state—some are more federal allowing greater sphere of autonomy to the units than others which centralise the power and give less sphere of autonomy to the units. Thus federations differ according to the respective powers of the federal authority and federating units. This is determined by two ways as to the method of distribu-

tion of powers between the centre and units; and and as to the nature of the supremacy of the constitution.

The constitution of India has enumerated three lists of subjects of legislation and execution—(1) The Union list, (2) The State list, (3) the concurrent list. The Union Government has exclusive authority of legislation and execution over the Union list. The State Governments have exclusive authority over matters of the State list. Both have concurrent jurisdiction over the concurrent list. But if any law or any provision of it is repugnant to any Union law, the State law shall wholly or to that extent be void. The residuary powers belong to the Union.

Incorporation of concurrent list in our constitution may appear to be inconsistent with Federal Principle. The utility of a concurrent list in a federation has been very aptly expressed by the Joint Parliamentary Committee report :

"Experience has shown, both in India and elsewhere that there are certain matters which cannot be allocated exclusively either to a Central or to a Provincial Legislature and for which though it is often desirable, that Provincial legislation should make provision, it is equally necessary that the central legislature should also have a legislative jurisdiction to enable it in some case to secure uniformity in the main principles of law throughout the country, in order to guide and encourage provincial efforts, and in others again to provide remedies for mischiefs arising in the provincial sphere but extending or liable to extend beyond the boundaries of a single province." (*Joint Parliamentary Committee on Indian Constitutional Reforms*, 1934, para 51).

The U.S.A. Constitution has no provision for the concurrent list. The Australian Constitution designed on the U.S.A. model has assigned, enumerated or selected legislative powers to the Centre and the residue belongs to the States. But Section 51 enumerates 59 entries of power over which both may legislate and Section 109 says, "When a law of a State is inconsistent with a law of the Commonwealth, the latter shall prevail and the former shall to the extent of the inconsistency be invalid." The Canadian Constitution also makes provision for the concurrent sphere though to a very limited extent of agriculture and immigration only, and in cases of repugnancy, the Dominion legislation prevails. The concurrent list does not in any way militate against the Federal Principles, rather it helps it in

achieving the uniformity of legislation throughout the whole country over some affairs when it appears desirable and expedient, but allowing the states dominance over them as far as practicable.

As to the residual powers of the centre, it may be said that the three lists have almost exhausted the powers of administration because the Union list contains 97 entries, the State list 66 and the concurrent list 47. A very little scope is left to the centre to exercise authority by its claim to residual powers. It may not be discussed in details and can be closed with this reference that in a Federation the residuary powers may also belong to the centre as in Canada.

In our constitution some over-riding powers over the States have been given to the Centre. On four occasions the Union Parliament can legislate on matters of State list :

(1) If the Council of States has declared by resolution supported by not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting that it is necessary and expedient in the national interest (Article 249).

(2) If the Proclamation of Emergency is in operation (Article 250).

(3) If two or more States express by way of resolution of State legislatures that Parliament should legislate over any matter or matters of State list. But it shall be operative only in the States which desire it (Article 252).

(4) If necessity of the implementation of international obligations arises (Article 253).

The underlying principle of Federal Government is that none of the parties in a Federation should change the basic distribution of powers by its unilateral action. This has been violated in our constitution, because the over-riding authority has been given to the upper chamber of our Parliament. It is a Council of States, but in name only. It does not enshrine the Federal Principle as States are not equally represented in the council. The only silver line is that it shall require not less than two-third majority present and voting to alter the distribution of powers. Again as it is a permanent body and composed of elderly men it is presumed that it shall not be led by emotions and party spirit. There is another safeguard. That is, members of the Council of States are elected by the members of the State legislature. Every second year one-third of its members retire. And such resolution of the Council to change the distribution of powers shall have effect only for one year at a

time [Article 249(3)]. So after every two years State legislature shall have the opportunity to counteract such move of the Union Parliament by sending new members to the Council. After all, this provision bespeaks of Unitarianism in Federal Constitution. In no other federation such Unilateral power of action has been assigned to the Federal legislature, not even in Canada.

Even in time of emergency no other Federal Constitution gives the power of unilateral action in the hands of the centre. The distribution of powers cannot be changed except by an amendment of the Constitution. Such emergencies are met by other ways in other constitutions. During such period of national importance if the Federal Legislature frames laws for the peace, order and good government of a country, the Judiciary interprets the law in that way and does not stand in the way of Federal legislation even if it means that it may affect the distribution of powers. It is evident in the observation of the Privy Council in the case of *Pulp and Power Co. vs Manitoba Free Press* (1923) in Canada :

"The general control of property and civil rights required for normal purposes remains with the Provincial Legislatures. But the questions may arise of reason of the special circumstances of the national emergency which concern nothing short of the peace, order and good government of Canada as a whole."

Of course it is true even in the U.S.A. that there has been an increasing demand on the part of a substantial section of the people to strengthen the Federal authority, so that it may cope with the ever-growing complexities of the national life of the Americans. Especially after the onset of the world-wide economic depression in 1929 till the end of the World War II, the demand was very much persistent. President Roosevelt was successful in the implementation of his "New Deal" which actually meant the over-riding of some state powers. "In its actual working, the American federal system is not, in 1949, what it was in 1789." (D. Basu : *Commentary on the Constitution of India*, p. 606). De Tocqueville's observation in 1835 that "Government of the centre was the exception, while Government of the states was the rule" does not hold good today because of growing powers of the centre. But one point is to be emphasized, that is, the ultimate competence of over-riding power does not lie with the Federal legislature alone, but with the Federal judiciary. The Federal legislature frames laws encroaching State powers to cope with emergent situations and the judiciary sanctions it whenever it thinks desirable.

The Federal legislature is not empowered to supersede the distribution of powers and to nullify the Federal structure of the constitution. But our Parliament can. If the President issues a Proclamation of Emergency and if it is supported by resolutions of Parliament, virtually that may mean the suspension of Federal structure of the constitution. Of course Article 353 does not refuse to State legislatures any power at all over State subjects under such a situation, rather they enjoy concurrent powers. Over them Union power shall prevail to the extent of repugnancy. There is another provision to afford a scope for Federal despotism, that is Article 356 by which the President may assume to himself all the powers of a State and delegate them to any authority on being satisfied that there is constitutional breakdown in that State. That is analogous to section 93 of the Government of India Act, 1935 which empowered the Governor of a Province to assume all power o himself acting in his discretion.

No such provision for supersession of State Government by the Federal Authority on the ground of constitutional breakdown exists in any Federal constitution. But if there is any violent resistance to the execution of Federal laws, the Federal authority may compel obedience to such laws as in America. President Lincoln did it during the Civil War (1861). This is similar to Article 356 of our Constitution. President Dr. Rajendra Prasad promulgated two orders under Article 356 on 20.6.51 assuming all powers of East Punjab to himself.

The necessity there arose due to the fact that after the resignation of Dr. Bhargava's Ministry no alternative ministry could be formed. There may be similar cases in future till the political training of the people of India takes a shape. Art. 356 might have a justification at this stage. But the fact remains—there is the scope of federal despotism in our constitution.

Parliament can legislate over a State subject if it is expressly desired by two or more states. Such Union law shall apply to the states which desire it. This is not trenching upon the powers of the states. It is innocent and deserves no detailed discussion.

The invasion of State power by Union legislature for the implementation of International agreement is not unknown in Federal Constitution. Art. VI of the U.S.A. constitution says : All treaties made, or which shall be made under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land, and judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of

any state to the contrary notwithstanding. Art. 132 of the British North America Act has similar provision. Australian constitution has no such written provision, but a case law (*King vs. Burgess*, 1936) has made it clear that the Commonwealth Government can invade the state jurisdiction for the implementation of International agreement.

Another mutilating provision of Federal principle is the appointment of Governors or Rajpramukhas by the President. In the U.S.A. Governors are directly elected by the people and cannot be removed unless impeached by the State Legislature. Governors of Australian Provinces are appointed by the Crown and hold office during His Majesty's pleasure and cannot be dismissed by the Governor-General. In Canada Lieutenant Governors are appointed by the Governor-General and can be dismissed as well by him. So our Constitution in this aspect is Canadian and not American.

As to the Constitutional supremacy of our Federation it may be said that the constitution is sufficiently rigid in so far as the Federal nature of the constitution is concerned, but not as rigid as the American. The distribution of power cannot be changed by the general procedure of amendment of the constitution. It shall require the approval of at least half of the State legislatures. In the U.S.A. it requires the approval of $\frac{2}{3}$ of the States legislatures. In a complete federation, there is some amount of legalism, because the Federal constitution is nothing but a charter of contract by which the Federation comes into being. In a Federation the constitution is sovereign. Both the Governments owe their origin and receive their authority from the constitution. The sovereignty of the constitution is maintained by making it a rigid one. Our constitution is rigid to that extent.

The balance of power between the Federal and Unit Governments is held by a Federal Judiciary whose main function is to see that the constitution is respected especially in so far as the distribution of powers is concerned. It has already been said that the U.S.A., Australian and Canadian Courts have been given the power to act as arbitrator in this respect. Of them, the U.S.A. Supreme Court has almost absolute power of interpretation of the Constitution. One ex-Chief Justice of the U.S.A. Supreme Court, Mr. Hughes said, "The Constitution (of the U.S.A.) is what the Supreme Court says it is." So much legalistic attitude was not taken by the framers of our Constitution. But they have made our Supreme Court competent enough to declare

a law or a decree unconstitutional if it violates the constitution.

According to Dicey there are "three leading characteristics of completely developed federalism—the supremacy of the constitution, the distribution among bodies with limited and co-ordinate authority of the different powers of Government, the authority of the Court to act as interpreter of the constitution." (*Law of the Constitution*, p. 144). All of them are present in the Indian Constitution. Hence it is a federation in form. But the very essence of Federalism is that the distribution of powers cannot be changed by an unilateral action.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee of our Constitution, said :

"The basic principle of federalism is that legislative and executive authority is partitioned between the Centre and the States not by any law to be made by the Centre but by the Constitution itself. This is what the Constitution does. This is the principle embodied in our Constitution. There can be no mistake about it. It is, therefore, wrong to say that the States have been placed under the Centre. *Centre cannot by its own will alter the boundary of this partition.* Nor can the Judiciary." (Speech in the Constituent Assembly on 25.11.49).

Perhaps he forgot at the moment of his speech that he himself had drafted Articles 249, 250, 253 and 356 which belie this very essence of federalism. But it needs to be told that all these articles are meant for emergencies.

So long as the Centre thinks that there is no emergency, it shall work as complete Federal Government. But as soon as the Centre feels the emergent situation, the Constitution can be switched over to an unitary type by the unilateral action of the Centre. The switch is not in the hands of an impartial Judiciary like that of the American, Canadian or Australian Federations. So much legalism has been avoided in our Constitution. It is a federation so long as the Union Parliament wills it. In form it is federal; in essence it is unitary. Sir Ivor Jennings says :

"India has a federation with a strong centralizing tendency." (*Some Characteristics of the Indian Constitution*, p. 1.). P.G. Wheare says : "In the class of quasi-constitution it is probably proper to include the Indian Constitution of 1950." (*Modern Constitutions*, p. 29).

Dr. Ambedkar tried to justify the over-riding powers of the Centre in the course of the same speech :

"The first is that the over-riding powers are not the normal features of the constitution. Their use and operation are expressly confined to emergencies only. The second consideration is that : could we avoid giving over-riding powers to the Centre when an emergency has arisen ?"

We do not discuss here the necessity and reason of such over-riding powers of the Centre in any scheme of Government for India with its present socio-political set-up. We only state what it is.

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THE INDIAN LAW COMMISSION —ITS TASK AHEAD

By P. C. RAICHOURDURI, M.A., B.L., W.B.C.S.

APPOINTMENT of an eleven-member Law Commission has been announced and it will soon begin its work. For the sake of expedition it will function in two sections, one in charge of the reform of judicial administration and another of the revision of the statute laws. Each section will have a Joint Secretary, Senior Deputy Secretaries, Research Officers and other necessary equipments. The Chairman of the Commission, Sri M. C. Setalvad, will be in immediate charge of the section dealing with the reform of judicial administration but will direct and co-ordinate the activities of both the sections. The terms of reference are : First, to review the system of judicial administration in all its aspects and suggest ways for improving it and making it speedy and less expensive; and secondly, to examine the central Acts of general application and importance and recommend the lines on which they should be amended, revised, consolidated or otherwise brought up to date.

The personnel of the Commission is the very best

imaginable : Sri M. C. Setalvad, Advocate-General of India; Mr. M. C. Chagla, Chief Justice of the Bombay High Court; Sri K. N. Wanchoo, Chief Justice of the Rajasthan High Court; Sri G. N. Das, retired Judge of the Calcutta High Court; Sri P. Satyanarayana Rao, retired Judge of the Madras High Court; Dr. N. C. Sen Gupta, Advocate, Calcutta; Sri V. K. T. Chari, Advocate-General, Madras; Sri Narasa Raju, Advocate-General, Andhra; Sri S. M. Sikri, Advocate-General, the East Punjab; Sri G. S. Pathak, Advocate, Allahabad; and Sri G. N. Josi, Advocate, Bombay. But the task ahead is stupendous and the expectation of the Union Government that the Commission will submit its recommendation by the end of 1956 seems to be much too optimistic. It is doubtful if with all the resources at the disposal of the Government, and for the matter of that, of the Commission, it will be possible to find out the real ills in such a short time and suggest remedies. There is, of course, provision for extending the term of one or other of the sections. A

till better provision would perhaps be that the Commission should report early; for the very composition of the Commission is a guarantee against delay; and one needs just to be reminded that no time could be worse than lost by precipitation.

Law Commissions are not new to India. As soon as the East India Company felt that they were going to be the ultimate masters of this country they made provisions for codification of law, civil and criminal, substantive and procedural, including organisation of Courts. The first Law Commission set up in 1835 under the Charter Act of 1833 with Macaulay as its first Chairman did excellent work in drafting a Penal Code (1837), a detailed but unpublished work on civil law and, above all, the famous Lex Loci Report (1840). The times were, however, not propitious for law reforms and most of the times of the Government were taken up by the many wars that followed. In later years the Commission languished for want of encouragement and success. Its failure was admitted and by the Charter Act of 1853 a new Commission was set up with Lord (then Sir John) Romilly, a distinguished English Judge, as its head, and men like Sir Edward Ryan, Cameron and Macleod, as members. Unlike the First, the Second Commission was to work in England and to make its report within three years. This time limit could not be adhered to, but its contribution to the laws of India became memorable; the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure, the Limitation Act, the High Courts Act and the like were framed. Its work was, however, much hampered by constant opposition from the jealous Government of India and its unfinished task was taken up by the Third Law Commission appointed in 1851. Their output was so great that there arose a fear in this country of over-legislation. After laying the foundation of practically the whole of all-India laws necessary in those days this Commission resigned in 1870, dissatisfied at the supposed timidity of the Government of India. Even then in 1879 India witnessed another smaller Commission to assist in the act of legislation. In this century Commissions and Committees have from time to time investigated into, and reported on, various matters, the Civil Justice Committee (1924-25) being the most important amongst them from the judicial point of view.

The tremendous progress that India has made in recent years in every sphere of life has made the law and administration of justice much more complicated than before and the task of the present Commission is thus much more important and onerous. If a little less than a hundred years ago when conditions were very much simpler Sir Henry Maine, the then Law Member, found 423 enactments of the Regulation Law of Bengal alone 'to have expired or grown obsolete,' what conceivably may be the position today! Portions of many of the older codes have become stale, patchworks have complicated others and piece-meal legislation has made the position of the lawyer and judge extremely

difficult. Judicial pronouncements testify to the fact that many of the recent enactments were extremely ill-drawn, for they were drafted by inexperienced persons with inadequate skilled advice. Then, there is the lack of uniformity and system in the laws of the several States; and to systematise them will require undivided attention for years together. A whole-time Commission only is capable of tackling with all these problems within a reasonable span of time. Although the Central Acts of general application only are within the terms of reference concurrent legislation in the States makes the apparent simplicity of the task only illusory. It is not that the Government are not aware of the difficulties; they have, indeed, laid down that one of the principal objectives of the Commission would be to consider such local variations with a view to re-introducing and maintaining uniformity. To ascertain if any provisions of law are inconsistent with the constitution, to suggest necessary alterations or omissions, to remove anomalies and ambiguities brought to light by conflicting decisions or otherwise, to consolidate Acts pertaining to the same subject and to suggest modifications for implementing the directive principles laid down in the Constitution are comparatively easier; but to simplify the laws particularly procedural, in a vast country like India with varied interests and innumerable local customs, is almost a baffling task.

Equally difficult is the reform of judicial administration. If by that is meant re-organisation of the Court system and revision of certain procedural laws it is simple enough; if, however, it is intended that justice should be speedy and less expensive it will require consideration of various factors relating to the time, the man and the Government (court fees). The time factor is the easiest and perhaps time limits may be put by law even in accordance with the other needs of justice. The Government may also conceivably be generous enough not only to abolish the Court fees but also to appoint as many judges and magistrates as are necessary, although the past history stretching back right up to the time of Lord Cornwallis does not encourage such a thought. But much more difficult to tackle with are the man element, that is the litigants, lawyers and judges.

Class wars, clash of individual interests, avarice, spirit of retaliation and other infirmities of fellow beings compel men to go to litigation and once they have plunged into it they would carry on till one of the parties or both have been engulfed in the whirlpool. Most often the passion is roused and they become almost mad. Victory by any means, fair or foul, becomes their motto. In most cases one of the parties is consciously wrong and the modus operandi it adopts is to take time by false pleas and thus to wear out the enemy, particularly if the latter is less solvent. The idea is that in this way the other party will be compelled to sue for peace. All being fair in love and war it is never felt that any stigma may attach to the character by such fraud upon the Court. By such a

person the salutary principle of appeal may be and is improperly employed for delaying justice often to the utter exhaustion of the opponent. It is not that he himself is not sometimes ruined but there is a morbid pleasure in inviting the deluge. Tricks and falsehoods are thus a potent cause of the delay of justice.

To this mad pursuit of dishonest litigants the forensic abilities of a skilful lawyer are both an asset and incentive. Euphemistically these gentlemen are called 'votaries of truth.' Unfortunately the law as administered in our Courts (as perhaps elsewhere) has no sanction of truth. "If law corresponds with truth only in so far as it reflects the social ideals of the day, the law we know must be pronounced to be very considerably removed from truth," said one of the high authorities who knew our Courts very well. In that circumstance even the most honest lawyer cannot do anything better than a compromise with untruth. As a matter of fact only a few lawyers can rise even so high in the ladder of morality. This unhappy state of things is in the very nature of the profession. It is, after all, a kind of business—a business backed by learning which man adores; and in business, generally, honesty is at a discount. "What litigant will brief a moral crank who will specially strive to present the facts as they are and purposely refrain from putting on them a complexion favourable to his client," asked the same authority. A single exhibition of this form of honesty and courage will end his career at the Bar. That is why the lawyer's task in our Courts is not so much to find out truth as to win a case. For that what is known as tactics is no less necessary than forensic knowledge. Prolongation of a bad case is a part of such tactics. It has got its economic side as well. A modern lawyer sells his knowledge and skill to the highest bidder, and so long as his fee is not fixed by law or he is permitted to command daily, instead of a lump, fee, it is to his advantage to see that the litigation is prolonged. Just a few who are at the top of a ladder are surely an exception to this general rule but for the average 'swift justice' is harmful if not suicidal. The interest of this class, shrewd skilful and learned, must be looked into if any permanent result is intended.

The character of the average judge, generally a silent spectator of what is going on in his Court, is another factor contributing to delay. Indolence is one of his main infirmities. Judicial work is generally not pleasant but there is no escape, no occasion for relaxation. From day to day, from year to year, he does the same sort of work which is often nerve-breaking and brings him no reward except the satisfaction of his conscience. After some initial enthusiasm he loses all initiative and eventually becomes a mere automaton. Sloth and dozing come in as a matter of course. More harmful than this indolence is the tendency of the average judge to follow the line of least resistance. To withstand the wily litigants' persistent demand for

more and more time ostensibly for getting ready, requires a firmness which will very often bring upon him the opprobrium of being hard-hearted and end in 'breezes' between the Bench and the Bar. That is why he very often permits a case to drift listlessly in the file. Perhaps the worst of the judge's infirmities is his anxiety to be popular, and this, paradoxically enough, results in delay. Popularity in a court of law means almost the same as abdication in favour of the ministerial officers and lawyers conducting cases. In our country granting of adjournments is the same as being a 'good judge' and even the lawyer on the opposite side would not dislike them, provided some costs are allowed. Public disapprobation of such methods are unheard-of. In such an atmosphere delay is only natural. Over and above all these there are, on the criminal side, the timid Magistracy and the overbearing police. The Magistrate's position may be improved by a complete separation of the judiciary from the executive but it is hard to mend the Police. Even now the real power is in the hands of the ill-paid Thana Officer who can make or mar a case. It must be realised that power and poverty go ill together; it requires long tradition and good environment for a poor man to be honest, if he has got power to improve his lot.

For reducing the cost of litigation and ensuring expedition in the despatch of business the Evershed Committee of England appealed to the lawyers and judges and sought their co-operation. That course has never been followed in our country. Efforts are being made from very high quarters to take the matter out of their hands and vest the Village Panchayets, and the like with judicial powers. While increasing association of the villagers with administration of justice in petty cases is extremely desirable the history of past experiments in that behalf (through Village Munsiffs, Panchayets and Union Boards and Courts) leads one to believe that the time has not yet come and that to drag justice down to the present unhealthy atmosphere of our villages means nothing but its death by asphyxia. To look to the Village Communities of ancient India for inspiration and example is a misreading of history; there can be no comparison between those days of placid rural simplicity and consideration for fellow brothers and these of class wars, communal interest and personal aggrandisement. Justice at some cost is perhaps better than cheap injustice.

For comprehensive amendment of law, for uniformity, for rationalisation and for ensuring cheap and reasonably quick justice there must not only be close application, deep studies and a clear grasp of the basic principles (which the Commissioners undoubtedly have) but also an earnest appeal to all concerned for co-operation; otherwise the labours of the Commission may be wholly lost. Peace and justice can be ensured not so much by law and its guardians as by self-imposed discipline.

THE STATES REORGANISATION COMMITTEE'S REPORT

By CHUNI LAL RAY

THE States Reorganisation Committee's recommendations have been extremely disappointing to Bengal, most of whose demands have been thrown out on somewhat timsy grounds which cannot be reconciled with one another, and this after voluble expression of sympathy for West Bengal's difficult position, due to partition, the influx of refugees 35 lakhs in number and to the fact recognised by the committee that

"The present distribution of territories between Bihar and West Bengal is such as to give rise to real administrative difficulties from the point of view of West Bengal."

While separation of Chas thana from the rest of Purulia subdivision was evidently based on the 71.4 per cent Hindi and only 22.4 per cent Bengali in the Table of Tract Figures on page 41 of the Language volume of the Census Tables (Census of 1951, Paper No. 1 of 1954), the Committee had not a word of comment on the very strange circumstance that the Census Superintendent for Bihar who was so very keen about the innovation of thanawar figures for the Purulia subdivision, never thought of compiling similar figures for Dhanbad and Dhalbhum and even went to the length of discontinuing the separate figures for Jamshedpur City shown in 1931, although these areas, along with the Purulia subdivision, had formed a bone of contention between Bengal and Bihar from a very long time back, from only a few months subsequent to the publication in *Bengalee* newspaper of 4th January 1912 of the letter signed by five Bihar leaders (Deepnarayan Sinha, Nandkishore Lal, Parameswar Lal, Fakhruddin and Satchidananda Sinha) which said that

"The whole district of Manbhumi and pargana Dhalbhum of Singhbhum district are Bengalee-speaking and they should go to Bengal the rest of the (Chota Nagpur) Division which is Hindi-speaking remaining in Bihar."

Within a few days after Census Paper No. 1 of 1954 became available in Calcutta, in June 1954, the Secretary to the Nikhil Bharat Banga Bhasa Prasar Samiti wrote to Sri Ranchor Prasad, Census Superintendent of Bihar, requesting him to supply regional figures for different portions of Dhanbad and Dhalbhum, and separate figures for Jamshedpur City alone, similar to those published for the Purulia subdivision. His reply, sent in Development Department letter No. 239 DR dated 11th July 1954, was :

"I am not in a position to get the information compiled for you as the Census Office was closed nearly a year ago, and no staff is available for doing this work."

In the absence of unequivocal official figures it is possible only to make guesses, on the basis of other official figures that are available of the comparative linguistic positions of different portions of Dhalbhum and Dhanbad subdivisions. Admitting for the sake of

argument the contention (implied) that the Chief Minister of Bengal's concession relating to Jamshedpur serves to operate as an estoppel in respect of this particular area, there should have been a very specially detailed scrutiny of figures for the remainder of the Dhalbhum subdivision. But, far from undertaking such special examination, the Committee clouded the issues to some extent by reference, irrelevant in connection with Dhalbhum to the preponderence of Hos in the district of Singhbhum as a whole ignoring the fact that Hos are a very negligible minority in Dhalbhum (in 1931, only 6,851 in Dhalbhum rural, 2,616 in Jamshedpur, in 1951, 12,188 for the entire subdivision). And the Committee never cared to enquire how the really autochthonous tribal of Dhalbhum, the Bhumij, had faded out from the 1931 figures, 22,521 in Dhalbhum rural, 307 in Jamshedpur, 7351 in Chaibassa and 6038 in Saraikele-Kharsawan, total for the district 36,212 to a mere 922 in the entire district in 1951. The 70:30 ratio laid down by the Committee may be quite sound for bi-lingual areas, but is meaningless in areas with 3 or 4 different languages commonly spoken; for such areas, the regional language should be that spoken by the most numerous linguistic group, particularly if its percentage to total population exceeds the percentages of other linguistic groups by substantial amounts 10, 15 or 20 per cent. For Dhalbhum excluding Jamshedpur, no figures having been supplied by the Census Superintendent for 1951, one can proceed only on the basis of the 1931 figures, and these are :

Out of total population 310,857.

Bengali 123,337 or 39.7 per cent.

Santali 96,555 or 31.7 per cent.

Oriya 35,849 or 11.5 per cent.

Bhumij 22,521 or 7.2 per cent.

Hindi 12,902, a mere 4.2 per cent.

Very large proportions of Santals and Bhumijes were reported to be bi-lingual, almost invariably with Bengali as the subsidiary language; and the total of persons speaking Bengali as subsidiary was 82,797 equal to 26.6 per cent. of the total population. (Persons speaking Oriya as subsidiary language numbered only 10,059 Hindi only 3,900). What better case there could have been for declaring Bengali intelligible to no less than 66.3 per cent. of total population, as the regional language (and therefore justifying transfer to Bengal), with only special minority treatment for Santali, Bhumij and Hindi. Some figures *including those for Jamshedpur City*, are shown in a pamphlet. Facts and figures issued by the Bihar Government "for official use only," and these also testify to the preponderance of persons with mother-tongue Bengali 185 thousand as against 128 thousand for Oriya and 125 thousand for Hindi. But the Committee have decided not for Bengali, not for Oriya, but for Hindi which had the weakest case. It has been definite negation of linguistic justice,

and recalls the Aesop's Fables story of the arbiter between two cats fighting over a piece of meat.

It is not understood how the previous history of Dhalbhum's connection with Bengal is described as tenuous! Dhalbhum is distinctly mentioned in the Ain-i-Akbari as appertaining to Sarkar Madaran, Chukla, Medinipur in Suba Bangala (vide Jarrett's translation, volume II, page 141). Along with other parts of Midnapur, Dhalbhum was ceded to the British in 1760 (five years before the Diwani grant). Dhalbhum continued to form part of Medinipur district up to 1833 (it never went to Jungal Mahal district) in which year it was transferred to the newly-created Division of Manbhumi in the North-Western Frontier agency (pages 40 and 213 of Singhbhum District Gazetteer). In 1845-46 Dhalbhum was taken out of Manbhumi and tagged on to Singhbhum district (page 212, Singhbhum Gazetteer and page 67, Manbhumi Gazetteer). Even up to very recent times, Dhalbhum people were disinclined to describe themselves as inhabitants of Singhbhum, preferring to keep that name only for the Singh Rajas' State (the country that was later split up into Porahat, Saraikela and Kharsawan States, page 2 of Singhbhum Gazetteer). Forty-five villages of Dhalbhum were, in the year 1876, re-transferred to Midnapur district (page 106 of Dhalbhum Settlement Report); and these villages, collectively known as Parihati, are still in Midnapur district, in thana Jhargram not very far from Gidni railway station.

Although Manbhumi and Singhbhum (with Dhalbhum) went into the Chota Nagpur Division in 1854, they were, on various occasions thereafter, placed under the jurisdiction of the District and Sessions Judge of Bankura (in Burdwan Division) and this arrangement continued till 1910, when a separate Judgeship was created for Manbhumi, Singhbhum and Sambalpur. Throughout this period, Bengali was the only Court language for Dhalbhum. Survey and Settlement Records for all villages of Dhalbhum (both within Singhbhum district and in the Parihati group in Midnapur district) were prepared in the Bengali language.

In November 1954 Hindi was prescribed as an alternative language in Courts, to suit the convenience of Hindi-speakers (between 40 and 50 thousand in number) who had come for employment in Jamshedpur. Unfortunately for Bengalees, who are still the biggest linguistic group, Hindi was made the only Court language (and Bengali was thereby banned) for Dhalbhum by a notification of 1948. This was an extremely bad case of suppression of the Bengali language, comparable almost to Nazi Germanisation methods. Dhalbhum people entertained fond hopes of redress, with declaration of Bengali as the regional language, and with consequent re-transfer to Bengal. But they have been thoroughly disillusioned.

And they have failed to understand the nature of implementation of the proposition that "in and around

Jamshedpur the population is so mixed that no State can legitimately claim the City." They see, in retention of Jamshedpur in Bihar State, no more of de-provincialisation than would have been involved by its transfer to Bengal. Are they to understand that, while attachment to Bengal amounts to provincialisation, attachment to Bihar is de-provincialisation? After Rourkela grows into a City as big as Jamshedpur now is, will it (and, with it, the surrounding district of Sundargarh) be taken out of the provincialising atmosphere of Orissa and attached to Bihar, with a view to de-provincialisation? And, when Bhilai matures, will that also be handed over to Bihar, for purposes of de-provincialisation, and a corridor provided. The only tangible reason why Chaibasa and Saraikela, with magnificent Hindi percentages of 5.0 and 13.4 respectively (6.7 for the two taken together) are to be retained in Bihar, is that they would form the corridor for Bihar's contact with Jamshedpur.

SARAIKELA

Talking of Saraikela brings up the point of one small portion of it, *viz.*, thana Kandra in the extreme north-east, wherein the predominant language is Bengali, as in rural Dhalbhum to its east and in Chandil thana of Purulia to the north. This thana hugs round the railway stations Gomharia, Kandra and Sini which are all within 7 to 16 miles (within 8 miles in every case, in cross-country trek) of Chandil, which is the place where Acharya Vinoba Bhave halted for about a month, convalescing after recovery from fever, and teaching himself Bengali so that he could make his speeches intelligible to the local people. The relative percentage figures of different languages in Kandra thana must be intermediate between those of rural Dhanbad and of Chandil; and these work out at Bengali 47.4 Santali 21.6 (of which at least half are bi-lingual Bengali-speakers), Hindi 17.6, Oriya 6.0, Bhumij and Mundari possibly 3 per cent each. There is no valid reason (unless it be the necessity of mystic de-provincialisation) why Kandra thana should not hereafter be treated as part of Purulia district which is now to be shorn of thana Chas. The rest of Saraikela and Chaibasa have definite majority of Ho (46 per cent) and Oriya (18%).

DHANBAD

An examination of any map showing thanas on the Purulia-Dhanbad border, along with perusal of the Tract Figures for Purulia, reveals at once that

"West Dhanbad, consisting of police-stations Topchanchi, Katras, Bagmara, Jharia, Kenduadi, Jogi and Jorapukhur, which covers the entire Jharia coal-field except such portions as extend to Chas-Chandankari of Purulia subdivision and to Hazainbagh district immediately adjoin the Chas-Chandankari area of Purulia, wherein the Hindi percentage is said to be 71.4 and the Bengali percentage only 22.6.

"East Dhanbad, consisting of police-stations Sindi, Baliapur, Gobindapur, Nissha, Chirkunda (also thana Tundi) immediately adjoin the Raghun-

nathpur area of Sadar subdivision, wherein the Hindi percentage is only 23.8 (*i.e.*, 47.6 less than in Chas) and Bengali percentage 57.3 (*i.e.*, 34.7 per cent more than in Chas) and Santali percentage 18.7 (*i.e.*, 13.1 per cent more than in Chas)."

From these data it is certainly not unjustifiable to conclude that, in Dhanbad subdivision also, the Hindi percentage in the west very much exceeds that in the east, and that the Bengali percentage in the west falls short of that in the east, by something between 35 and 43 per cent; for Santali, excess in the east over that in the west, about 15 per cent. Incidentally most of the Santals are bi-linguals, their subsidiary language being Bengali and not Hindi.

Yet another set of official figures leads to the same conclusion, these figures being of numbers of "persons employed in production other than agriculture" (which, for Dhanbad' practically means "employed in collieries or under railway administration"). The police-stations in West Dhanbad, with aggregate area 301 square miles and total population 437,261, have as many as 209,767 persons (48 per cent of total) under this head of "production other than agriculture." The police-stations in East Dhanbad have total area 489 square miles and total population 294,439, of whom only 33518 (or less than 12 per cent) are under this category. It is chiefly the colliery and railway workers who are temporary immigrants, mere birds of passage from Hindi-speaking areas; and there is this further justification, for concluding that the Hindi percentage in East Dhanbad is very considerably less than in West Dhanbad with its many collieries. In the few collieries in East Dhanbad, extension really of the Ranigunge coal-field,* the labour employed consists chiefly of permanent local residents; there are labourers from outside also, immigrating some from Hindi-speaking districts in the west, but others from the Bengal districts Burdwan, Bankura and Birbhum. The local labour, and also the immigrants from Burdwan, Bankura and Birbhum, have all mother-tongue Bengali or Santali, the latter group being bi-lingual, invariably with Bengali as the subsidiary language. It is only the labour immigrating from the western districts that have mother-tongue Hindi. It would be safe to conclude from these facts and figures that the Bengali-Santali-speaking percentage in East Dhanbad exceeds that in West Dhanbad by about 48 per cent (35 per cent Bengali and 13 per cent Santali), and that 48 per cent is also the measure by which the Hindi percentage in West Dhanbad exceeds that in East Dhanbad. It is a pity that these points were not taken into consideration, and that East Dhanbad did not get the same treatment as that

meted to the Purulia Subdivision *viz.*, transfer from Bihar to West Bengal. East Dhanbad's linguistic distribution is not very different from those noted in page 41 of the Language volume of the 1951 Census for Manbazar and Kashipur-Para areas of Purulia subdivision, 45 per cent Bengali, 33 per cent Hindi and about 18 per cent Santali, but very different from that of West Dhanbad or of Chas, Hindi exceeding 70 per cent. Bengali round about 20 per cent and Santali 5 per cent. The majority of 45 per cent Bengali and the 18 per cent Santali-speakers are permanent local residents tied to the soil, 35 per cent Hindi-speakers are mostly immigrant wage-earners with no permanent interest in the locality. Do a lakh and three-quarters of permanent residents deserve less consideration than only 30 to 50 thousand immigrants?

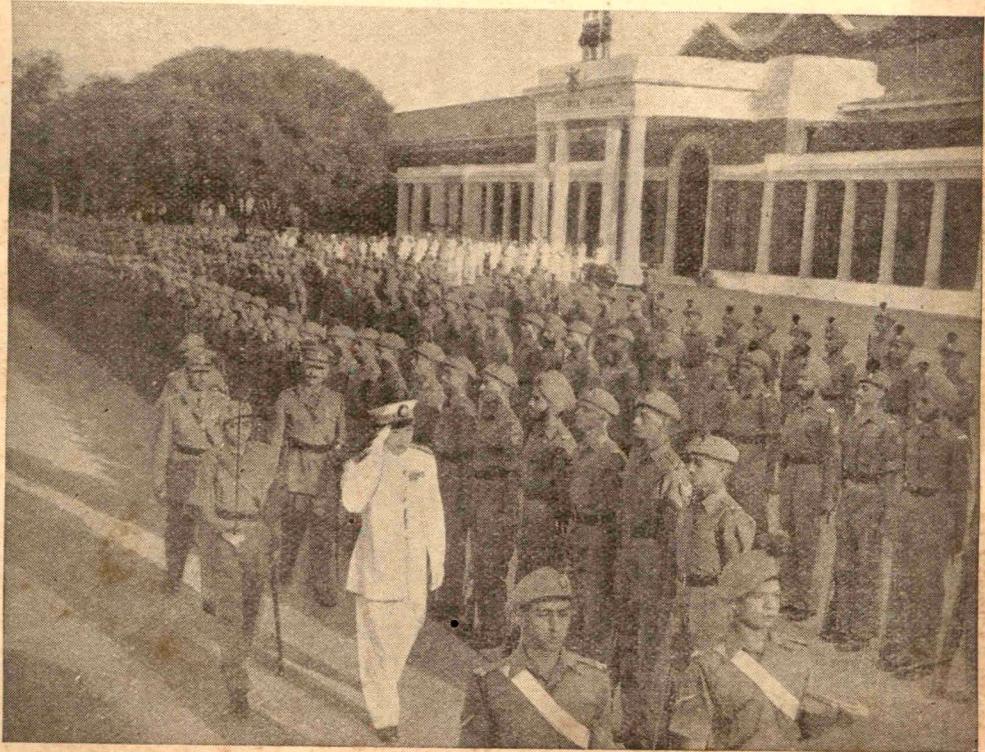
Bengali had been the only Court language for Dhanbad up to 1913, in which year a notification was issued No. 379 dated 21st August, changing 'Bengali' to "both Nagri or Kaithi and Bengali in Dhanbad Subdivision of Manbhum district." A notification of 1933 again changed this to "Hindusthani to be written in Nagri or Kaithi script" for Dhanbad, and restricted Bengali to the Sadar (Purulia) Subdivision. The consequent banning of Bengali as Court language in Dhanbad, which had in 1933, and still has, more than 1½ lakh persons with mother-tongue Bengali was an act of very great injustice, which, comparable with Nazi methods of Germanisation, continues to the present day. Incidentally, the existence in 1913 of only 29'400 Hindi-speakers in Pakur, only 54,000 in Jamatia, had been considered justification, rightly enough, for prescribing Hindi as an alternative Court language for the convenience of Hindi-speaking population, mostly immigrants of the nature of a floating population of wage-earners.

The S. R. Committee have spoken of the West Bengal Government's intention to put up a dam on the Kansai river as one of the reasons for arriving at their decision to recommend transfer of Purulia Subdivision to Bengal. There are two dams on the D.V.C. project, wherein also work will be facilitated by transfer of East Dhanbad to Bengal, *viz.*, (1) the Maithon dam with its North-eastern end near Kalyaneswari temple in Burdwan district and its South-western end a few miles North-east of Kumardubi and (2) the Pachet Hill dam connecting the foot of the Pachet hill in Purulia Subdivision with a point about 5 miles South-west of Chirkunda in Dhanbad. Two different States at the two ends of the same dam may at times lead to administrative complications; and this is yet another reason though it may not, by itself be a very strong one, why the linguistic position in East Dhanbad and the desirability of its transfer to Bengal should be subjected to careful examination once again. There is a big gap between the Western end of the Ranigunj Coalfield and the eastern extremity of the Jharia Coalfield; and the Jharia field will not be

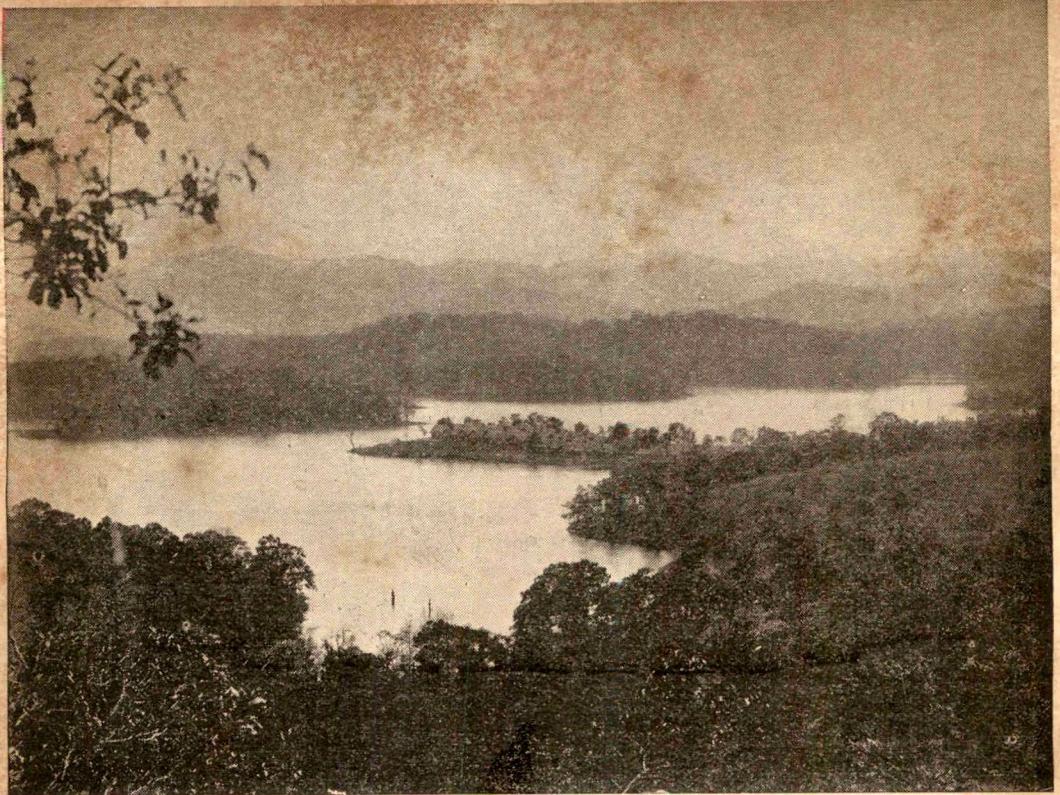
*This extension of the Ranigunge coalfield into the Dhanbad area is entirely in pargana Pandra. This pargana Pandra had been part of Birbhum at the time of the Diwani grant, and was again for several years subsequent to that, attached to Burdwan district. The local language in Pandra has always been Bengali and Santali—never Hindi.



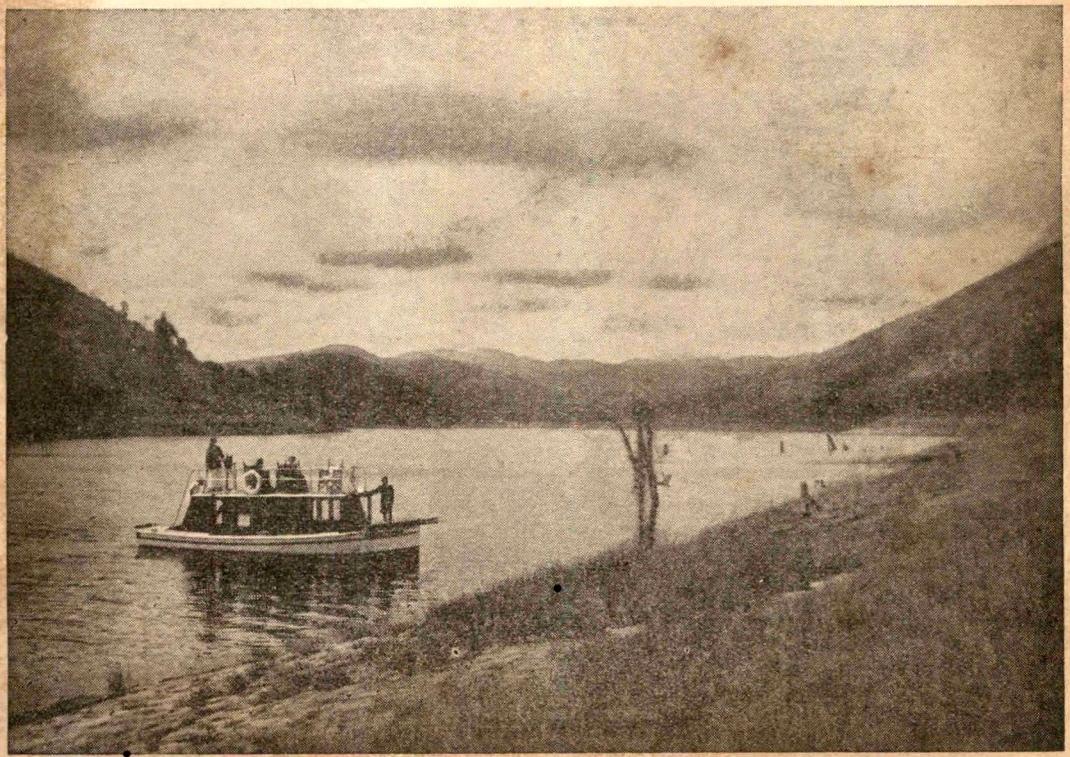
(Left to right) : Soong Ching Ling (Mme. Sun Yat-sen), Sri Jawaharlal Nehru and Chou En-lai, Prime Minister of China



H.R.H. the Crown Prince of Laos, who visited the Military College, Dehra Dun, is seen inspecting the parade held in his honour



The splendour that is the High Range



Periyar Lake in the High Range. On the shores of this mountain lake is the Royal Game Sanctuary, one of the finest National Parks in the world

the least affected by transfer of East Dhanbad to Bengal. In fact the inclusion of the entire Raniganj field under the same administration will be a definite advantage, just as bringing into West Dhanbad the portion of the Jharia coalfield that just into the Chas area will be a measure making for administrative convenience.

Very soon after traversing Dhalbhum, Purulia and East Dhanbad one gets close to the Ajoy river which the West Bengal Government propose to utilise for a project similar to the D.V.C. and then the Mayurakshi which has already been so utilised. Both these rivers rise in the Santal Parganas.

SANTAL PARGANA

Both Ajoy and Mayurakshi rise in the Santal Parganas and have only a few miles of course therein before they enter Bengal. The Mayurakshi system has its headwaters at Masanjor in the eastern end of the Dumka Subdivision of the Santal Parganas; and there has been much unpleasantness in the past between Bihar and West Bengal about financial arrangements for a project which gives most of its benefit to Bengal but cos's Bihar quite a lot of money (although, in a recent deal, Bihar has realised from Bengal a pretty large amount for rehabilitation of people displaced by the dam). Transfer of the Masanjor area to Bengal would certainly conduce to smooth working, as represented by Bengal; but there is no reference to this in the S.R. Committee's Report (in the summary at least). Mention is made of "the case for transfer of the catchment areas or a portion of territory along the Ajoy", but this is dismissed with remark that it "will be admissible only if other factors are more or less evenly balanced" which "is not the case so far as this district is concerned." How this finding of "not evenly balanced" was arrived at is not very clear; but possibly one of the point's was the assumption that Bengali influence is slight in the eastern end of Santal Parganas bordering on Bengal because for "the entire Santal Parganas district Bengali influence is very slight." The possibility (nay, almost certainty) of the "16 and 13 per cent Bengali percentage in Rajmahal and Pakur" being concentrated in the eastern end, on both sides of the railway line, is not examined; and Bengal's contention about 1931 Census figures for Jamtara, Dumka, Pakur and Rajmahal is summarily dismissed.

The Committee did not evidently care to notice how 67,021 Malto-speakers of 1931, with fair distribution between the sexes, could be mutilated by the 1951 Census into only 5,744 males lording over 18,030 females (total decrease nearly 65 per cent)* how the Santali

figure could have gone up by nearly 30 per cent (from 761,068 to 982,170) in the Santal Parganas simultaneously with decrease by 33 per cent (from 73,377 to 49,205) in Dhanbad and a nominal increase of 9 per cent (from 97,119 to 105,586) in Dhalbhum, how Bengali figures in subdivisions at safe distance from Bengal border jumped up (in Deoghar from 13,609 to about 45 thousand or by 23%, in Araria from 1,210 to 15,256 or by 1,157 per cent in Chaibasa from 6,412 to 30,270 or by 372 per cent) at the expense of languishing figures on the Bengal border Jamtara cut down from 73,091 to 15,877 or by 78%, Pakur from 68,792 to 32,120 or by 53 per cent, Kisangunj from 59,393 to 17,088 or by 70%; they ignored also the Bihar Census Superintendent's observations about "increased awareness among indigenous elements that the language spoken by them in their homes is a Bihari dialect" which should be coupled with his further assertion that "it is not easy to distinguish between these Bihari dialects and the Western Rarhi form of Bengali," with no reference whatever to non-existent similarity of these "dialects spoken at home" with any genuine dialect of Bihari or of any other form of Hindi.

It is indeed very strange that the S. R. Committee, realizing though they do, the desirability of "enabling West Bengal to control entirely one or more points at which the Ganga river can be crossed," could speak seriously about objection resulting from loss for Bihar of the Rajmahal coalfield. I have not been able to ascertain what the value of the Rajmahal coalfield is—it is not even mentioned in the typed copy that I could secure of the statement at the end of the Report of the Indian Coalfield Committee 1946. The only coalfields in the Santal Pargana mentioned therein are Raniganj, 10½ million tons and Jamtara, 4¾ million tons, total 15½ million tons; and possibly Rajmahal (carelessly omitted in the typed copy which reached my hands) does not exceed 10 million tons. These are microscopic figures compared with what Bihar has got in the districts of Hazaribagh, Ranchi and Palamu, more than 10,000 million tons and in the Jharia field 2,351 million tons. Will Bihar's economy be really affected by the loss of only about 2% of its huge coal resources whose quantity is larger than the aggregate of all the other States within the Indian Union? In fact, it is very doubtful if Bihar will be able to provide in the near future, or even in several future decades, either the man-power or the technical skill necessary for beginning the exploitation of its 12,000 and odd million tons. West Bengal has at present not more than 2,352 million tons and will, on transfer of Purulia, get possibly another 167 million tons (½ of the 502 million tons of the Raniganj coalfield within the present Bihar

*The Mal Paharias who speak Malto are the real Adivasis of the district, just as Bhumijes are the real Adivasis of Dhalbhum, South Manbhumi and adjoining portions of Bankura, Midnapur, Mayurbhanji. (The Santals are really immigrants who came in about the year 1800, having been pushed out of their original homes in pargana Chai of Hazaribagh district by "incoming Hindusthanis from Bihar"). Are Adivasi Mal Paharias and Bhumijes becoming

extinct under Bihar Government's paternal administration? Or, is it only a case of an absolutely inefficient Census or of ill-conceived manipulation of Census figures? How long will it take Bihar's paternal Government to liquidate Santals, after they have ceased to be useful as a stick for thrashing the Bengalis!

border). Transfer of East Dhanbad's 335 million tons as well, and also of the entire Jharia coalfield's 2,351 million tons, will not bring up Bengal's total to very much more than 5,000 million tons i.e., only about half of what would still be retained by Bihar even after transfer of the entire Dhanbad Subdivision. Calcutta is now the biggest industrial centre within the Indian Union; and it is for consideration by the Central Government whether West Bengal's or Bihar's need for coal resources is the more important and the more urgent.

PURNEA

The S. R. Committee's gift of a narrow corridor to the east of Mahananda river looks like a practical joke comparable only to that practised by a former Ruler of the Junagarh state on Lord Curzon who was presented with a dozen monkeys in response to a requisition for a seaport, (also Bandar in the vernacular). While the West Bengal Government and the West Bengal Congress submitted representations about their difficulties in respect of rail transport, the Committee, possibly out of present-day airmindedness, have given something which requires air transport before Barsoi is reached. And, even as a corridor, the strip offered is of no use, because "east of the Mahananda" does not reach up to Darjeeling district, it ends at a point on the Bihar-Pakistan border, about 20 miles south of the southernmost point of Darjeeling district.

Incidentally, it may be mentioned that "east of the Mahananda" is a very unfortunate and very incorrect expression which was first used in the Bengal Census Report of 1872, which made the further mistake of describing Mahananda as the Mahanaddy. This Report stated, "The thanas east of the Mahanaddy, Kaliagunge, Kisangunge and Balrampur, are purely inhabited by Bengalees, and large numbers of them are found on the right (i.e. west) bank of the river." Another statement is that "The Kosi river used to be the old boundary of Bihar, but Hindusthanis are the prevailing race for some distance beyond." "Some distance beyond" is presumably very much less than the wide expanse between the Kosi and the Mahananda; and this suggests that the Hindi-Bengali dividing line is somewhere near the middle of this wide expanse. And corroboration of this comes from the further statement that "If it were possible to draw a hard and fast line which should divide the country inhabited by Bengalees from that inhabited by Hindusthanis speaking a dialect of Hindi, it should perhaps run in a vertical direction through the police-stations of Amour Kusba and Kudba."

Grierson also made the mistake of noting on page 119 vol. V, part I of the *Linguistic Survey* that "the western limit of Bengali may be roughly taken to be the river Mahananda," although what he really intended was that Bengali extended to far beyond the western bank of the Mahananda, as described on page 139: "That (the Bengali) language may be taken as

occupying the eastern third of the district (Purnea), that is to say, the whole of the Kisangunge and the eastern half of the Sadar subdivision. This dialect, closely resembling the Koch Bengali of Malda is called Kisanganj or Siripuria, and is returned as spoken by 603,623 souls."

Politicians in Calcutta, unacquainted with the geography of Purnea district, took up the cry of "east of the Mahananda," with the disastrous result that the so-called corridor fails to serve as a corridor. And, even over this insufficient corridor, the S. R. Committee have imposed certain conditions to be observed by West Bengal Government viz, (1) to recognise the special position of Urdu in this area and (2) to make a clear announcement that no displaced persons from Pakistan would be sent to this densely-peopled area. They took no notice of (1) the Bihar Census Superintendent's observation that in "the district of Purnea on the Bengal and East Pakistan border, Urdu is practically unknown, except among educated Muslims, and the vast majority of the population (including of course Muslims) speak a mixed Maithili-Bengali dialect known as Kisanganjia, (2) the facts that Bihar Government's choice of place for refugees from Pakistan had been chiefly Purnea district and the still more densely-peopled district Champaran, that Bengalee refugees were never admitted to sparsely-peopled areas in east Santal Parganas or east Manbhum or east Dhalbhum, that Chakulia in Dhalbhum had been made available for refugees from West-Pakistan in 1947 but that as soon as the Punjab refugees left, the sheds were deliberately pulled down, to make it possible to report that no accommodation was available for refugees from East-Pakistan. Will the S. R. Committee which have asked for an announcement of no refugee infiltration for Purnea be good enough to ask the Bihar Government to announce that they would hereafter settle East-Pakistan refugees in East Dhalbhum and in Jamtara and Dumka subdivision of the Santal Parganas in large numbers, until density of population now ranging between 280 and 463 rises to 500 per square mile?

Will the Committee recommend the immediate restoration of Bengali as one of the Court languages in Dhalbhum and in Dhanbad, for the convenience, in either case, of more than 185 thousand persons with mother-tongue Bengali and 20 to 30 thousand bi-lingual tribals who speak Bengali as their subsidiary language (numbers not insignificant in comparison with that of the so-called Urdu-speakers in the so-called corridor to the east of the Mahananda river)? And, will they further request the Bihar Government to take such measures as may be necessary to stop the tribals' march towards extinction, march that has brought down the Bhumi number from 36,212 to 922, the Malpaharia number from 67,021 to 23,774 and in Dhanbad only the Santal number from 73,377 to 49,265, (reductions exceeding 24 to 44 times the number of Tibetans or Sikhs (or Kazaks?) that perished in the fateful Rupkund valley)?

ASSAM

I have no personal knowledge of condition on the Assam border, and cannot venture to offer any comment, except to note on only two points viz :

(1) As the aeroplane flies (though not as the crow flies), Dhubri is on the route from Calcutta. Transfer to Bengal of this subdivision alone of the Goalpara district would be of the greatest advantage.

(2) The observation in the Assam Census Report of 1951 about "the aggressive linguistic nationalism now prevailing in Assam, coupled with the desire of many persons among the Muslims as well as tea garden labour immigrants to adopt Assamese in the State of their adoption. It is not unlikely that some amongst the persons who have returned their mother-tongue as Assamese have done so from dubious motives, even though their knowledge of Assamese may not amount to much" reveals a parallel case with that of Muslims in Purnea who really ignorant of Urdu, return Urdu as their mother-tongue. And quite possibly Pakistani Muslims now in Assam will, after a decade or two, i.e., after they have securely established themselves by driving out Bengali-speaking Hindus, again change their decision about language to declare and return Urdu as their mother-language. Of course they would be speaking Koch Bengali all the time; Urdu will be as much a false declaration then as Assamese is now.

GENERAL

Just as this note is ready for the Press, reports arrive of the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry Mr. Krishnamachari's speech in Jamshedpur on 15th October, paying glowing tributes to the memory of an unassuming Bengali geologist Mr P. N. Bose whose bust still adorns the Park in Jamshedpur, and whose advice was the determining factor in changing Tatas' selection of site for their Iron Works, from villages in the C. P. (now Madhya Pradesh) to villages Kalimati and Sakchi in the extreme north-western corner of Dhalbhum. The new project attracted practically no interest in Bihar for many years yet; and the preliminary work, from 1908 to 1911, was done almost entirely by local labour, Bengalees, Bhumijes and Santals, guided by a small party of Parsi and Bengali overseers under the general supervision of German engineers and from 1911, also by an American Foreman Mr. Tutwiler. There was practically no Hindi-speaking labour—in fact, the Hindi-speaking percentage in the district population in 1911 was only 4.9, a very small advance over the percentage 20 years earlier, 4.8 in 1891. The Hindi percentage in Dhalbhum was so small (possibly less than 2) as to be left out of account by

the Census Superintendent in his summary in para 722 of his Report. The Bengali percentage in Dhalbhum was 40, Oriya 11, Santali and Bhumij nearly 40, with a very considerable proportion of bi-linguals, the subsidiary language being invariably Bengali. Bengali-speakers still outnumber Hindi-speakers by nearly 50 per cent in Dhalbhum including Jamshedpur, possibly by 500 per cent if Jamshedpur City is left out of account; and it is no wonder that Bengalis feel sorely disappointed over retention of Dhalbhum in Bihar, and, on top of that, the banning of Bengali as a Court language.

But even more painful than the unjust decision of retention in Bihar has been the expression by the S. R. Committee of Suspicion about the veracity of statements by Bengalis that a letter written in 1912 by five top-ranking Bihar leaders contained the words: "the whole district of Manbhumi and pargana Dhalbhum of Singhbhum district are Bengali-speaking, and they should go to Bengal." The letter was published in the *Bengalee* newspaper on 4th January 1912; and one of its signatories Mr. Parmeswar Lal, Bar-at-law, Calcutta High Court, had 12 days earlier seconded Sapru's resolution in the Congress recommending re-adjustment of boundaries on the linguistic basis. The *Bengalee* of the 4th January 1942 is in the file maintained by the Indian Association, and would have been produced at once if any member of the Committee had only spoken about his suspicion to any one of the many representatives of West Bengal that appeared before the Committee. West Bengal, although very anxious to get back Manbhumi and Dhalbhum, would not stoop to mean tricks like fake quotations alleged to be from District Gazeteers, manipulation of Census figures or riotous processions proclaiming *Janamat* or the kind recently demonstrated before cinema houses in Jharia.

The West Bengal Government's assent to the proposition that "in and around Jamshedpur the population is so mixed that no State can legitimately claim the City on cultural or linguistic grounds" does not certainly support the inclusion of Jamshedpur City in Bihar, any more than in West Bengal—and it had no reference at all to the vast area of Dhalbhum more than, say, 15 miles east, or 8 miles south of Jamshedpur. Jamshedpur has no contiguity with Bihar shorn of Purulia except through the very questionable corridor of Oriya-speaking (27 per cent) and also Bengali-speaking (24 per cent) Saraikela and Kharsawan, wherein Hindi-speakers form less than 13 per cent of the population, but all the same lucky Bihar wins the prize. And on some future day, perhaps, P. N. Bose's bust will be pulled down.



A SURGEON WHO WAS A PAINTER

By E. M. J. VENNIYOOR

IT is seldom that surgery and painting go together, but in the case of the late Dr. A. R. Poduval of Trichur, there was apparently nothing incongruous between his calling as a medical man and his devotion to the pictorial art. It was as a surgeon that he made for himself a name, but strangely enough, it is as an artist that he is remembered today, and will be, in the years to come. The paradox can be explained this way, that he never sought the limelight in the world of art during his lifetime, but painted solely for his own pleasure, to give

racy of circumstances, he could not go to Europe, and much against his will, joined the Medical College, Madras.

But he never gave up painting. The cherished desire of his life—a term of training in some European academy—was at last realised, when in 1916, he went to England to study advanced Medicine and Surgery. The short course he took there in painting proved subsequently the decisive factor in his evolution as an artist. Henceforth his themes would be presented in



Violinist, London



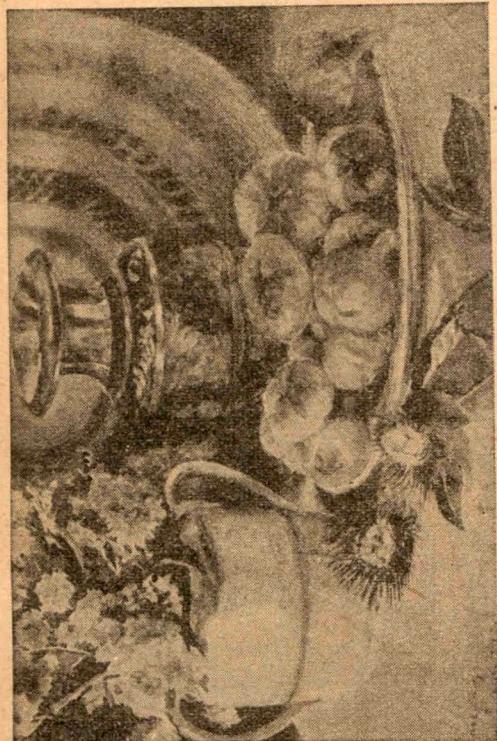
Girl at the Post-Box, London

expression to the joy that is in painting. It is not surprising, therefore, that many did not recognise the artist in him till, after his death, his pictures found their way into some of the exhibitions held in the South.

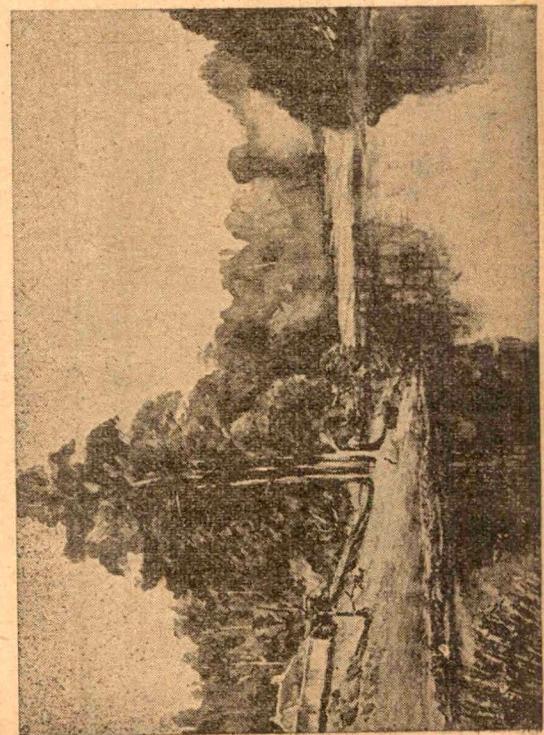
It was indeed much against his will that Poduval became a medical man. His early life was spent in the practice of art, obviously preparing for a career in its service. Even as a boy, he could win the favour of the royalty of Cochin with a portrait of a senior prince, and through the court, the acquaintance of Raja Ravi Varma who was then in the height of his fame. Ravi Varma, "greatly struck by the sketches and studies of animals and landscapes" done by young Poduval, particularly by their "originality and fidelity to nature," suggested to him to undergo a course of training in some academy in Europe. But, by a conspi-

techniques so skilfully developed by Western masters. He believed that art is a universal language, and hence had no hesitation in adopting those techniques that served him best in expressing his ideas. He saw service in Mesopotamia during the closing years of the First World War, and during this period, he sketched the landscapes of the land of the Caliphs. He went to Europe once again, and that was in 1928. Besides taking the Degree of M.D. from the Hamburg University, he visited all the famous art-centres of Europe, studying the latest trends and developments in painting. It was his desire to devote his entire time to art after retirement, but his death in 1940, two years after leaving service in the erstwhile Cochin State as Director of Public Health, put an end to all his planning.

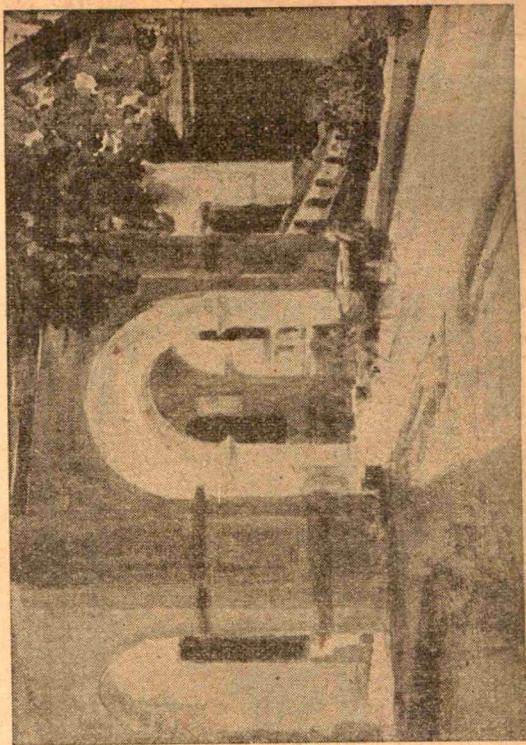
As an artist, Poduval had his own preferences for



Still Life Study of Flowers and Fruits, London



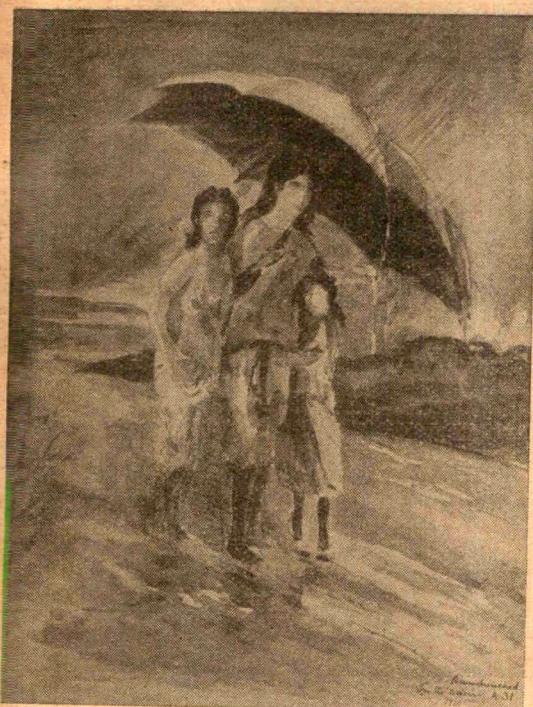
Landscape, Nilgiris



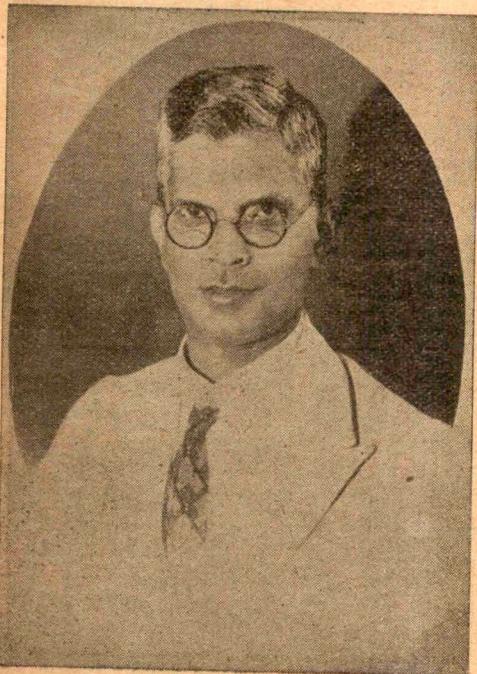
Lamplit Porch, Mesopotamia

media, subjects and schools. He has worked with water-colour, pen and ink, charcoal, chalk and crayon,

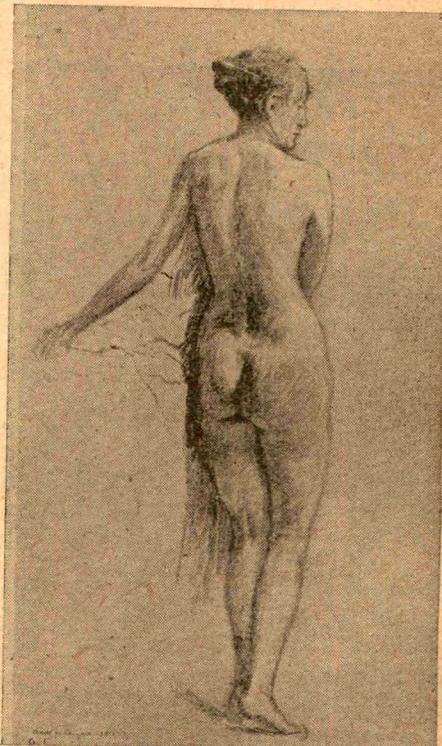
but his predilection was for water colour. An endless variety of subjects has fascinated him—landscapes, human and animal forms, still lives, etc., but he is seen at his best in rendering landscapes. The influence of Western schools, particularly of Impressionism, is manifest in his pictures but there is absolutely no trace of unimaginative imitation. The landscapes he has executed under the influence of Impressionism are perhaps his best paintings. His main concern is with the fugitive effects of light, and other details being treated as secondary. The reflections in water in some of his pictures show the minutest vibrations of light. This



In the Rain, Trichur



The Artist, Dr. A. R. Poduval

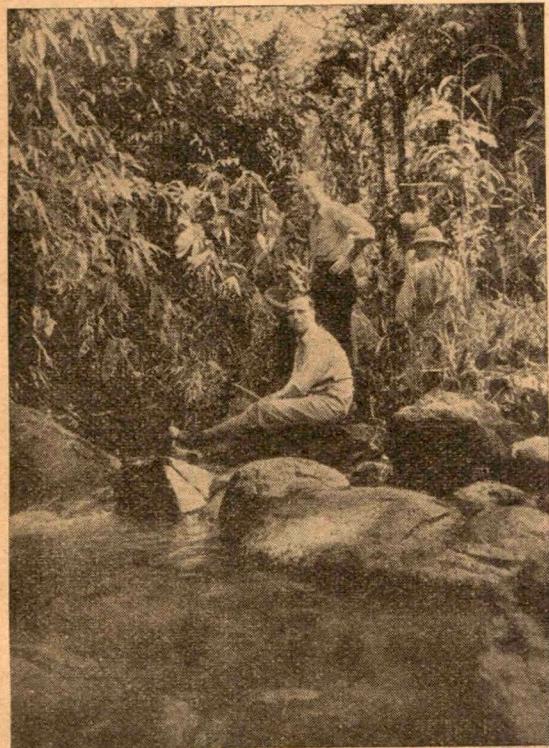


Nude in Crayon

effect is achieved by the method of painting with broken touches. His studies of human and animal forms are different in that light is no longer "the principal person" in them. They give us an impression of rugged simplicity, of weight, density and solidity. His was a bold hand emphasising the outstanding features of the subject with a few strokes of the brush. His colours are bright, but never aggressive. On the whole, there is a sure touch of genius, of perfect mastery, and an unmistakable note of honesty and sincerity of purpose in all his works. The sympathy with which he has treated his human forms also cannot fail to make a strong impression on our vision.

No person who is a lover of the mountains can afford to miss the delightful trip to the High Range in Travancore-Cochin. It is a mountain range resplendent with life, colour and charm. For a traveller whose heart is after new experience, grave and gay, amid the grandeur of scenery acknowledged to be without peer, the High Range—the region of sunny plains, glistening mountains, singing woods, roaring torrents, full-blooded aborigines, unique and diversified fauna and flora, gigantic hydro-electric undertakings, vast tea, rubber and cardamom estates—offers a diversity of attractions. The manifold charms of the magnificent primeval

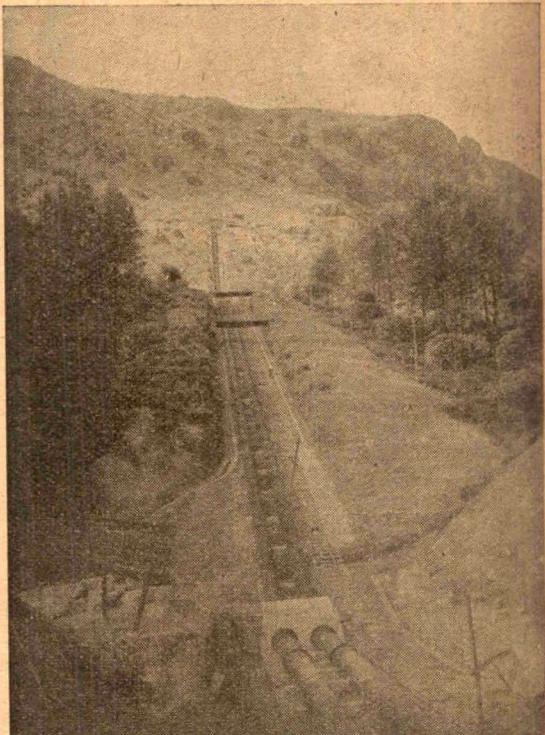
beautiful and under extensive cultivation, Tapioca, banana, pepper and vegetables are grown in abundance in these plains. The pepper gardens are a feast to the eye. The picturesque road traverses the rubber region set amidst entrancing brown and emerald mountains. From either side of the winding road rise the rubber gardens and it is like driving through lovely parks. In serried ranks the rubber trees stand sentinel looking cool and shady in the tropical sun. The rest of the journey is through dense jungles, interspersed here and there by tea plantations. Miles and miles of hilly slopes are covered by tea shrubs. On the summits of the vast tea



A mountain stream in the High Range.
Tourists are taking rest after hiking in the forest

forests are displayed at their best in the High Range, known also as the *Anamalais* or "Elephant Hills," for they are the favourite haunts of wild elephants. Anamudi, the loftiest peak in Southern India, is in the centre of the High Range and rises 8,837 feet high. With a length of six miles and a breadth of three miles, the High Range includes five peaks, all over 7,200 feet high. Just below the High Range are the Cardamom plantations in the hills, the height of which varies from 5,099 feet to 7,900 feet above sea level.

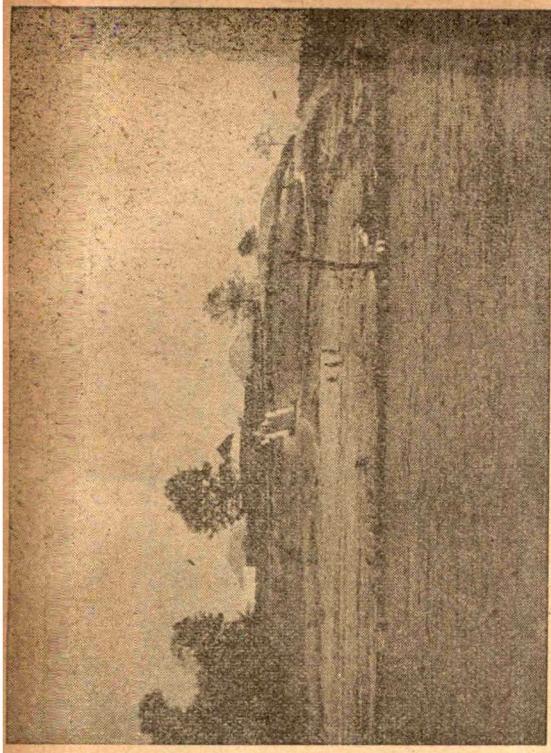
The journey to the High Range, through hills and dales, offers many thrills to the keen motorist and rider. The first stretch of way lies across fertile plains, most



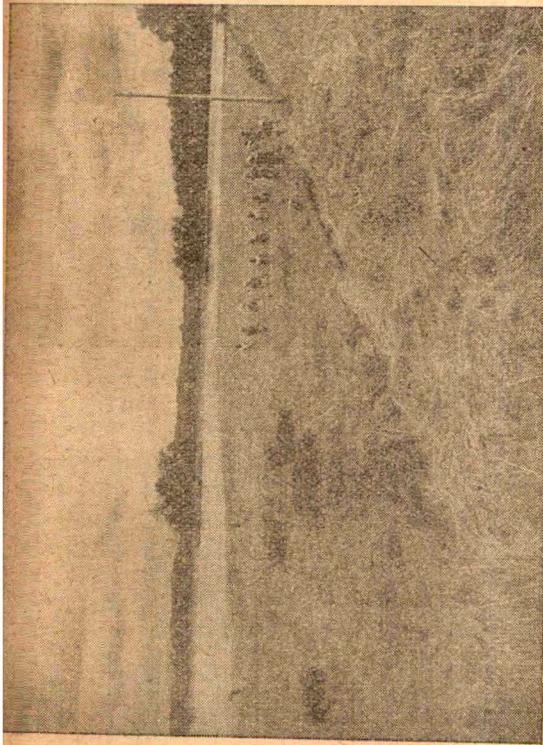
Pallivasal Hydro-electric Project.
Pen Stock lines piercing the forest

plantations are perched beautiful bungalows commanding panoramic views all round. Ferns and other trees embellish the flanks of the road, often disputing the right of way with the traveller. All around the tourist is a conflagration of colours, and he is enraptured by the rhythm of the hills and dales, romantic ravines, and wide expanses. The quaint and lovely mountain villages in the fragrant forest glades with the picturesque forestfolk crowding the weekly bazaars make a lasting and delightful impression in the mind of the seeing and understanding tourist.

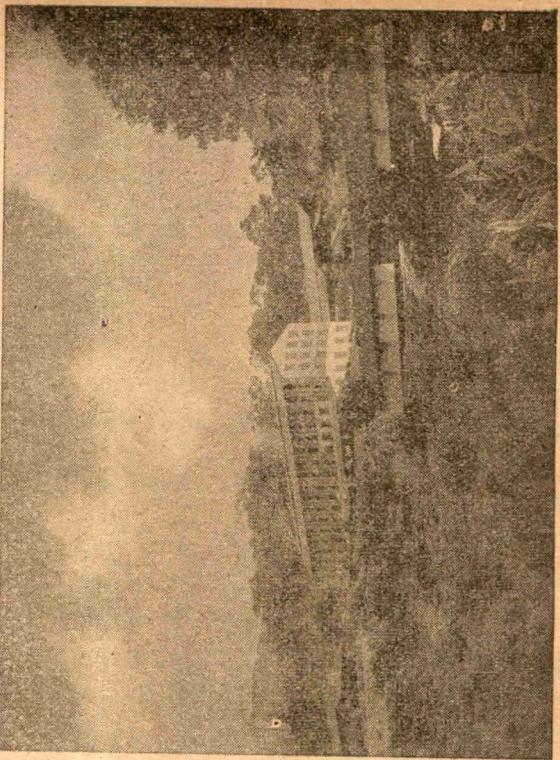
The High Range possesses the most wonderful and variegated scenery and a lovely climate during the dry



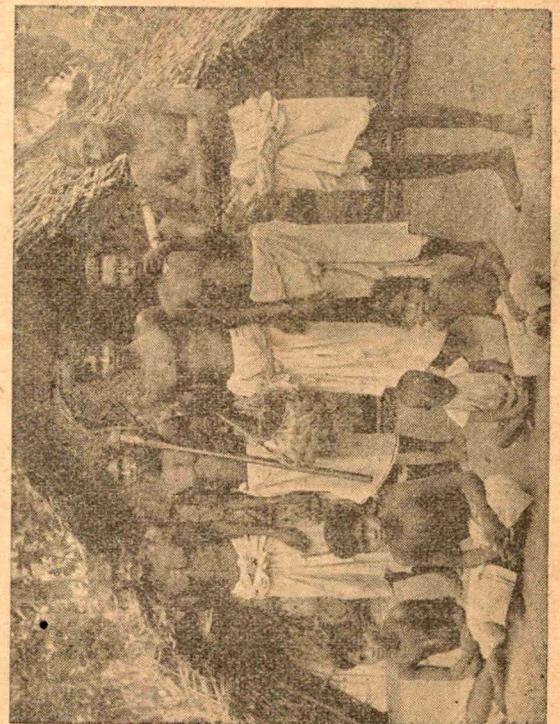
On the way to the High Range. A view of the plains
with extensive paddy cultivation



On the shores of the Periyar Lake



•Forest folk, who cultivate the jungle, in front of a hut made by them

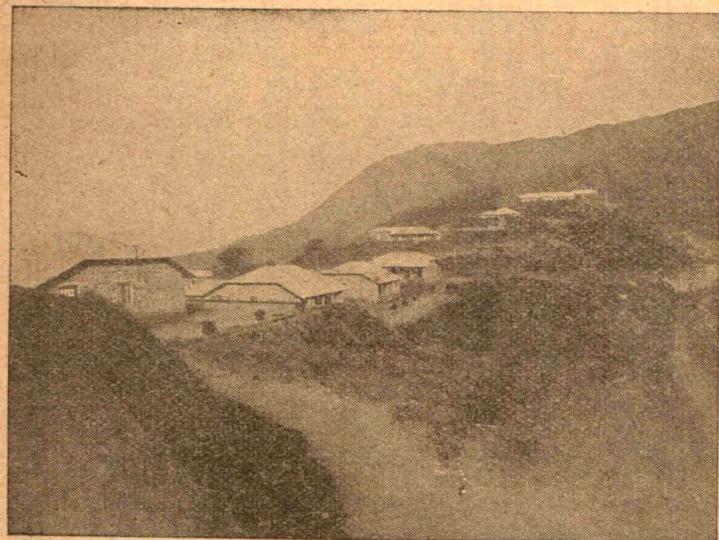


A tea estate in the High Range

months when the landscape symphony is full and charming. The two older hill towns in the High Range are Munnar and Devicolam, and the most recent settlement is Chitrapuram. Situated almost on the summit of the High Range, the lovely little town of Munnar takes its name from its situation at the confluence of three mountain streams, called Kundala, Kanni, and Nallathanni. The Munnar Valley is 5,000 feet above sea level, in the north-eastern High Range, and is the centre of tea plant-

small mountain stream at the foot of the hills. The Top and Bottom Stations, at either extremity of this ropeway, are picturesque outposts from where the visitor may look over to other ranges of hills. From the Top Station could be seen the Palni Hills, and Kodaikanal is but 30 miles from these hills. To the pioneering spirit of the enterprising European planters, Munnar owes its birth and rapid growth. A beautifully laid-out town with all modern civic amenities, nestling amidst

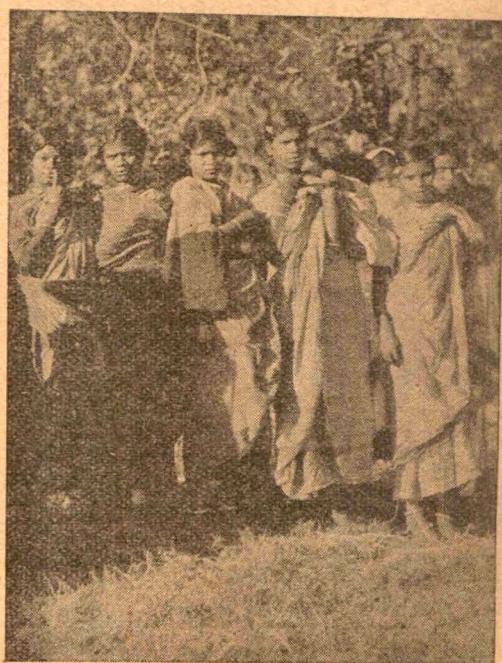
picturesque hills, it has a population of about 40,000 and has a first-class and second-class rest-house where tourists could stay in comfort. The famous Pallivasal Falls, the main source of hydro-electric power in the State, is only four miles to the west of Munnar, and has an elevation of 3,800 feet. At Chitrapuram, not far from the Pallivasal Falls, are the quarters and offices of the staff attached to the hydro-electric works. The Kundala Valley, which is being converted into a sanatorium is situated above Munnar. The Pallivasal Hydro-electric Project is well worth a visit. Inaugurated in February 1944 this huge white coal generating enterprise is situated in a region where Nature revels in her wildest and grandest form. In this region where dense wood and profuse water mingle, man's handiwork



Chitrapuram—a, picturesque Hill Town in the High Range

ation and the most favourite summer resort. 92 miles from Kottayam and 82 miles from Ernakulam, Munnar is easily accessible from the plains by the Neriamangalam-Pallivasal Road, and is connected by a good motor road, turning off from the main central road at the town of Muvattupuzha. Munnar is also linked up with Coimbatore by a motor road through Pollachi and Udumalpet. A hundred miles long, this road is known as the Northern Outlet Road. On this road are the picturesquely situated camp sheds at Thalliar and Chinnar. The 60 mile long Neriamangalam-Pallivasal Road which pierces the heart of dense forest, has made through communication possible. A bridle path from Bodinayikannur to the Top Station also leads to the High Range. Bodinayikannur may be reached by train from Madura or by bus from the Kodaikanal Road. Sixty-five miles eastward on the Alwaye-Munnar Road is the viewpoint of Lockhart Gap, which affords a panoramic view of the Cardamom Hills and Chitrapuram.

Munnar is the headquarters of the tea industry in the State of Travancore-Cochin. It is a delightful pastime to drive round the beautiful, terraced tea-gardens through winding roads. The transport of tea is partly done over an aerial ropeway 18 miles long, one of the longest of its kind, and quite an ingenious mechanism which is worked by a turbine driven by a

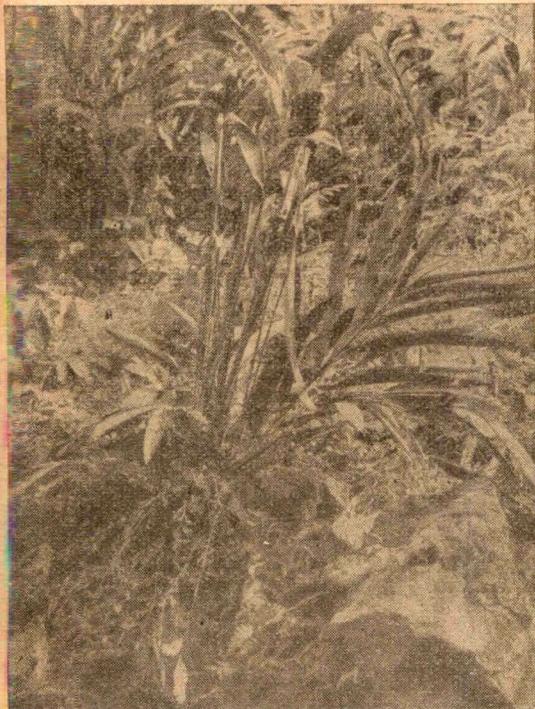


Hill tribes inhabiting the High Range

has created a marvel of engineering skill in the Pallivasal Hydro-electric Project whose maximum estimated output of energy will be 29,000 kilowatts capable of turning out annually 200 million units.

Situated in the cool heights of the High Range, Devicolam is the queen of hill stations in the State. Devicolam (old) is ten miles to the south-east of

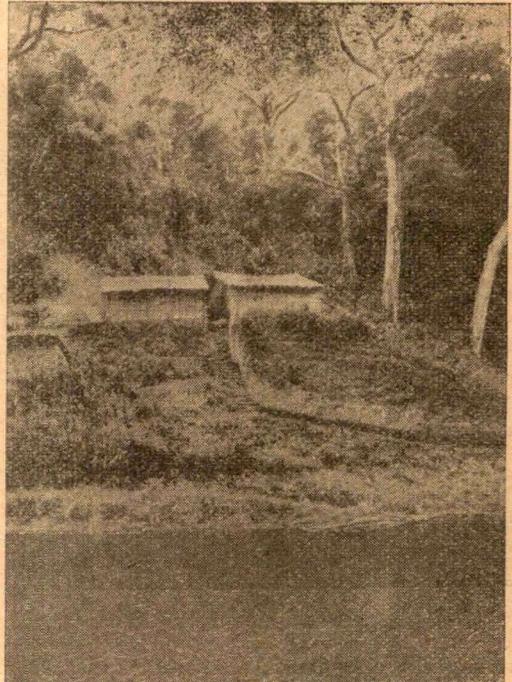
spot where the aboriginal tribes share the forests with wild beasts. Shooting game in the High Range is subject to the control exercised by the Peermade Game Association. In the many mountain streams and pretty lakes, masheer and trout fishing could be enjoyed. Elephant, bison, bear, tiger, leopard, sambur, deer, wild boar, panther, wild dog, wild doe, jungle sheep, these and



Cardamom plants in the High Range

Munnar and is easily accessible by a motor road. A sanctuary for the lover of nature, this place derives its name from a lovely idyllic lake with which is associated many stories and legends. Devicolam (new) is the head-quarters of the Taluk. Ideal weather prevails at Devicolam, rendering it one of the best hill stations in India. There is an excellent rest-house at Devicolam where the tourist could stay in comfort and see the terraced hills studded with tea shrubs nearby, and in the distance the virgin forest, and occasionally hear the angry growls of carnivorous animals and trumpeting of wild elephants, breaking the uncanny silence of the place. Oodumbanchola, 26 miles from Devicolam, situated in the heart of densest jungle, is a pretty forest village surrounded by a deep elephant trench. The intrinsic charms of the mountain range display themselves in the many hidden haunts, nooks and creeks.

The forests in the High Range form the natural habitat of a wonderful variety of big and small game. A happy hunting ground alike to the expert cameraman and the enterprising shikari, this region is a beauty-



Huts of hill tribes in the High Range

many other animals are found in large numbers in the primeval forests which present a sublime idea of Nature's infinite grandeur. A constantly changing variety of mountain scenery—hills and dales in quick succession, summits and peaks clothed with mist, rocky escarpments, woodlands, deep gorges, ravines, precipices, vast plateaus, many streams gurgling and careering, little brooks and rivulets, leaping and tumbling cascades—greet the tourist and provide him with a succession of changing thrills. The climate in the High Range has a languorous warmth in the summer. In the winter there is beautiful, scintillating sunshine, with a tinge of chillness which is bracing.

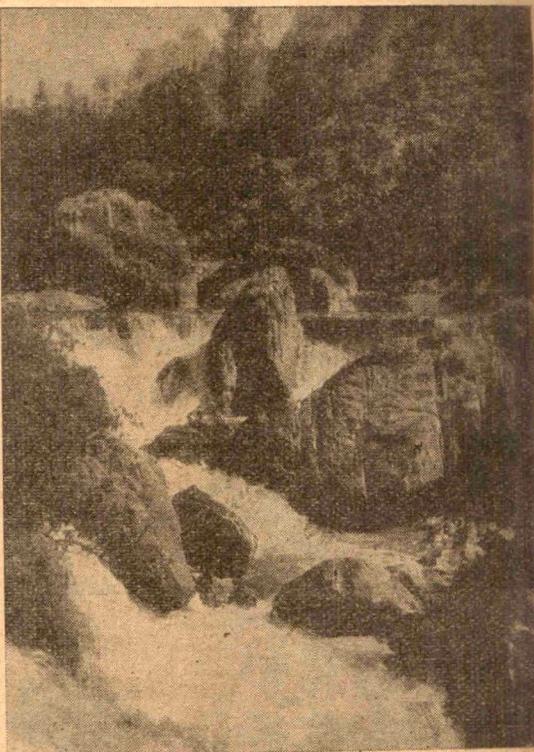
The High Range affords ample scope for research to the enterprising ethnologist and anthropologist, for the aboriginal tribes inhabiting the dense forests are so different from each other in appearance and mode of life, manners and customs. The hill-folk who live in and cultivate the forests are a set of very interesting people, primitive in dress, shy by nature, and generally contented. Divided into many tribes and exogamous clans, they have many curious customs and stories and legends steeped in the background of tradition which add

to the colour and romance of their wild life. Some of the hill tribes, like the *Mala Uralis*, *Mannans* and *Muthuvans* are comparatively more civilised than their brethren in the other hills due to their contact with the planters. They take delight in wearing shirts, coats and turbans. Of extremely active habits and ever alert, they have developed a keen sense of smell which enables them to scent out wild animals with amazing ease. Their primary occupations are hunting in the dense forest and cultivation of hill paddy on the slopes of the mountains. They are highly superstitious and awfully afraid of their chieftains, medicine-men and priests and the primitive gods whom they speak of as the "Shining Ones." Their folk-songs and community dances indicate their nearness to earth, their simplicity, and hoary belief in tradition. Pleasure and excitement expressed in wild dances and songs, oftentimes stimulated by intoxicating beverages, find their outbursts during festive occasions. If you want to know the good-natured freedom-loving, pagan forest folk, sun-bronzed and handsome in a wild sort of way, you should get into touch with these hill tribes who live in closest association with nature. Though rude in talk they are most hospitable and friendly, and of expert assistance to hunters and hikers. Their tree-houses called *Anamadams* (elephant huts) made of reeds and bamboos, serve as safety huts protecting them from marauding wild elephants. To share the tree-house with the forest folk and to bag wild game is an unforgettable experience for any *shikari* who is eager to adorn his home with magnificent trophies. If the tourist-shikari so chooses he could convert hunting expeditions into exciting stalks for shooting with the camera instead of the gun.

To the painters and hikers who spy out Nature's hidden moods and pranks and the poets with songs in their hearts who seek out the sublime in eternity, in the woods, clouds, waters and mountains, the High Range around Munnar constitutes a supremely lovely paradise for camping, picnic, hiking, mountaineering, angling, boating, shooting, and for recouping health and vigour. The best time to commune with the manifold charms of the High Range is between the months of December and June when dry weather prevails.

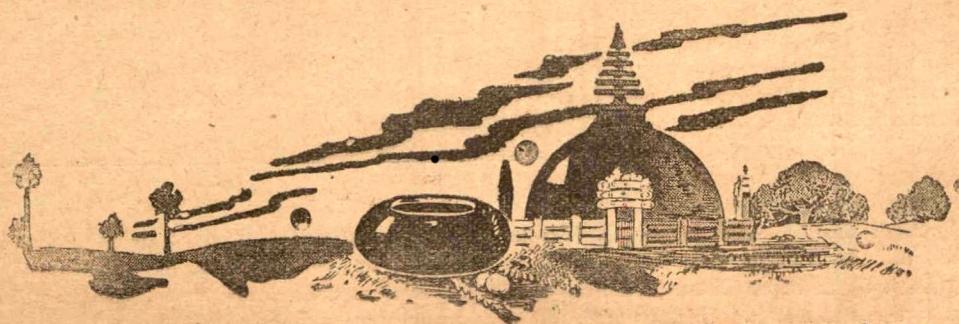
Blessed with exceptional climate privileges,

enchantedly beautiful mountain villages, excellent transport facilities, cordial inhabitants, and an endless diversity of scenery, fauna and flora, the High Range is a goal for tourists, botanists, anthropologists, ethnologists, ornithologists and *shikaris*, and the influx of visitors to this region bears evidence to the unique charms of the High Range, the best known summer



Pallivasal water-falls in the High Range

resort in South India. There is nothing artificial about the place. The High Range is not a place essentially for the man who uses his legs. For a holiday that is very different and exceedingly charming, come to the High Range, the scenic Playground of India, a veritable palette of colour. He who has once communed with the bounteous charms of the High Range will ever long to visit it again.



"KOLO"—THE ENSEMBLE OF NATIONAL DANCES OF SERBIA

WHEN a citizen of Belgrade wishes to show any foreign visitor something he is particularly proud of, more often than not he will take him to the concert of the "Kolo," the Ensemble of the National Dances of Serbia.



Macedonian folk-dancers

The "Kolo" has developed out of the traditions of the peoples of Yugoslavia and the continuous intensive creative genius of the anonymous artist whose feelings and moods have been expressed in song and dance. For although the most beautiful examples of popular song and dance traditions probably belong to bygone days, nevertheless now and then masters of dance and brilliant interpreters of popular songs are still to be found among the population of towns and villages.

The programme of a performance of the "Kolo" is a picture of the variety and wealth of songs and dances prevailing all over the country. "What a geography course; what a lesson in sociology"—was the exclamation of a well-known Paris critic after the first "Kolo" concert in the Palais Chaillot. And indeed, the Warlike Rugovo dance with its Yatagan duel for the lady is succeeded by the lively dance of Eastern Serbia followed by the ancient "Dumb Dance" of Glamoc, accompanied

only by the jingle of the jewellery; the famous Macedonian "Teskoto" succeeds the Montenegrin highlander dances accompanied by singing; in the "Dalmatian jig" the lads swing the girls sweepingly around the "Ilyerka" instrument players; in the "Shota" the audience is impressed by ancient love lore; the pagan accents of the "Rusalija" evoke the realities of magic and charm, then followed by five smiling Vojvodina lads competing in a masterful measure around daggers stuck in the ground. People and countries unfold before us. Yugoslav, the land of plains, mountains, sea-coasts, the tortured slavery under the Turkish yoke, the struggle for freedom and the heroic living traditions; men, proud, self-confident, exhilarated and sustained, always masters of dance; luxurious costumes of gold, silk and wonderful embroidery; all this and much else passes before our wondering eyes to be terminated—usually by two large dance suites. A Serbian and Croatian one—whose happy mood and the rapturous beauty of form and movement leave an unforgettable impression, and a longing to see it all again. For, in these dances there is nothing artificial, everything is genuine, sincere, everything comes straight from the heart and therefore conquers the hearts (Brugsch Handelsblad, Bruges). The visit to Switzerland in 1950 was a sensational one; the very next year the



Montenegrin folk dance in traditional costumes

"Kolo" won three first prizes at the Festival at Llangollen (Wales), for national dance, for solo national song and for solo national instrument. The Ensemble visited London three times (in 1952 alone 28 performances at

the Cambridge theatre), Holland and Switzerland; then follows a tour of Belgium, Austria, Greece, Turkey and Western Germany and, in addition to a tour of the whole of France, the "Kolo" gave fifty concerts at the Palais Chaillot in Paris on three occasions.

Unanimous in praise, the foreign critics, many of which are well-known experts in musical folklore, pointed out that the interpretation of national dances was rendered in a perfect form, and with a purity, precision and such a sincere animation that it constituted a great creation of art. "Every dance unfolds a new page of a richly illustrated book on the Balkans and we, like children, acclaim with joy and applaud every new scene,

and there is no end to our admiration and wonder"---writes, for instance, the *Duiburger Anzeiger*. Like many others, Cyril Beaumont, the English ballet expert, expressed the opinion that this Ensemble "will do more to bring nations together than a dozen diplomatic conferences." And indeed, youth talent and beauty, happily united in this Ensemble as the guardians of traditional culture, unwittingly become the instrument of the great longing of humanity for peace, for, by the force of their art, speaking sincerely to all the people of the world, they remove the barriers among men and States.—*Yugoslav Embassy Bulletin*.

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SRI SUBRAMANYA BHARATI KAVISWARAM

The Great Tamil Poet of the South

By NARENDRA DEV

In the vast domain of our poetry it is very difficult to define the position of a multivocal composer like the illustrious Tamil poet Sri Subramanya Bharati Kaviswaram who can be truly described as poetry personified.

From the stories and legendary lores surrounding his wonderful life-history we can easily gather that the Poet lived a divine life. He was well-versed in our sacred ancient literature in which is enshrined the wisdom of ages, the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Bhagabat Geeta, etc. He was also fully adept in all the best Kavyas and Puranas of our land. He lived virtually on that supra-mental plane of higher thoughts and ideas which was the preserve of the Rishis and sages of old.

Bharati worshipped Sakti or Mahakali, his great Mother and the Mother of this Universe, as the symbol of the immanent and transcendent force pervading all the creation.

As a poet Subramanya Bharati certainly impresses one with his boldness, his grand and beautiful conceptions, his noble ideas and subtle emotions, his powerful passions and sacred sentiments, his higher inspirations and joyous ecstacies. Going through the English translation of some of his best lyrics I am convinced that he was a poet of a very high order. He was also a popular poet, popular not only with the masses but also with the classes. His poems are easy to follow but they are pregnant with lofty visions and sublime ideals, with scholarly erudition and logical precision, with philosophical outlook and poetic emotion.

Great art is never born without an urge in the artist himself for self-expression. Poet Bharati had that

urge. He has expressed himself in the way, a creative genius always does.

He was an ardent lover of freedom. His great zeal for liberty turned him into a revolutionary patriot. He came into the field of literature during the exciting days of the Swadeshi Movement. The Movement was started in Bengal and spread itself in other provinces. It was a political upheaval in India in the early part of the twentieth century. He imbibed the strong and vigorous spirit emanating from the Vedas and the Upanishads. *Nayamatma balaheenena labhya*. This was the teaching of Swami Vivekananda the Sanyasi patriot and saint of Bengal, whose fearless and forceful ideas were followed by Lal, Bal and Pal, the great trio of the independence movement of India.

It is a matter of pride and pleasure for me to find that Subramanya Bharati passed his Entrance Examination from the Calcutta University; and from Bengal, the birthplace of All Freedom Movements, he was initiated in the service of his motherland.

I have learned from my Tamil friends that he has very ably translated the Bhagabat Geeta. He used to write short stories, sketches, articles on social and religious problems, he attempted to write a novel also. Bharati never wrote down his poems till he had made an extempore recitation of the same. He used to sing songs while composing them. This is a very extraordinary talent, and proves his great natural gift in the art of poetry and music.

Bharati's works may be classified under several headings, such as his patriotic songs and heroic sagas, his verses on social and religious inequities, his poems

of love and romance, his folk-songs and doggerel verses, and verses, almost personal, pertaining to God and Nature. The last but not the least, is his characteristic compositions, based on fragments of the ancient epics.

Let me first refer to his patriotic poems and songs. One of his best poems, "Freedom," should be mentioned at the very outset. In it the poet demands freedom not only from political slavery but also from the very humiliating social tyrannies from which the Panchamas and other Harijans still suffer. The poet sings :

"Freedom ! Freedom ! Freedom !
To the Pariyas, to the Teyas, to the Palayas
Freedom !
To the Paravas, to the Kuravas, to the Maravas
Freedom !"

Freedom was the keynote of all his patriotic songs. Freedom first, freedom second and freedom always. In this poem the poet vigorously implores all his countrymen : "Come ! Let us labour all, in the way of Truth and Light. None shall be oppressed." He boldly declares that

"Those who are born in this sacred land, are all of noble birth : Let us live like brothers all alike; equality in every walk of life. Man and woman shall have the same privilege in our land. Let us banish all ignorance. Let wealth and learning flow in every corner. In joy and bliss let us live peacefully."

Everyone of us who loves his land of birth and cares for his own people will certainly join in the chorus of the poet's song of Liberty, Fraternity and Equality.

In the poem "Our Wild Mother," the poet's conception is that Mother India herself is that *Paramatma*, the Force Transcendent, all powerful and irresistible, fierce and inscrutably beautiful. Her spirit is wild. Her consort is Siva, the Great Natarajan who carries the flaming torch of life and dances the cosmic dance which raises waves of melody in the sea of song. The mother rides on the crest of the waves, that causes the woodland to be bright, with blooming buds and divine beauty. She, being drunk with beauty, takes the flowers in both hands and reels on her tripping feet. She sings and the Vedas ring! She conquers death by brandishing the Trident.

The poet's imagination in this poem, though wild, is typically oriental, rather typically Indian. We seldom find any foreign ideas or expressions admitted in his poems. His similes and metaphors are all indigenous and are very unlike those of the modern poets. Again in another poem we hear the poet singing to awake Mother India from her deep slumbers of centuries. He whispers into her ears :

It is dawn,
The dark shade of evil have fled
Routed by our penance,
And the Sun of Light
Has flung his young golden beams across the world.
Thousands and thousands of thy sons
Are gathered here to pay thee homage,

To bless thy name and to serve thee,
How strange that thou should be wrapt in sleep!
Awake Mother ! Awake !

It is a fairly long poem, very beautifully expressed and I feel tempted to quote every fine line of it, but our space is limited and I have to restrain myself very reluctantly.

His poem addressed "To Liberty," though it appears to be a bit of personal reminiscence of his prison life, reveals the poet's strong passion for freedom from all bondage that curbs the natural development of the human soul. In the poet's opinion, every success in man's life, his wealth, treasures, good name and fame are of no worth if he is not allowed to breathe in a free land.

Sri Subramanya Bharati, though he is great in every branch of poetry, certainly excels in his patriotic poems.

As to his verses on social and religious subjects, I would like to mention only a few such as the "Gopi Song," "The Cottager and His Wife," his "Prayer" and his "Conquest," in which his deep reverence for and staunch faith in the gods and goddesses of his land have unquestionably been established. In the "Conquest" the poet has conquered self and come out victorious. In the "Gopi Song," the intense love of the Gopis for Lord Krishna has very cleverly been expressed only in a few simple lines :

"Now along the flowery grove
By the Champak's odorous pile
Eyes made visionful by love
See your deep alluring smile.
Koel's note from tree to tree
Speaks your voice with sweetest smart
And the dark blue rolling sea,
Tells the pushing of your heart."

This is something which we cannot but say wonderful and sublime !

In the poet's "Prayer" to Mother Sakti he entreats her, "Speak, Mother ! Wilt thou deny me strength to live for the great world's betterment?" He prays on for "a life that regenerates itself ever anew, a life that for ever burns, a will unshaken wedded to its aim, a heart that yearns to sing your praise even if fire consumes the body's frame." Such courageous and dauntless desire can only come from a brave soldier who has dedicated his life to the service of his motherland.

In his poem the "Cottager and His Wife," we are in the midst of a dark and severe stormy night when we overhear the cottager's request to his wife, "Unto the mother let us pray. May her grace save us apace, from the tearing elements' play!" But his wife who has stronger faith in the Divine Will, answers quite unperturbed, "But yesterday in yonder hut where we lay had we stayed tonight, what would have been our fate? It was held by Divine Might?" Such was the strong faith and implicit trust of the poet in fate or destiny, which only the Divine Will rules.

In his poems which deal with Love and Romance, Bharati has proved himself to be one of the greatest love-poets in our romantic literature, because his love is not only human but also divine.

God is the greatest lover. We find that when the feeling of loneliness came upon the poet it filled his heart with bitterness, but as soon as the sense of his lover's presence dawned on him, it overwhelmed his heart with delight. Thus the realisation of the Great Lover was a matter of infinite joy for him.

His "Love Message" wrings our heart. It reminds us of the beautiful love lyrics of Vidyapati and Chandidas, the twin love-hawks renowned in Vaishnava literature, who have described so acutely the pangs and pathos of the agonised heart of Sri Radha, separated from her divine lover Sri Krishna. In Bharati's poem, a girl in her wounded pride and assailed dignity, beseeches her lady-friend and companion to go to her lover and probe into his heart to find out for what fault of hers he has become so indifferent to her and left her to suffer the ignominious sorrows of a heart smitten with pain born of this unbearable separation. In his "To the Beloved," the poet speaks of his intimate relations with the beloved; it transpires at the conclusion of the poem that his beloved is no other than that Great Lover. So it is again repeated, in his poem "Kannanna my Love."

"In the rolling ocean's wave I see thy face
And only thy face in the broad expanse of the sky,
And but thy face in the tiny bubbles' race,
Naught did I see but thy infinite grace!"

In his poems, the "Evening" and the "Tryst," we find the poet appearing in a very different mood. These two fine pieces of poetry are full of passionate but dignified feelings towards the opposite sex. We also find, in these lines, pictures vividly drawn of the delicate feelings and the pleasant warmth of the woman's heart, which are always more human than divine.

His folk-songs and allied verses are highly above the level of the poems by village signers. His word-music in the poem "Rain" is notable. His assertion as

to the unparalleled beauty of the Tamil language - worthy of being mentioned here. "Tamil is best and Tamil is lofty."

Bharati's compositions, based on the fragments from the ancient epics are almost epics themselves, as he is more in his own element in these writings. Some of them are much better than the original poems, more artistic and imbued with modern ideas, and as such these have a stronger appeal in them. The best of these tiny epics is "Panchali Sapathan" (The Victory taken by Panchali).

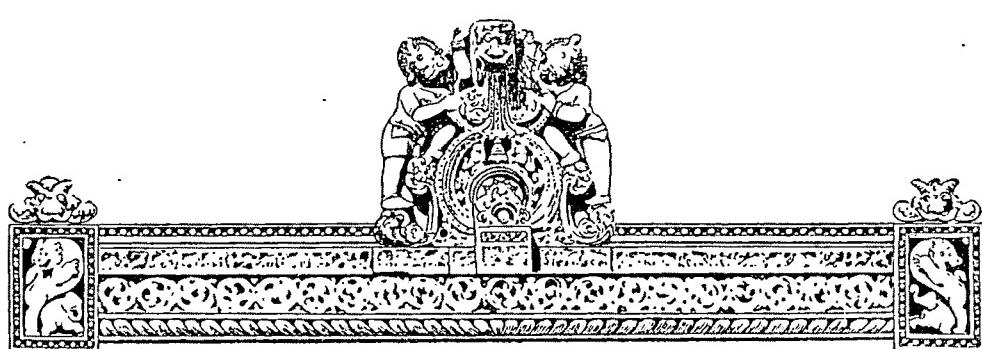
His magnificent poem "The Fire" takes us to the long-lost Ashramas of the old days where the Rishis used to perform *yajnas* by lighting the sacred fire to drive away the Asuras and other evil spirits who were in the habit of constantly disturbing the peace of the Tapovan. This poem appears to be an allegorical one, in which the Asuras seem to be the undesirable alien rulers, and the Rishis the leaders of India's Freedom Movement.

A very powerful and gifted poet as he was, he indulged in composing poems and songs in many different styles and embracing every possible subject. Some of them are mystic, some are symbolic, some are allegorical and some are realistic. A few of his poems can be classified as exclusively personal, such as "The Span of Earth" in which the poet deals with the idyllic picture of the simple life of a poet.

Bharati sacrificed his life to save a deadly frightened girl from the attack of a mad elephant who ran amock on the street. The girl was saved by him but he himself could not escape the rage of that mad beast who killed him on the spot.

Thus at the age of only thirty-nine, ended heroically the glorious career of this great Poet Subramaniya Bharati Kaviswaram, the father and creator of the modern Tamil language and literature.*

* This appreciation is based on the *Voice of the Poet*, an English translation of some of the Poet's best pieces, published by the Bharati Tamil Sangham of Calcutta.



SWAMI RAMA TIRTHA

BY KAILASH NATH BAJPAI

"True religion is not belief in God, but is trust in the good in man"—Swami Rama Tirtha

AMONG the latter-day saints, Swami Rama Tirtha's hallowed name is one to conjure with. He was a true descendant of the Rishis of yore, i.e., one of those whose noble mission is to direct the faltering steps of a frail humanity heavenward and teach it to walk in the way that leadeth to life.

He may, in a sense, be said to represent the third generation from Paramhansa Ramakrishna, in direct spiritual lineage. Ramakrishna is a world-renowned saint and needs no introduction to the readers; nor does his brilliant disciple Swami Vivekananda, who galvanised, with the superb wisdom of his Vedantic teaching and marvellous oratory, huge audiences at the magnificent Parliament of Religions in America.

Now, properly speaking, Swami Rama Tirtha, the proud Prince Rose in the garden of spirituality and saintliness, in the renowned Land of the Five Rivers was no disciple of Swami Vivekananda. Saints, like the proverbial poets, are born, not made. They are of God's own anointed ones. Rama Tirtha had caught the wholesome, generous infection from, and been under the special pupilage of, his friend and spiritual mentor and guide Dhanna Bhakta; but it is no less a fact that it was his meeting, at Lahore, Vivekananda, when the latter toured the Punjab, that proved the determining factor in, and set the seal on, the ultimate choice of Rama's vocation in life. He found his life-mission in the service of his country—rather humanity at large—by way of spiritual ministry. Like all Mahatmas of old, he realised that if it was gallant to rescue a man from drowning or even from the gallows, it was nobler to save mankind being submerged in the *Bhava Sagar* (the ocean of worldly Evil and Temptation); and to lead people to Heaven. And the contact with Swami Vivekananda crystallised his resolution, and made him definitely discover his manhood and full spiritual stature. Though in fairness to him it must be allowed that he was, by then, already in excellent making and had, so to say, gone more than half way to meet the brilliant disciple of Ramakrishna.

As pertinent to this point, it may be recalled that in November 1897, Swami Vivekananda visited Lahore and spent about a week there. He delivered many lectures, but the others faded into insignificance before the one in Vedanta delivered by him, at the instance of the young enthusiast Rama Tirtha, in a circus-pandal. The place was chosen, as being considered sufficient to accommodate the huge gathering that was anticipated and since a better one, equally suitable, could not be arranged for, at the moment. Vivekananda's divine eloquence, "burning renunciation, indomitable strength, dynamic personality and gigantic intellect" made a deep impression on the packed audience. Swami Rama, too, was profoundly moved and stirred to his spiritual depths.

The visit of Vivekananda, no doubt, strengthened the silent ambition of the youthful Swami Rama to lead the dedicated life of a monk and to go round the world, preaching Vedanta and propagating light, like Vivekananda.

The association of the two revered names, we mean those of Vivekananda and Rama Tirtha, tempts one to compare the two transcendental, fiery and flame-like personalities. It must be conceded that in literary scholarship and command of formal platform-oratory, Vivekananda excelled. Such accidental inferiority, however, is practically immaterial in the case of a spiritual philosopher, a seeker after Truth, one keen to pierce the thick veil of *Maya*, i.e., illusion and to attain "self-realization." The parallel of Tulasi and Kabir is a case in point. In spite of the abysmal difference between their respective learning, in the accepted sense, both pursued apparently separate ways, but equally successfully attained the common goal. Here, too, of course, Rama Tirthaji was well-versed in Vedantic, Sufi, and mystic philosophy. Verses from the Vedas and Upanishads, as well as lines from Persian poet-philosophers, like, let us say, Maulana Roomi and Shams-e-Tabriz, Hafiz and Omar, would, during his discourse, trip triumphantly from his eloquent lips. Even otherwise, the seeming inferiority of Rama was more than made up in the superior, crystal-clear magnetic current that gushed forth from the powerful personality of Swami Rama and had its inexhaustible source in the fount of Vedantic doctrine, of which he had drunk long and deep. So that he ever seemed inebriated by the heady wine of spiritual exaltation, which framed his fascinating face with the nimbus of a dazzling glow and glory. But both were "great and honourable" men of dynamic soulforce all compact.

We do not propose to deal herein, with the spiritual equipment and soul-loftiness, or the self-realization attained by Swami Rama Tirtha but just to afford a fugitive glimpse of my lively and unfading recollection of the saint's short visit to the historic city of Lucknow.

On September 1, 1905, Rama came down to the plains and after touring Bengal and Bihar reached Lucknow early in October. He was accompanied by his chief disciple Narain Swami and some others of the celestial band. He, with his party, was the guest of the revered B. Ganga Prasad Verma, the well-known editor and a prominent and highly popular public man. Shri Verma was a man of arduous application and a prodigious worker, but Rama proved a greater giant and easily eclipsed B. Ganga Prasad's multiform astounding activity. Swamiji spent about a fortnight here.

Every morning hosts of college students flocked to the Advocate Library to greet the dawning day with

melodious chants of *Om* in chorus with Rama. Thereafter, he would go out with his host for a walk. On returning, after a hurried bath and frugal repast, Rama met the waiting crowd, discussing and discoursing, which kept him busy during the greater part of the day. The afternoons were invariably devoted to addressing meetings of students in Colleges and High Schools. After five p.m. the people of Lucknow irrespective of caste and creed, age or sex, gathered in thousands on the spacious satiny lawns of Kaiserbagh, under the magnificent canopy of the heavens, with the dazzling October sun scorching their keen faces, squatted on the ground, waiting with eager impatience the appearance of Rama; to be blessed with his *Darshan* and to drink in, with avidity, the nectarine flow of unstudied but commanding eloquence from the inspired lips of the Mahatma.

The sweet reverberating hum, as of a myriad bees, from the southern gate of Kaiserbagh, electrifying the audience with anticipatory delight and fervid enthusiasm, announced the approach of the saint, with his pupils and band of admirers, forming a sort of a select bridal-party, with Swami Rama, vowed to life-long celibacy, as the bridgeroom. An answering roar of *Om* went forth, as if to exorcise all vestige of evil from Lucknow. Rama surrounded by a number of saffron-clad, clean-shaven Sanyasins would suddenly emerge as if from nowhere, from behind the adjoining cluster of bushes and ascend the platform. On the one hand, the sun was setting behind red clouds and on the other, Rama's beaming benignant face and his body swathed in ochre-coloured garb, showed as if a rival sun had arisen. Rama began with the invariable singsong *Om*, the *Sadhus* bearing company and the congregation in sweet self-abandonment joined the swelling chorus that rose incense-wise heavenward, as a prayerful offering, from the altar of so many devout hearts, in thanksgiving for the right rare privilege of a *Darshan* of the saint. And in the over-wrought state of the mind and the atmosphere one might have been excused for the vivid imagining that, some distance behind and around, the gold-washed walls of Kaiserbagh looked like serried closed ranks of giant *beragis* echoing and re-echoing the sound *Om*, with the silent melody of their own. When the mounting, exultant intoxication had attained culmination, Rama would, at the tense, psychological moment open his lips, touched with the true Promethean fire, and veritable elixir streamed forth in an apparently ceaseless current. It was a sight and an occasion for the very gods and angles to rejoice over. This would go on literally for hours. The enraptured audience sat entranced under the spell, and the Swami, delivering under inspiration, unpriced pearls of wisdom which Solomon himself would have envied, equally oblivious, lost all count of the passage of time. After a seeming peroration, he would again pick up the thread and weave out a fresh pattern of a pleasing picturesqueness kaleidoscopically different from its predecessor,

He was a peerless weaver of spells and it was a wonderful improvisation. He would suddenly come to a stop as he had started, and the procession would return to escort him back home, at his host's residence, usually late enough to find his host in bed, while the guest found fresh claimants on his attention. But who can say what divine, exhaustless energy animated the Swami who would tackle the waiting visitors, and retire to rest usually after midnight and sometimes in the small hours of the morning, to resume his programme early, the next day.

His lectures and talks were always suited to the intellectual as well as the spiritual level of the audience and with his inimitable tact he had always something or other to say to appease the soul hunger of almost every single unit in the assembly, who should not have been far wrong if he considered that the discourse had been deliberately designed specifically for his particular behoof.

He never posed to be superior to the basic physical needs of the normal individual. He never boasted of powers to perform miracles, nor did he ever pretend to be above the common laws of Nature which he respected; though when the mood possessed him he would claim them to be subject to his *Will* and their operation, a process of his own ordering. While addressing students he particularly insisted on their holding their bodies as something as sacred as their souls. He favoured and advocated a harmonious evolution of human personality on all planes, physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual. He himself used to take regular exercise. So that, even physically, he was always in fine mettle, which contributed not a little to the magnificent perfection and balance of his mysterious, many-sided and magically magnetic personality.

Recalling some of the simpler aspects of his teaching we have already quoted under the title of this article, the substance of his moral teaching, raised to the level of a regular religious sentiment, viz., "Religion is not belief in God but is trust in the good in man," a text suitable to be prominently displayed in the meeting hall of the UNO. If those attending the meetings, frankly and honestly, treated it as a religious, moral and political tenet, about half of their vexing problems would, automatically, be solved.

As to religion proper, for the average householder, he said something in a public lecture, held in Victoria Park, to the following effect:

What God asks of us is our Faith and Love, that faith which comes as much from the heart, as from the head. Mere persuasion, mere conviction is of little value in His sight. The most assured results of argument and reasoning, as long as they spring merely from our minds, remain outside our real selves and supply no power to influence our character. What God wishes to see in us, is that faith which may spring, indeed, from the head, but whose home is in our heart, in our spirit, that faith, which is not indeed opposed to our

reason, but goes beyond into a region that is open to love, but closed to naked thought; that faith which can pierce beyond experience, beyond sight, and make real to us things that we hope for, and test the things that we have not seen and cannot see.

He was not one of the highbrows and spiritual bullies who by means of their oratory and argument,

sophistry and subtlety, compel a possibly unwilling, un-sympathetic conviction and forcibly silence all doubt.*

* I must thank P. Brinj Nath Sharga Saheb Sharga, M.A., LL.B., a senior member of the Lucknow Bar, for allowing me to draw upon his brilliant biography of Swami Rama Tirtha, which those interested, will find not merely, eminently delightful reading, but a rich mine of information and inspiration.—K. N. Bajpai.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"Portraits of Contemporary Men and Women"

To The Editor, *The Modern Review*,

Sir,—I have made the appeal before, and do so again, that our talented artists should record in adequate aesthetic forms the visages of our contemporary men and women, the makers of our modern history, our political leaders, and the leaders of thought in the realm of Art, Science and Literature. Whatever little that has been done, has been done in Bengal, the artists of the other provinces are too much engrossed in experiments in "isms" to look around them and to take any notice of our great contemporary personalities. The first move in this direction was made by Mukul De years ago with his *Twelve Portraits*, recording in impromptu pencil-sketches Sir Asutosh, Sir P. C. Ray and other great personalities. Then came Sri Pulin B. Dutt (of Bombay) with his series of portraits of Mahatma Gandhi. But the Father of the Nation and Pandit Nehru have not been immortalized in worthy effigies, though frequently caricatured in hasty and irresponsible sketches. They have been painted by non-Indian artists, but our national artists have not been able to give us masterly studies of these great men. Sarojini Naidu has passed into immortal life without being immortalized in any masterly portrait. In England, most of the contemporary leaders are represented in the National Portrait Gallery, and galaxy of able portrait-painters have paid their national homage to their national heroes and heroines. The contemporary portraits from the brush of Sir William Rothstein are striking examples of this fulfilment of a national duty. The recent portrait of Dr. Radhakrishnan by Elizabeth Brunner shown in the Delhi Exhibition in January last, though not a great masterpiece, has been a serious study by a competent and versatile artist. But we should like our national leaders to be immortalized by our national artists.

The Moghul and the Rajput portrait-painters have left wonderful portrait-studies of nearly all the great contemporary figures of their times. Most of them are masterpieces in the field of portrait-paint-

ing. It is said that our great leaders seldom commission our talented painters to paint their portraits; they probably expect that the artists should work free in order to fulfil a national duty. There is a movement on foot to remove the portraits of foreigners which now 'decorate' the walls of our Raj-Bhavans and to replace them by effigies of our great leaders. This is a movement in the right direction. But the commissions should be divided amongst a number of artists so that most of our artists could get a chance to present proofs of their talents.

Oil portraits are expensive ventures sometimes beyond the resources of the members of our middle-class society now on the verge of poverty. To meet this situation one could suggest that our artists should develop a school of miniature-portraits, so that men of moderate means could commission them. It is a pity that the talents of our artists are going to waste, and are not utilized to record in worthy aesthetic presentations most of the leading figures in our social and political life. They are only represented in banal photographs, the machine-made abominations of the modern age.

The recent exhibition of Japanese colour-prints have also a relevant lesson to us. There were numerous fine masterpieces of portraits of popular actors of the Japanese stage. Why cannot our talented portrait-painters immortalize the darlings of our stage and cinema in superlative forms of beauty, demonstrated by the artists of the Ukiyoye School. If the artists do not come forward on their own initiative, the management of our stage-plays, who are running hundreds of nights of popular plays, could come forward to commission artists to paint the heroes and heroines in worthy aesthetic forms. The banal habit to commemorate our contemporary life, through mechanical or "art" photographs, must be replaced by hand-made presentations in worthy pictorial forms.

Yours faithfully,
O. C. GANGOLY

PLANNING FOR THE "SOCIALISTIC PATTERN"

By PROF. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

THE informal meeting of the A.I.C.C. held in Delhi on the 3d and 4th of September was unique in several ways. It was, perhaps, for the first time in the history of the Congress that we met informally in a business-like manner to thrash out issues of national importance, particularly about the economic development of the country. The splitting up of the meeting into three sub-committees was also a new procedure in Congress meetings. These sub-committees worked for the whole day and reached a number of important conclusions after serious discussion. On the next day the reports of the sub-committees were presented to the full meeting of the A.I.C.C. After discussion these reports were referred to the Congress Working Committee for further consideration and necessary action. The A.I.C.C. meeting in Delhi was a systematic attempt to work out the details of the "Socialistic Pattern of Society" which we had resolved to establish in India at the Avadi Session of the Congress in January last. The nature and content of the Second Five-Year Plan has to be viewed in the light of our new objective.

The report of the sub-committee on the 'Plan-Frame,' presided over by the Union Planning Minister Shri Gulzarilal Nanda, made it very clear that the main objective of the Second Five-Year Plan should be the achievement of fuller employment in the country through the development of small-scale, village and cottage industries, on a very large scale. It also laid stress on creating a suitable atmosphere in the country for increasing tax resources for additional development projects. Unless an atmosphere of equality of opportunity and of sacrifice was created in the country, it would be difficult to secure the necessary finances for the Second Five-Year Plan. Special attention should be paid to the needs of the under-developed sections of the population and the requirements of backward areas and regions. The need for securing public co-operation in a large measure through local bodies and village Panchayats was also stressed. Attention was drawn to the necessity of building up basic industries and the development of transport and communications on an adequate scale for achieving proper distribution of increased production of consumer goods in the country. The report emphasised the need for the reform of the educational system on the basic pattern and pointed out the urgency of training the required personnel for the implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan in different sectors of national economy. The report

of the Committee on Village Industries and Co-operation, presided over by Shri Vaikunthal Mehta dealt with the question of organising industrial co-operatives throughout the country in order to produce the necessary consumer goods in the decentralised sector. It also gave certain concrete suggestions for evolving common production programmes in regard to cloth, hand-pounding of rice, edible oils, tanning and footwear so that unnecessary and unhealthy conflict between the large-scale and small-scale industries may be eliminated. The report of the third Committee on Organisational matters, presided by Shri Lal Bahadur Shastri, gave several valuable suggestions for the revitalisation of the Congress Committees which have to be toned up for serving as an effective instrument towards the attainment of the Socialistic Pattern of Society. The reports of the sub-committees on the Second Five-Year Plan and Village Industries and Co-operation will now be considered both by the Planning Committee of the Congress as well as the Planning Commission so that the details of the Second Five-Year Plan may be worked out in the light of the various suggestions contained in the reports. We would, however, like to draw pointed attention to certain aspects of the Second Five-Year Plan so that there may be no misconceptions about our basic policies. X

Firstly, it must be constantly kept in view that the Second Five-Year Plan has to be in the nature of a definite step towards the establishment of a Socialistic Pattern of Society in the country. This means that during the next five years, we should be able to tackle the problem of unemployment, more particularly of the educated unemployed, quite effectively. While due emphasis has to be laid on the development of basic industries, the need for developing small-scale, village and cottage industries on a co-operative basis throughout the country cannot be over-emphasised.

Secondly, systematic attempts have to be made for providing equal opportunities to all sections of the population in regard to their social and economic progress. With this aim in view, glaring social and economic inequalities have to be reduced considerably during the next five years. There must be balanced development of the urban and rural areas. There should also be equality in taxation so that incidence of additional taxation may be just and equitable or the richer and poorer sections of the population. The recommendation of the Taxation Enquiry Commissio

about bringing down economic disparities to the level of 1 : 30 has to be constantly kept in view. If possible, we should try to bring down these disparities to the level to 1 : 20 during the next ten years.

Thirdly, the implementation of the Second Five-Year Plan should not result in excessive bureaucratisation. We have to remember that planning under democracy can be successful only if adequate initiative is left in the hands of the public. We have to plan from the bottom upwards and not impose our plans from the top through a centralised bureaucracy. The need for developing the village Panchayat system in the countries, is, therefore, very obvious.

Fourthly, special attention will have to be paid to the integration of our educational system with the developmental projects. We know that a number of schemes under the First Five-Year Plan have not been completed for want of adequate trained personnel. This mistake must not be repeated in the Second Five-Year Plan. The Union as well as the State Governments will have to plan from now about providing the necessary training in different spheres for speedy and effective implementation of the next Plan.

Fifthly, the need for giving the highest priority to the felt-needs of the backward sections of population and scarcity areas should be constantly borne in mind. Mahatma Gandhi's idea of "Unto This Last" cannot be overlooked in the process of building up a socialist pattern. For example, the slums in cities, particularly in Delhi, must be liquidated in a substantial measure during the next five years.

And lastly, the system of administration has to be reformed in such a manner that the people may have full confidence in the efficiency and integrity of the machinery for planning. It would be impossible to generate an atmosphere of confidence in the targets of the Second Five-Year Plan, if the people do not seriously feel that the additional taxes raised from them would be spent by the administration in an honest and economical manner. It is true that the prevalence of inefficiency and corruption in the services is often exaggerated and is, therefore, unfair. But the fact remains that there is enough scope for improvement in this direction.

We should also draw particular attention of the national planners towards the problem of Land Reforms in the country. Although some progress has been made in regard to the introduction of progressive

land reforms in India during the last five years, much still remains to be done. One basic principle which should be kept in mind in regard to land reforms is that the basic of ownership of land should be essentially labour and not capital. The Congress has always stated that the land should belong to the tillers of the soil and not to those who live on land by merely investing capital. From this point of view all those who are resuming land for "self-cultivation" without putting in certain amount of labour of their family, cannot be allowed to enjoy the fruits of land for long. Even living in the village for supervising cultivation is not enough. Land is a gift of nature and not the creation of human labour. It is fundamentally different from other commodities like factory goods. Land, therefore, should belong only to those who are prepared to work on it "with the sweat of their brow." Casual labour may be employed by the land-owning families at the time of special agricultural processes like ploughing, weeding and harvesting; but merely managing or supervising farm cultivation should not be regarded as an adequate condition for the ownership of land. Moreover, attempts should be made to evolve a system of land cultivation in which the village community gradually occupies a key position. Acharya Vinobaji's Bhoojan movement has now entered a new and revolutionary phase of *Gram Dan* in which the whole village community surrenders its land for equitable redistribution. This phase of Bhoojan movement should be carefully studied by the Planning Commission in order to evolve a new pattern of land-ownership and cultivation in India.

But economic equalities have to be brought about in both the rural and urban sectors. The imposition of the Estate Duty, the reform of the Managing Agency System, steeper Income Tax, etc., are steps in the right direction for scaling down inequalities in the urban sector. We have to remember, however, that all these economic reforms have to be introduced through peaceful and democratic processes. The Socialist Pattern of Society in India must have its foundations on truth, non-violence and persuasion rather than on methods involving falsehood, violence and coercion. In the ultimate analysis, real national planning involves the planning of national character. The success of economic planning in India would ultimately depend upon the quality of men and women who participate in this mighty adventure of building up a new, prosperous and progressive India.



KASHMIR

BY PROF. SUDHANSU BIMAL MOOKHERJI, M.A.

KASHMIR, the traditional land of saffron, of the stately deodar, of idyllic peace and romantic charm, has been a bone of contention between India and Pakistan for seven years and more. Mr. Prem Nath Bazaz has traced the history of Kashmir from the earliest times to the present day in a nicely printed, bulky volume of more than 700 pages with a de-luxe get-up.* The publishers' blurb says, "The author has masterfully presented the problem (of Kashmir) in a lucid and refreshing manner. His analysis of the accession issue is objective and dispassionate." We too certainly congratulate the author on his style and manner of presentation. We cannot however regard his performance as 'objective' and 'dispassionate.'

The history of Kashmir, according to Kalhan's *Rajtarangini*, begins in 2450 B.C. when Gonanda I laid the foundation of monarchy in Kashmir. It formed a part of the dominion of the Imperial Mauryas of Magadha, who were the first non-Kashmiri rulers of the valley of Kashmir. Buddhism, introduced by Asoka Maurya, produced revolutionary changes in the political, social and cultural life of Kashmir.

Kashmir threw off the Maurya yoke after the death of Asoka. It formed a part of the Kushana empire later on. It was a stronghold of Buddhism under the Kushana in the first and second centuries A.D. The Fourth Buddhist Council was held in Kashmir during the reign of Emperor Kanishka. Attempts to revive Brahmanism in the post-Kushana period resulted in the evolution of a new religious philosophy in the long run. This is Kashmiri Shaivism, also known as Trika Shaivism, which is a synthesis of Buddhism and Brahmanism.

The Hunas held sway over Kashmir for a time in the early 6th century A.D. The Huna Chief, Mihrigula, son of Toramana, was a heartless tyrant and is called *trikotita* (slayer of three crores). He persecuted the Buddhists and built Shiva temples and Brahmanical monasteries.

Lalitaditya Muktapida (695-732 A.D.) is one of the greatest kings of Kashmir. He was a great conqueror. He raised his country to the height of glory. Never before was Kashmir so great and powerful. The ruins of the temple at Martanda near

Anantanag and of his city of Panihasapura, fourteen miles from Srinagar, bear eloquent testimony to the greatness of Lalitaditya. That greatness was, however, built upon the miseries of his people. While the king and the nobility rolled in luxury, "the food of the common people was rice and *hakh* (Sans. *shaka*)."
Lalitaditya was a drunkard and followed Machiavellian principles in the administration of the country. His death was followed by a period of confusion during which his empire fell to pieces. Avantivarman, who ascended the throne of Kashmir in 855 A.D., tried to improve the condition of the people culturally and socially. Effective steps were taken to control the floods, which devastated Kashmir valley every year. The history of Kashmir after the death of Avantivarman (884 A.D.) is dark, dismal and, at times almost sickening. We read, for example, of the unscrupulous Queen Didda, who was the defacto ruler of Kashmir for more than 50 years (950-1003 A.D.). So great was her lust for power that to make her own position secure she procured the murder of two of her grandsons. She imprisoned a third for disobedience.

The unsuccessful invasion of Kashmir by Sultan Mahmud of Ghazni in 1015 marks the end of the ancient period of the history of Kashmir. Women were highly respected in ancient Kashmir. Seclusion of women was unknown. Queens of Kashmir, such as Yashovati, Sugandha and Didda, excelled as rulers. Kalhan speaks of women leaders of the army. The Supreme Council composed of ministers and feudal lords acted as a brake on the autocratic authority of kings. The Council could even make and unmake kings. Life was simple and, land, the only source of production. Ten per cent of the yield was the king's share. Slavery as such was not practised. The common man, however, was more or less a serf of the feudal landlord.

Ancient Kashmir was a great seat of art and learning. Hiuen Tsang, who visited the land in the middle of the 7th century A.D., observes that the Kashmiris were educated and lovers of learning. The earliest religion of Kashmir was an amalgam of Naga worship and the Vedic religion. Judaism, Zoroastrianism and Confucianism also played a part in the religious life of ancient Kashmir. Buddhism was introduced in the 3rd century B.C. Kashmir Shaivism replaced Buddhism later on. Ancient Kashmir produced a number of great intellectuals. Patanjali, the great grammarian and Charaka, the great physici-

* *The History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir—Cultural and Political—From the Earliest Times to the Present Day*: Prem Nath Bazaz. Published by Kashmir Publishing Company, 122, Kotla Mubarakpur, New Delhi. Price Rs. 20.

are believed by some to have been Kashmiris. Kashmiri also made considerable progress in the domains of art and literature.

Rinchen, a Buddhist prince of Ladakh, who had taken shelter in Kashmir, seized the throne in or about 1319 A.D. He embraced Islam and took the name of Sadar-ud-din. The Hindu rule, restored for a time after his death in 1322, was finally overthrown in 1339 A.D. by Shah Mir, a Muslim from the Swat Valley. Muslims, it should be noted, did not enter Kashmir as conquerors or plunderers. The Muslim rule was established with the help of the Hindus. To quote Sir Aurel Stein, "Islam made its way into Kashmir not by forcible conquest."

Kashmir was annexed to the Mughal Empire by Emperor Akbar in 1586 A.D. The Mughal rule lasted till 1752 when Kashmir passed into the hands of Ahmed Shah Abdali.

The 500 years between the fall of the Hindu power and the Mughal conquest constitute an important land-mark in the history of Kashmir. Saints and seers like Lalla or Lal Ded and Sheikh Noor-uddin (Nund Rishi) preached Religious Humanism, which was the basis of the Kashmir State and polity throughout the medieval period. Persian ousted Sanskrit from its place of honour and finally became the court language under the Mughals. Sanskrit, however, did not die out. Literary activities were considerable. Sanskrit as well as Persian were the medium of contemporary Kashmiri literature. Women also contributed their quota to the literary output. They had however lost much of their freedom. Most of the arts and crafts that flourish in Kashmir today owe their origin to the Muslim kings, particularly to Zain-ul-Abidin (Bud Shah), 1413—1470 A.D. He also introduced the use of fire-arms in Kashmir and employed a foreign expert to teach their use to the army.

Kashmir and the Kashmiris were not happy under the Mughals. Their cup of misery and humiliation was full under the Afghans. The country was economically ruined. Its womanhood was shamelessly dishonoured.

The Sikhs under Maharaja Ranjit Singh invaded Kashmir in 1814 A.D. The invasion was rolled back. Invited by the Kashmiris themselves, Ranjit Singh invaded Kashmir for a second time in 1819 A.D. and drove out the effete Afghans. The new rulers of Kashmir were no less "cruel, rapacious, short-sighted, intolerant and fanatical than the Afghans." A European visitor to the valley in 1824 observes:

"The Sikhs looked upon the Kashmiris as little better than cattle. The murder of a native by a Sikh was punished with a fine to the Government from sixteen to twenty rupees of which four were paid to the family of the deceased if a Hindu, and two if he was a Muhammadan."

The Kashmiris, the children of the soil, were victims of extortion and exploitation in all forms and varieties. The Kashmiri army was disbanded. Recruitment of the Kashmiris to the army had been already stopped by the Afghans. The Sikhs followed the Afghan precedent, Kashmir lay prostrate at the conqueror's feet.

Kashmir passed into the hands of Gulab Singh, the Dogra Raja of Jammu, and an influential noble of Lahore Court at the end of the first Sikh War in 1846. The Dogras ruled the country no better than the Afghans or the Sikhs. People suffered from want of food, clothes, medicines and education. Taxes literally broke their backs. Almost everything was taxed. Bribery was rampant and openly practised. The Kashmiris were shamelessly discriminated against. The Muslims, who constitute 78 per cent of the population, were the worst sufferers.

The oppression had its inevitable re-action. There were at first faint murmurs against the governmental oppression and exploitation. They grew and grew in volume till at last the All Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference came into existence in 1932. The conference was frankly a communal organisation. Its conversion into the National Conference on June 11, 1939, is the starting-point of organised nationalism in Kashmir. The National Conference under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah soon came under the influence of the Indian National Congress. Kashmir was awake. A literary renaissance at the same reflected the hopes and aspirations of the submerged humanity in Kashmir.

Kashmir was invaded by tribal and Pakistani raiders in October, 1947. They looted and burned, killed, maimed and raped as they advanced. Maharaja Hari Singh acceded to the newly created Dominion of India. The Indian army reached Kashmir not a day too soon to save it from the fanatical raiders. The enemy's progress was halted. In January, 1948, India complained to the Security Council against Pakistan. Maharaja Hari Singh had in the meanwhile run away from his capital Srinagar. The National Conference headed by Sheikh Abdullah came to power. Sheikh Abdullah fell from power in August, 1953 and was succeeded by Bakshi Golam Mohammad, his second in command. A part of Kashmir has constituted itself into an Azad Kashmir. It is in the grip of Muslim communalists, enjoys the patronage of Pakistan and stubbornly refuses to fall in line with the rest of Kashmir.

Mr. Bazaz narrates the above story at great length in very readable English and with distinctly anti-Indian and pro-Pakistani bias. It is not clear why he gave the name of *History of Struggle for Freedom in Kashmir* to the volume under review. We have more serious complaints against the author.

Inaccuracies and misstatements deprive his work of much of its value as a historical treatise. Thus, according to Mr. Bazaz, Emperor Asoka conquered Kashmir and reigned from 274 B.C. to 237 B.C. (p. 5). He quotes Kalhan in one place and says that Gonanda I ascended the throne of Kashmir in 2450 B.C. (p. 5). He speaks in another place of the rise of the Gonanda dynasty at the end of the Saka rule (p. 8). Many, we fear, will not accept the learned author's view that

"The rule of the Muslims came as a blessing not only politically but intellectually and spiritually . . . politics had dehumanised Kashmiris; Islam made them men again" (p. 49).

Raja Man Singh, the famous general of Akbar, is said to have committed suicide in 1586 A.D. (p. 70). In the author's opinion, Pakistan is as much a secular State as India (p. 372). Instances may be multiplied. Reference may be made, for example, to pp. 76, 92 and 125.

Foreigners were invited on several occasions in the past by the Kashmiri leaders "to save the people from tyranny." Mr. Bazaz supports their conduct on the ground that they preferred 'freedom' (!) to "independence" (p. 125). Strange logic! Are Mirzafer & Co. entitled to the gratitude of posterity?

We are taken out of our breath by the statement that three years of Congress rule (1937-39) in eight out of the eleven British Indian provinces "fired the Muslim intelligentsia with a spirit of Muslim nationalism" and that the Muslim intelligentsia in 1939 "were thinking of having a separate organisation of their own to ventilate their grievances against the Congress Raj as well as British Imperialism" (pp. 172-73). Mr. Bazaz, we feel, has hanged, drawn and quartered Dame History in the fewest possible words.

The learned author has hardly a kind word to say about any one of his well-known contemporaries in India. No man, we admit, can be above criticism. The pity, however, is that the author's language is often unrestrained and undignified. The reader's

attention is drawn in particular to his remarks on and insinuation against Shri Nehru and Mahatma Gandhi. Does 'Envy' really 'hate the excellence it cannot reach?'

Mr. Bazaz does not regard Kashmir as a part of India. Indians are foreigners in his eyes. Time and again he speaks of the Kashmiri culture, religion, philosophy and the like. But can Kashmiris claim to have any culture which is not essentially Indian? He is profuse in his profession of love for Kashmir. But he has not many words to condemn the tribal-cum-Pakistan raiders who wrought havoc in the smiling valley of Kashmir in 1947. Patriotism without a love for the compatriots is hypocrisy or self-delusion.

Time and again we come across such expressions as Hindu Imperialism, Indian Imperialism, Imperialist India, Expansionist India, Reactionary and Imperialist Hindu India and the like. The author holds that India's secularism is spurious, her nationalism fraudulent. "Nationalism of the Congress and communalism of the League are," according to Mr. Bazaz, "identical creeds. The former is the Nationalism of the Hindus and the latter Nationalism of the Muslims" (p. 376). He would have us believe that India is "culturally backward" (p. 376). Is she? We would like to draw the author's attention to a recent statement of Prof. J. B. S. Haldane in which the professor observes that in India "one has the absolute impression of being in a highly civilised community."

It is a pity that a volume, which bears an unmistakable stamp of its author's diligence and scholarship, has been deprived of almost all its value by misstatements, misinterpretations and the author's inability in not a few cases to see beyond his nose. One reason is that much of what has been narrated in the volume under reference is the part of a story, "a story which the Fates are still telling." It is, therefore, only natural that the author himself, a somewhat important character in that story, could not rise above passions and prejudices. He should have waited till the atmosphere was cleared of the heat and dust of current controversies.



A NEW ERA IN ARCHAEOLOGY

By MANINDRANATH SENGUPTA,
Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta

THE gradual development and progress of modern science make the common people very much conscious of what lies still behind the curtain. It is rather a duty of science to let the people be aware of what they should be aware of, to let the people know what they do not know, to let them have the opportunity to get acquainted with those things which still lie beyond their imagination. Archaeology is one of the most important branches of that science. Archaeology helps people to be acquainted with the relics, remains and records of antiquity. What was the old civilisation and culture of an ancient country, say of Babylon or Greece, what was the exact life in those ancient countries in those old days, may we not have a little knowledge about that in the present days? Yes, we may have. There is archaeology, go and take its help, you will find the answer. That is the technique. Now, as a devotee of that great science of archaeology, I like to state something, relate a little experience that I gathered during my past excavation in Sind.

In India, Archaeology has developed to a great extent. In particular, I may refer to the potteries in ancient India, of which people came to know many things from our Mahenjodaro excavation. Now, to say something of the potteries. The most peculiar point which strikes me regarding the potteries in ancient India is 'the introduction of ceramic colours in the ancient potteries of India.' The most striking fact is regarding the texture and colours used in potteries, beginning from ancient times right up to the modern age, and I like to draw attention of the archaeologists of India to this aspect.

It was several years ago, when I was busy with the Sind Excavation. I accompanied the late Nanigopal Mazumdar and we arranged some trial diggings in the various sites of Sind. When I went to Hyderabad (Sind), I was lucky enough to get the information that on the other side of the river Indus there is situated a place called Hala, and pottery industry is still prevalent over there exactly as in Mahenjodaro. It was rather my curiosity which took me there, and I watched with great attention the types of potteries which they used to prepare. After noting them very carefully, it struck me that the potteries, prepared there, have a strange resemblance with those in Mahenjodaro. The red slips and black paints are exactly the same both in Hala and in Mahenjodaro, the only point of difference is with

regard to the motifs and wares. This resemblance in spite of the point of difference attracted me strongly and I liked to examine their techniques and the colours they use. So I visited their factories and had an opportunity to look to their colour-vats. After noting them, it was my belief that they at Hala were using some metallic oxides collected from natural ores. And these ores were compounded with sand clays with a little adhesive. Adhesives used by them were mainly *bikhidana*, which were nothing but gelatinous seeds. Observing these compounds of colours and slips it struck me that these are nothing but ceramic colours.

During the excavation in different places of Sind, I had a good number of collection of potteries and I marked certain very important properties in them, viz.,

- (1) The colour and slips are not faded.
- (2) They (the colours and slips) stand weather-wearing.
- (3) They are in excellent preservation, except in the cases, where the action of salt is brought on.

Now it is my turn to request all the readers to mark the second property stated above very carefully. You all know that vegetative colours and aniline dyes cannot stand weather-wearing. Now, at this stage, will it not be my inference that the colour and the slips in those potteries are not vegetative colours? You may guess that it will be exactly so.

Now let us look to the third property. I request you all, to mark the line 'except in the cases where the action of salt is brought on' very carefully. The immediate question, which comes to our mind is, what is the action of salt on the colours and slips. To answer that, I had a number of examinations to carry on, and I got the answer. The action of salts on the body of the pottery is vigorous, leaving the paint and slips. Particularly, the reverse portion, where there is no paint or slip, is more affected. These paints led me to research works.

I came to the Indian Museum, and started studying in Geological Galleries. I used to study the various ceramic colours and its oxides by which the colour is made. There, I started analysing the potteries from Mohenjodaro and other sites of Sind. Analysis showed that my idea regarding the presence of silicate and metallic oxide, came to be true; it was also found that in each case, there is a percentage of silicate and metallic oxide. I was confirmed in my idea to some

extent. This confirmation greatly excited me and I went on analysing potteries after potteries from different parts of India, of different periods, varying from Calcholithic to Maurya, and lastly, followed by Islamic period. This analysis revealed a very interesting fact to me that there is a good percentage of Caoline composition similar to that of porcelan of modern age. I carried on my analysis with vase fragments, bangle fragments, etc., which were mainly considered so far as fiance (fiance is a soft stone of pale green colour, a rocky substance), and here is the result.

The substance under observation is a vase fragment (exhibited in the Indian Museum, N.S. 4537—A 470). After examination I found that there is a distinct mark of joining two portions together into one. Examination showed that the mark is nothing but a cement lining. The work is done in a way as if to connect the two in one, and the mass is made homogeneous in the outer border by fusion. Another interesting fact to watch is the presence of a linen impression inside. Wherefrom this linen impression comes inside? Had the substance been a rocky one like fiance, how was it possible to get the impression sketched inside? Despite all these questions, if any one calls the substance a fiance, I can but only pity him. After so much conclusive data, a child even can understand that the substance is not a fiance, but it must be something like clay. The lining of cement, the impression of linen are possible only in the primary stage of clay before fusion. Further, it was noted that in the outer border of this substance a glaze is present. The glaze is sufficient to prove the existence of silicate. Otherwise, in the absence of heavy percentage of silicate this glaze is never possible. This observation was followed by chemical analysis and it was found that there is a heavy percentage of silicate (SiO_2 -48.64%) and aluminium, the composition being almost similar to that of Caoline.

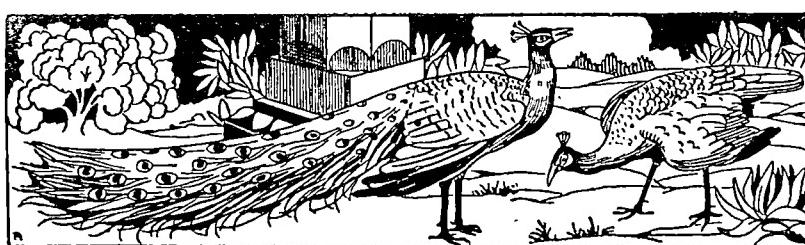
This experiment with the vase fragment is rather sufficient to confirm my idea about the presence of silicate and metallic oxide, and that the so-called

idea of fiance (the vase fragments and bangle fragments) is wrong and those are actually some clay works.

Now, regarding the period of existence of the bangle fragments and the vase fragments, it was found that these belong to the calcholithic period ranging from 3500 B.C. as they were found along with the chert flakes and other pre-historic objects in Mahenjodaro. In Mahenjodaro, there were other finds, existing in the later period, and these were excavated by the great archaeologist, the late Rakhaldas Bandyopadhyaya, the discoverer of that site. In the stupa site the antiquities discovered on the first layer were found to belong to the Kushan period. Among those, there were a lot of potteries and painted pottery fragments. In the outer border, these fragments showed some resemblance with those in the Calcholithic period regarding the glaze. The glaze textures of these later findings were again analysed, and a strange fact came to light. Analysis showed a presence of a good percentage of silicate (SiO_2 -48.64%) with colour. The difference between the substances in the two periods—Calcholithic and Kushan, turned a good focus to the world. It was found that in the findings of the later period, the percentage of silicate is higher than that of the former period. The immediate conclusion is that the ceramic industry has not grown abruptly, but is a gradual development from the early, primary stage onwards.

This gradual change and the advancement were recorded from other evidences. The texture of the pottery in the later period were found to be different from those in the earlier period. Husks were used along with clay in order to exert greater heat required to melt the silicate having a greater percentage. The actual analysis of the percentage showed a variation of 5 to 10 per cent in the Calcholithic period, and of 48 to 50 per cent in the Kushan period.

My idea of 'the introduction of ceramic industry in India' has thus developed gradually, and I like to continue it further in the near future with illustrations.





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

SOUTH INDIAN POLITY: By T. V. Mahalingam, M.A., D.Litt., Reader in Indian History and Archaeology, University of Madras. Published by the Madras University. 1955. Pp. x + 475. Price Rs. 13.

This is one of the most important works published so far in the *Madras University Historical Series*. It gives us the first critical and comprehensive account of the political institutions of the Hindu States to the south of the Vindhyas from the earliest times down to the fall of Vijayanagar (c. 1650 according to the author). It is based upon an exhaustive study of the original sources comprising material drawn from archaeology, indigenous (Sanskrit, Tamil, Telugu and Kanarese) literature and the notices of foreign (Greek, Chinese, and Arab) writers as well as modern works. In the Introductory chapter the author deals critically with the fundamental question of the influence of geography and social as well as religious institutions on the people upon their political life through the centuries. The following seven chapters deal very thoroughly and successfully with the different branches of the South Indian administration under the successive heads of Kingship, The Imperial (read, the State) Council and the Secretariat, Income and Expenditure, Law, Justice and Police, Military organisation, Provincial government and Local government. In the course of this description the author discusses frequently with reference to earlier authoritative views and in a spirit of scientific detachment a number of important questions relating to the various topics of the administration. Under this head we may mention the limitations on the power of kings (pp. 17-21), the constitution and functions of the groups of 'five' and 'eight' forming the kings' entourage in the Tamil classical literature (pp. 101-04), the rates of assessment of the land-revenue and the burden of taxation with special reference to the Vijayanagar empire (pp. 160-67, 186-89), the resemblances and differences between the feudal (*nayakara*) system of Vijayanagar and its counterpart in Mediaeval Europe as well as the merits and defects of the former system (pp. 327-30), and the question of ownership of the soil (pp. 360-63). The value of the book is enhanced by the addition of a very full Index.

Without detracting from the high merits of this work it is possible for us to offer a few criticisms. The author's statement (p. 2) denying the continuous flow of the culture and the institutions of Northern into Southern India and vice versa is not borne out by the fact that social and religious movements emanating from the two zones have profoundly influenced each other from the earliest times. Nor again is it possible for us, in view of the important settlements of Roman and later of Muslim merchants in

the great ports of Western and Southern India to agree with the author's contention in the same context that "the foreign merchants who came to India for trade were comparatively few." The author's two statements that the influence of the South Indian village assemblies "was at its highest from the 9th to 16th centuries" (p. 10) and that these "village republics worked with great success from about A.D. 700-1400 and showed signs of decay and disruption in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries" (p. 370) are somewhat inconsistent with each other. The author's view (p. 19) that "Hindu political theory did not postulate any institutional relationship between the ruler and his subjects," and that the only bond between them was conceived to be "the paternal feeling" of the one towards the other is contradicted by the references in *Manu-Sanhita* and still more in the *Mahabharata* to the occasions for resistance in various degrees by the subjects against an evil or incompetent ruler. The statement (p. 198) that the *Dharma-sastras* being "based upon the established usages" "received the respect and authority of the Vedas themselves" and that the customs of the people were taken into account "in course of time when the commentaries came to be written for the *Dharma-sastras*" is inaccurate in all its parts. The rendering of *danda* as 'a goddess' (p. 199) in Manu's well-known verses is unfortunate. The author's account (pp. 201-03) of the laws of the South under four specified heads is based wholly upon the evidence of the contemporary inscriptions and takes no notice of the very valuable contemporary *Smriti* Digests like the *Mitakshara* of Vijnanesvara and the *Smriti-Chandrika* of Devana Bhatta which indeed do not figure at all in the Bibliography at the end. The long list of errata at the end is incomplete, as is shown, e.g., by the misprint of the title *Milinda-panha* on pp. 108n, 401 and 437.

U. N. GHOSHAL

LIFE OF MAHARAJA ALA SINGH OF PATIALA AND HIS TIMES: By Kripal Singh, M.A., Sikh History Research Department, Khalsa College, Amritsar. 1954. Pp. 224. Price Rs. 3.

Ala Singh Jat (1691-1765) was a remarkable man of his time. Son of an obscure landowner of less than half a dozen villages, he yet rose to be the founder of a principality which now forms the nucleus of the Pepsu. Examples of small States like the Electorate of Brandenburg developing into a mighty State or small *jagirs* like Sasseram and Poona becoming the training-ground of the founder of kingdoms are not uncommon. But the instance of a village farmer turning into a sovereign ruler of a region by the eclipse and extinction of chiefs of considerable standing is a phenomenon very rare, indeed, even in

that age of political adventurers. Professor Kirpal Singh, therefore, deserves the thanks of all for resurrecting, out of oblivion, the career of such an interesting personality as Ala Singh Jat.

Born in 1691, the first important event in his career was his marriage with Fateh Kaur which connected him with two important families of the locality, (i) of Gurbaksh Singh Kaleke, (ii) and of Bhai Dayal Das. A more important turn in his career occurred in 1722 A.D., when he shifted along with his brother Sabha Singh from Bhedaur to Barnala. The two brothers then held in their possession only ten villages, surrounded by the domains of influential chiefs, e.g., Rai Kalha of Rajkot and Jamal Khan of Milerkot in the north, the Brans of Faridkot in the west, and the Bhatti chiefs in the south, headed by Muhammad Amin Khan of Bhatner. About eight years later (1730-31), Ala Singh repulsed an attack on Barnala made by the Manj Rajputs of the Cis-Satlej territory and the Jalandhar Doab. This successful resistance at once raised Ala Singh to the rank of a chief. In the following years he further improved his position by holding his own against the attacks of the Bhatti chiefs of Budhlada and Harihao and acquiring certain other villages.

In 1748, he distinguished himself by leading forays against the foraging parties of Abdali's army, as Ananda Ram Mukhlis clearly states and won a *khilat* (honorary robe) from Prince Ahmad, who led the imperial army against the hosts of the Afghan King. (*Tazkirah-i-Ananda Ram*). A couple of years later, in 1750 A.D., Lal Singh, son of Ala Singh, took possession of Munak which became a spring-board for a campaign against the Bhattis. Backed up by the *Dal Khalsa*, Ala tested his strength with Muhammad Amin Khan at Khudal in 1755 A.D. and won a large part of Bhattiana. Three years later, in 1758 A.D., he again successfully met challenge of Muhammad Amin Khan, backed by Abdus Samad Khan, *faujdar* of Sirhind and beat them at Rampura, near modern Akalgarh. The successful contests and the acquisition of large tracts of land after each trial of strength raised Ala Singh to considerable importance.

Ala Singh's great distinction was that he supported the Marathas as against the alien Afghan invader in 1759, by attacking Prince Timur's army during his march across Sirhind to Lahore, helping the Marathas with supplies during the siege of their encampment by Abdali in 1761 A.D., and finally giving the straggling Maratha fugitives shelter in his territory after their defeat at Panipat.

Politics in the Cis-Satlej region assumed a new complexion after the Abdali victory at Panipat and the appointment of Zani Khan as the *faujdar* of Sirhind. The *Dal Khalsa* swept in successive bands across the region and practically wiped out the Afghan authority. Abdali repeated his inroad and massacred twelve to fifteen thousand Sikhs at Kup. Ala Singh's secret understanding with the *Dal Khalsa* and their unrestrained ravages into the imperial territory and the East Punjab made both the Afghan King and his lieutenant Najibuddaulah eager for his friendship. He no doubt used his influence to bring about an accommodation between the Ruhela and the Sikhs, but the statement made by Professor Kirpal Singh that Ala helped Najib with a contingent of 1000 troops is very doubtful.

In 1765, Ala Singh reached the apogee of his career when the Abdali appointed him *faujdar* of Sirhind with the right to use *table-a-Alam* drum and standard. This high honour obtained by submission

to the Afghan King caused a rupture between him and the *Dal Khalsa* who made inroad into his territory. Ala stood up in arms against his co-religionists in 1765 and eventually through the mediation of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, came to terms with them. However, before he could carry out the design of extending his arms to the Valley of the Jamuna, he was taken ill of fever and died on the 22nd August, 1765.

Such is in brief the outline of Ala Singh's career. Professor Kripal Singh has worked profitably among the printed documents and unpublished material in Persian, Gurumukhi and Urdu, preserved in the Khalsa College, Amritsar, and presented, on the whole, a fairly good account of Ala Singh's career, against the background of the varying political situation from 1715-1765. He has shown conclusively that Ala Singh was born in 1691 and that he was arrested by Ali Muhammad Khan Ruhela in 1745 and not in 1741 as was stated previously. There is hardly any doubt that the alleged *Firman* of the 21st Ramzan, 1127 A.H., in which Ala Singh is described as *Raja Ala Phul* is a forged document. The words *Raja* and *Jalus*, and the date are enough to mark it as such and the author's laboured argumentation to prove it so was not perhaps necessary. The insertion of the photo-prints of the Vatials Rajas has reduced the value of the monograph. The portrait of Ala Singh is certainly welcome, but the rest could have been profitably left out or at least appended at the end of the book.

The author has examined a large mass of documents and painstakingly collected the data scattered in them to reconstruct the career of the hero, but evidently through oversight he has stated certain facts which will not stand scrutiny. For instance, the story of Ala Singh's keeping the locks of his hair of head by paying Abdali a few lakhs of rupees is a myth. The anecdote is based on Ahmad Yadgar's *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afaghina*, (published under the title of *Tarikh-i-Shahi* by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, in 1939, which was composed between 1591-1611 A.D. (vide Elliot, V, 1-2)). The sensational story has, therefore, been interpolated in the text and has to be rejected. Similarly, the grant of an independent status to Ala Singh by Abdali mentioned in pp. 104-105, is at variance with the statement on p. 124, describing him as a tributary. Then again, there is something to be said as regards the perspective with which the author has reviewed his hero's career. From the very beginning he takes him to be a considerable chief, and makes such misleading statements, as, "The conquest of village Nema had far-reaching consequences, (b) The battle of Barnala exalted him to the position of a powerful chief of the Cis-Satlej territory and stream-lines the chapters, with such titles as *Extension of Territories 1748-1754* and *Sovereignty Short-lived*." Ala Singh was great because he rose from a husbandman to the position of a feudal lord and *faujdar* of Sirhind.

The Persian annalists mention of Ala Singh as "Ala Jat ka Upda az Jamidaran-i-Sirhind bud" is no mean reflection. It would be better if the book were recast and reduced to half its size, by cutting out unnecessary observation, useless repetition, e.g., Chapter X and such an analogy as, "Just as Napoleon had benefitted by his marriage with Josephine, similarly Ala Singh substantially benefitted by his marriage with Fateh Kaur" and correcting all misprints and inaccuracies, e.g., Sirhind was under (in) weak hands, p. 40, Ala Singh helped the imperial

force away from his territory, p. 88, Ala Singh's successful companions rankled in his eyes (heart), p. 85, the Bhatti hordes gushed (poured) out of Pabla, p. 89, etc.

N. B. ROY

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF THE OCCULT : By L. H. Rawcliffe, Deric Ridgway, London, 1952.

The author of the book has taken extraordinary pains to subject every form of the so-called occult manifestations to rigorous scientific analysis. The chief merit of the book lies in the fact that in it one can find a unique collection of all "occult" practices and "supernormal" phenomena current in every part of the world. It is a source book of all information relating to the subject. Hysteria, hypnotism, fire walking, crystal gazing, rope trick, E S P experiments, telepathy, etc., etc., nothing escapes the attention of the author. He radically denounces every one of them and utterly demolishes—to his own entire satisfaction—the spurious scientific justifications of the phenomena. He is astonished that some of the famous Universities of England, America, Germany,—Cambridge, Harvard, Bonn, for example to name a few,—should condescend to encourage studies on 'psychical research' by granting Fellowships and Doctorate degrees. He feels an urge within him to save his absurd situation from deteriorating further and before takes upon himself the task of scrutinising thoroughly the so-called 'facts' and exposing once for all the bias which blinds the investigators in this field and leads one, even trained scientists, to misinterpret natural events. Belief in the occult is as old as mankind but should not continue when reason develops. It is the author's thesis that a more critical exercise of the powers of reasoning and judging would expose the hollowness of the 'psychical' phenomena.

One can thoroughly share the author's general view that free exercise of reason may destroy many cherished illusions and hallucinations of mankind. The rapid advance of scientific studies has, in fact, changed our outlook in many fields. The mentally afflicted old woman is no more a witch and she is treated now in a mental hospital. Therefore it is good to be critical about psychic phenomena and not to take everything for granted.

We welcome the book for the serious attempt that has been made to consider critically the various forms of the occult. But while in many cases, the verdict is definitely against the existence of the phenomena, in other cases the counter arguments are not sufficiently adequate and the questions still remain open.

The reviewer is one with the author that the facts must be scientifically studied. But after rejecting many forms of the occult there would still remain some phenomena which cannot as yet be accounted for on scientific principles. Just as there may be a 'so called occult phenomenon' it should be remembered there may also be a 'so-called scientific procedure.' Approach from the psychoanalytical point of view many of the unexplained experiences can be more satisfactorily understood. A reference to Freud's writings on the subject would testify to that.

The book is a highly interesting one and maintains a challenging style throughout which keeps the reader always on the alert. But one question crops up in our mind: Is the author protesting too much?

S. C. MITRA

THE GRACE OF GOD : Edited by Swami Madhavtirtha. Published by the Vedanta Ashrama, Valad Post, Ahmedabad. Pp. 110. Price Re. 1.

This book contains the spiritual experiences of a South Indian devotee now residing in Saurashtra. It shows how from the ordinary ritual worship the devotee is gradually led through the grace of God to spiritual illumination. The five chapters into which the book is divided deal respectively with purification, illumination, bliss, realisation and integration. Swami Madhavtirtha, who is a distinguished monk and author of about a dozen thought-provoking books on Vedanta philosophy, has contributed an adequate introduction to this book. The two appendices of definition of a time-vision and singularity of soul are also written by him. These three compositions have definitely increased the worth of the book. The spiritual experiences are described in the form of questions and answers. The questions mentioned are raised by the questioning soul and their suitable answers were received through the grace of God. It is rightly stated in the Abadhuta Gita that by the grace of God a man gets undivided integral knowledge. This book is, therefore, rightly named and sure to impress upon the reader that ritual worship is never useless but very necessary for the aspirant as preliminary practices for spiritual life. The religious practices are, therefore, not to be discarded but slowly transcended when higher stages of spiritual unfoldment are reached by the devotees.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

SRI AUROBINDO : ADDRESSES ON HIS LIFE AND TEACHINGS : By A. B. Purani. Published by Sri Aurobindo Ashram, Pondicherry, 1955. Medium 8vo. Pp. 351. Price Rs. 6.

Sri A. B. Purani is a well-known disciple of Sri Aurobindo. He has dived deep into the spirit of his master. He is neither dogmatic nor superficial. In these addresses he has dealt with most of the works of Sri Aurobindo. From these lectures one can have an easy introduction into the works of Sri Aurobindo. It is encouraging that at least a few modern thinkers are being faithfully re-thought and re-lived by some of their followers, which alone can bring out the true import of the messages that have been ushered into the new age and thus benefit the coming generations.

SATI KUMAR CHATTERJI

CONTINUITY : By Taradas Chatterjee, M.Sc., B.L. Published by B. Mukherjee, 112, Amherst Street, Calcutta-9. Price Re. 1.

In this small philosophical discourse the author has presented almost all the prevailing philosophical and scientific ideas and touched almost all the scientific subjects, Physics, Chemistry, Geology, Astronomy, Biology, Psychology, History and Religion, in support of his theory that from the beginning of creation the life-process is in a state of continuity towards the evolution of man's mind. One would be amazed to find the vast amount of knowledge in almost all the branches of science incorporated in this small book. The author has marshalled the scientific facts with skill and the whole book has a persuasive strength of conviction.

KRISHNAMAY BHATTACHARYA

FRENCH

L'AVENIR DES PAYS SOUS-DEVELOPPEES
(The Future of the Under-developed Countries) :
By Michel Poniatowski. Collection de "L'Economie,"
Editions Sej, Paris. 1954. Bibliography. Pp. 199.
Price 16-6.

Any book which contains, as this one does, in a short compass such a wealth of information on one of the liveliest economic issues of the day cannot but be, even when lacking in original thought, of immense value to laymen, students and administrators. It is a model of scholarly comprehension and logical presentation of difficult material, not to speak of lucidity and realism in which French writers peculiarly excel. But the book is endowed with original thought.

In the days of imperialism, the industrially advanced countries arrogated to themselves a divine right to invest much of their capital in their own colonies which were rich alike in cheap labour and in valuable raw materials. The two world wars have changed all that. Many of those under-developed countries have since attained political self-determination. The new nations do not wish to be developed except on their own terms. Even the most enlightened schemes of development, when such schemes emanate from foreign countries, are held in suspicion.

But the need for development is there. The urgency and necessity of developing the under-developed countries is much on the conscience of the relatively advanced countries. And contemporary political strategy has rendered the development of the former the necessary price of survival of the latter. Political self-determination has led to economic self-determination and since technical knowledge as well as the possibility of obtaining foreign aid have vastly improved, the hunger, poverty and ignorance which exist in these areas and the intimate knowledge of better standards of living elsewhere have driven the leaders of the under-developed countries to achieve progress at any cost.

The essence of the problem is not therefore whether the under-developed countries should be developed but how, or more pertinently, how best. To judge from the literary energy devoted to it, the definition of an under-developed country has been a thorny problem. What country is there which can cock a snook at development? The basic criteria which command the greatest measure of acceptance in defining the under-developed areas are insufficient utilisation of the known resources of the country and a very low standard of living. The emphasis is clearly on potentiality of development? It is now a commonplace of the extensive literature of the United Nations and the economic publicists that two-thirds of the entire population of the world are underfed, that about twice as many people as before the War now fail to have the minimum food ration of 2200 calories per day, that 85 per cent of the world's income is enjoyed by one-third of the population, that at the present rate of population growth a constant increase in the national income by 3 per cent to 5 per cent is necessary for reasonable improvement in the standard of living of the under-developed areas, that to raise the national income of this population by 2 per cent per annum there will be required a total annual investment of \$14,000 million.

Clearly, much has to be done before capital on such a vast scale can be mobilized for investment in the under-developed areas. In the light of experience,

it looks as though short of adoption of an international statute defining the terms of international loans, investment will lag behind the level necessary. On the other hand, the economically advanced countries should be prepared to facilitate an expansion of trade by the under-developed countries by lowering tariffs and subsidies even at the risk of increasing competition and to stabilise the prices of primary products in the world markets on which the under-developed countries are excessively dependent. Clearly, the prejudice has to be broken down that the development of these areas will not be to the ultimate detriment of the lending countries. Clearly, the pace of development must not be set too high. The author emphasizes the risk inherent in forcing the tempo of changes in the social framework of the traditional pattern of life through such measures as drastic land reforms. Clearly, the essential equilibrium between agriculture and industrial production, between export goods and goods for home consumption, between saving and consumption, must be maintained. Caution is equally necessary against an uncritical application in the under-developed countries of economic measures based on Keynesian principles more appropriate to highly developed countries. Clearly, the health services and education must not be pushed ahead of the capacity of the country as a whole. Longer lives and extra mouths do not reduce but add to the problem.

Coming from a Frenchman the book has a good deal to say about the French colonies. The author warns his compatriots against the danger of economic parochialism since the colonies must be able, if they are to live, to buy on the cheapest market and sell on the dearest. But the excellence of the book lies above all in the selection of the soundest principles of development and in the clarity and cogency in stating them. Readers will be repaid for the extra trouble which may be entailed by the fact that the book is written in French.

MARGARET R. BASU
MARATHI

SHRIMAD BHAGVAD-GITA: Translated into Abhang by Tukaram. Edited by V. S. Bendre. V. V. Patankar, Poona-2. Pp. 283.

The competent editor's illuminating introduction to the translation into Marathi *abhang* of the *Bhagvad-Gita* (together with the original Sanskrit text) by saint Tukaram is bound to enhance the reader's joy and understanding of the scripture. Indeed, the *abhang* form lends itself easily to a congregational singing of the Lord's song. For simplicity of idea and of expression constitutes its very soul.

G. M.

HINDI

TALASH: By Krishna Chandra. Hind Kitabs, Ltd., Bombay-1. Pp. 113. Price Rs. 2.

PANCHARANGI: By Krishna Chandra. Hind Kitabs, Ltd., Bombay-1. Pp. 74. Price twelve annas.

These are two collections of short-stories. Their author is today an acknowledged adept in the art of telling a tale from a peculiar angle and in a particular style, reminiscent of some of the European masters, but with a gusto, which never wearies the listener. However, satire, realism, non-conformity, suggestiveness, tantalization, idiomatic excellence,—all these are there. Who can ever, for instance, forget the story, entitled "Coupon" in *Pancharangi*? Its rollicking

humour will resound in one's ears for many a long day. And so will the sights and sounds of Kashmir, in which *Talash* abounds, abide in his memory lingeringly. If literature is more of a mirror and less of a mentor, then Shri Krishna Chandra has achieved this objective admirably, indeed.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SURYA : By Gulabdas Broker. Published by the *Jivan Sahitya Mandir*, Ahmedabad. 1950. Illustrated cover. Thick card-board. Pp. 200. Price Rs. 3.

This is a collection of a dozen short stories, written in Shri Broker's chatty style, painting a realistic picture of our changed present life, social, domestic, and cultural. The reader will not fail to notice the points made by the writer, viz., that we are clinging.

VIDYA PITHA READING SERIES, Books I, II, III : Published by the *Gujarat Vidyā Pitha*, Ahmedabad. 1950. Paper cover. Illustrated. Pp. 58, Price As. 4; Pp. 106, Price As. 7; Pp. 138, Price As. 10.

In 1940, the Gujarat Vidyapitha had published a reading series. The present series is a modified form of the same, the modifications being prompted by experiences of the requirements of the students and the attainment of Swaraj in 1947. It is an admir-

able series, just the thing required for children and juveniles. The lessons are easy to pick up and follow, and the suggestions given at the end of each lesson to supplement its contents and impress the object of the lesson by means of relevant stories are the most important part of this otherwise very valuable series. Patriotism, duties as a citizen and as a member of society, with suitable national anthems and songs set out in them, add to their utility.

VIJNAN PRAVESH, Part I, II, III : By Harayav Anmlakhrat Desai, B.A.S.T.D.C., Bombay. 1950. Published by the *Ananda Book Depot*, Ahmedabad. Illustrated. Paper cover. Pp. 93, 116, 140 respectively.

These are introductory books to the study of science in Standards V, VI, VII of Primary and Standards I, II, III of Middle schools. Study of science was introduced as a compulsory subject in 1949 and these three small books written by one who has been a life-long educationist now retired after getting mature experience of teaching such subjects, have given the benefit of it to the students and teachers by prescribing lessons therein. The second sections touch topics like, breathing, diet, water, fire, flower and tree, the sky and the stars, the sun and the moon and furnish requisite, relevant and useful information about them with suitable drawings. The books are sure to prove useful.

K. M. J.

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In *The Story of an African Farm*, written in youth, Olive Schreiner gives us a story, an allegory, concerning a hunter who abandons the chase for a lonely search after Truth. He seeks Truth among mountains, climbing ever higher, hewing out the ascent painfully step by step, from hard rock. The search has been long; the Hunter grows old: at last, looking down at the comfortable valley far below, he pauses, panting in an air rarefied almost beyond human breathing. His "wizened, shrunken face looked out above the rocks."

It saw the eternal mountains rise with walls to the white clouds; but its work was done If Truth had appared above him in the clouds now he could not have seen her, the mist of death was in his eyes.

But others will follow, making the ascent by that stairway he had fashioned with so much pain. "My soul hears their glad step coming," he said, "and they shall mount! they shall mount!"

On reading this remarkable book we hardly need to be informed that the sensitive, suffering Waldo to whom a mysterious Stranger tells the story of the Hunter (interpreting a carving of the boy's own) is Olive Schreiner herself, or one aspect of her. The story, the allegory of her life, is here made plain.

She was born, the daughter of a German missionary and an English mother, among mountains, the Witteberg, the "Switzerland of South Africa," one hundred years ago, when life in these remote uplands was still primitive and the only transport by ox wagon. During her life, with much personal effort and pain, she was to hew steps for others to follow, as a feminist, as an advocate of justice and of world peace and, above all, as an apostle of love. "You know," she wrote. "We must love everyone in this world. It is only ignorance and darkness keeps us from it."

Her outlook was Christian but she was a freethinker from childhood; a freethinker nagged at and persecuted by brothers and sisters. The too close view of a narrow religion in a minister's household, among Boers leading a pastoral life with their flocks and herds, who believed

literally in the Bible—particularly in its harsher aspect—early sickened her of conventional religion: although inclining in later years towards Buddhism, she never subscribed to any faith. But in both heart and mind her yearning was towards the high hills.

In those hills Olive Schreiner breathed freer, not only mentally, emotionally, but physically: at sixteen she was struck down by an attack of asthma, a disease which was to dog her through life. But this nervous ailment was a symptom of a graver defect in health, almost a cleft in personality. She, who hated war, was torn apart by a conflict within herself.

The circumstances of her early life were frustrating: the endeavour to write while working as an ill-paid governess among ignorant Boer farmers, a lack of formal education with a feverish but unsystematic effort to fill up the gaps in her knowledge. But others have triumphed personally over such handicaps and attained at last to peace of mind, and in one way her path was made easy: fame came to her comparatively early with the publication of *The Story of an African Farm*. In England, and the centre of admiring friends, she might have settled down to continuous work, giving the world more books of the same calibre. But it was not only asthma which was to drive her back to African wilds and limit her output: that frequent concomitant of genius, a capacity for laborious work, seems to have been denied her. She could concentrate fiercely, but only for short periods of time.

And, apart from her work, Olive Schreiner was inhibited, incomplete. A woman physically strong, vital, beautiful, she was unable to respond naturally to the love of a man. "This celibacy," she wrote to Havelock Ellis in 1888, "has not been good for me; but it would have been worse to marry any man I have ever seen" When love did come to her in 1893, in her late thirties, Olive fought against it, doubting, returning to England on a visit to test her feeling. After her marriage in 1894, surrendering completely to a man worthy of her, she could not enjoy happiness to the full, being unable to live on the farm he worked and loved. The cruel asthma again struck her down. She was denied motherhood: her only child died a few hours after birth.

She might have got peace within herself, have been able to exercise her craft to the full, if she could have lived continuously with her husband, Samuel Cronwright, a man who, in the days of accepted male domination respected her both as genius and as individual. So strong was his admiration for his wife and her feminist views that he added her name to his, calling himself •Cronwright-Schreiner. From the first he relieved her of all household cares.

In search of health for Olive he abandoned farming, consenting to live for two years on her small income so that she might have tranquillity to complete two other big novels already partly written, and which it was calculated, would bring in enough money to render her financially independent. But illness, or temperament,

did not permit his wife to keep her side of the bargain. His sacrifice of his work, of freedom, was made in vain; she wrote little. At the end of that time Crownright-Schreiner was forced to take up the law seriously, thereby binding himself to a town, and eventually settled in Johannesburg, where she was unable to live in the summer heat. For most of their married life, therefore the two were parted; not only, in Crownright-Schreiner's opinion, because of the recurring asthma but because, dearly though she loved him. Olive, a prey to deep-seated restlessness, was unable to live for long in one place.

As in work and marriage, so in other spheres Olive Schreiner's peculiarities marred her life making those steps upward painfully hard to cut, and often ineffective. Her personal habits were so strange that existence was difficult anywhere except in the wilds of her native South Africa. She would sleep during the day and walk about half the night, muttering to herself, disturbing other inmates of a house. She had little social common sense; during her five years in England as a young unmarried woman, at the height of her fame, she would receive men friends in her room, keeping them with her until late at night. This, in an age when the division between the sexes was still wide and behaviour conventional, outraged many landladies, who asked her to leave. She, a born rebel, refused to pander to convention. Once, when talking with a prostitute in the street, trying to help the poor soul to a purer life, she was nearly arrested by a policeman.

These misunderstandings, these hostilities, were particularly painful to one who loved her fellow men. "I can't live with people without loving them." Her arms were stretched wide to embrace the world and yet she was at odds with it. In relations with a number of closely attached (and long-suffering) friends there was again no compromise. She, an idealist with little sense of character, expected too much of those she met and, when they quite naturally failed her, was bitterly hurt and disappointed.

Yet Olive Schreiner's life was not all frustration, all tragedy: that outwardly uncompromising, "awkward" woman had a rich inner and private life. Her work, though she was humbly aware of a smallness of output in spite of intense effort, was the result of glowing fervour. Writing was to her, she told Havelock Ellis, "like being continually in love." This power of concentration, in a complete oblivion of surroundings, resulted in those minutely observed descriptions which are now, I suppose, our chief pleasure in *The Story of an African Farm*—such as the behaviour of the chickens at the close of the book where she writes that Waldo drew his hat lower over his eyes, and sat so motionless that the chickens thought he was asleep, and gathered closer around him. One even ventured to peck at his boot; but he ran away quickly. Tiny yellow fellow that he was, he knew that men were dangerous; even sleeping they might awake. But Waldo did not sleep, and coming back from his sunshiny dream, stretched out his hand for the tiny thing to mount. But the chicken eyed the hand askance, and then ran off to hide under its mother's wing, and from beneath it sometimes put out its round head to peep at the great figure sitting there. Presently its brothers ran off after a little white moth, and it ran out to join them; and when the moth fluttered away over their heads they stood looking up disappointed, and then ran back to their mother.

But in Olive Schreiner's own day it was her allegories (as well as this powerful story in its novel setting),

her outspoken criticism of intolerance both in religion and social behaviour, and her plea for the freedom of women, which so excited interest and enthusiasm. There was, too, in that rather weary *fin-de-siecle* period, a zest in the book, a hope for life and the future, which inspired or stimulated earnest young people who saw salvation in the new socialism. But in socialism, though she outwardly adhered to it, Olive Schreiner with her wider vision foresaw danger, a danger which has become in our own time a frightening reality: the danger of regimentation. "Socialism," she wrote, "is only one half of the truth, individualism is the other half."

We, who accept so much, forget the newness of these pioneers, men and women who wrote and spoke for social justice, for the advancement of women; and who, like Olive Schreiner, pleaded pity for the criminal and the prostitute, seeing in their ill behaviour a disease. We accept a truer relation between the sexes, especially in marriage, forgetting that it was women like Olive Schreiner who first tore apart the veil of reticences, talking and writing of sex feelings to the investigating Havelock Ellis. Some of her pamphlets, like *Women and Labour*, had an immediate power of conversion, but it is the long slow influence of her ideas for which we have perhaps to thank her most.

And, apart from this triumph of doing what can we say of the frustrated life, the genius largely unexpressed, of this strange woman? Was she fundamentally dissatisfied, unhappy? In the main, I think, not. The power of intense concentration which fashioned her genius gave her moments of happiness, of ecstasy so intense that, when more than middle-aged, she could find herself singing, dancing, clapping hands at the sight of a moving train. "Life," she wrote to her husband, "is such an awful delight to me if the physical and mental pressure is lifted a little."

She lies now, fitly as part of the allegory, in a high place, at the summit of Buffels Kop, beside those dearest, her husband, her baby and a favourite dog; in a high place chosen by her where once, on a perfect summer's day, she had experienced one of those movements of concentrated, "awful delight" as, soon after marriage, she watched with her husband beside her, a swarm of butterflies feed on a spike of flame-coloured aloe.

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The Land of the Kazakhs

Ivan Sergeyev writes in the *Soviet Land*:

It is said that the first impression is the strongest. And my first impression of Kazakhstan, which I had first seen in my youth, was remarkably distinct: nowhere have I ever had the feeling of such broad and limitless vistas as in the land of the Kazakhs. In that year of 1925 I covered thousands of kilometers over Kazakh territory, and it seemed as if there was no end to it.

True, this limitlessness can easily fit into ordinary geographical standards and concepts. The land of the Kazakhs stretched from the mouth of the Volga and the Caspian Sea to China, from West to East, and from the Siberian Steppes to the swamps and snow-capped mountains of Tien-Shan, from North to South. The territory occupied by Kazakhstan approximated the size of the territory of the Indian Republic today, but the population of Kazakhstan was only about one-fiftieth of the population of India.

That probably accounts for the impression of a limitless desert.

This impression was heightened by the peculiar nature of the country.

Steppes exposed to all the winds . . . level plains with barren lakes within flat shores . . . vast expanses dotted with small conic hills . . . the Kzyl-kum sand desert . . . one could travel through this territory for a whole week, a fortnight, a month and two months, and still have before the eyes the same pictures of desolate steppes, barren plains with spots of lifeless salt lakes, dead depressing sands . . . rarely did we encounter tiny settlements, lone tents, filthy sheep flocks and camel caravans.

The region seemed deserted and vast, also because we saw its truly vast proportions as pedestrians or horsemen.

The automobile was rare in that part of the country in those days, to say nothing of the aeroplane.

And there were very few roads in Kazakhstan.

Only one steel thread stretched from Central Asia to the North, towards Russia, along the shortest but the most boring route, through desolate steppes, sands and the barren bank of Syr-Darya river.

Dusty cities with small populations and paltry handicrafts industries were encountered along this sole railway.

But this story could perhaps be told best of all by the geographical maps of those days.

I had a map printed immediately before the Great October Socialist Revolution. In the few years between this significant date and the year of our trip nothing had changed on the map with the exception of the internal boundaries indicating the national demarcation of Turkestan, the name of which the vast region inhabited by the Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Tajiks, Kirghiz, Turkmen, the Kara-Kalpaks, Dungans, Uigurs and other of the less unmerous nationalities, was known in the recent past. The boundaries of the new states were defined in August, 1920. That year witnessed also the birth of the new republic of the Kazakhs the 35th Anniversary of which was observed recently.

The map kept us from going astray, and it also gave us a better understanding of the country, of its history and of the spirit of the people. We saw on the map the routes followed by caravans, dotted lines indicating the sands, dashes indicating swamps, winding ribbons of the few rivers and the rare circles of inhabited points. Only in the South, at the Tien-Shan spurs, where the fields received water from the cool mountain streams, were these circles more numerous. We knew, however, that those villages were inhabited not by Kazakhs, but

by Russians who settled there in the second half of last century.

They cultivated the land, planted wheat and raised wonderful fruit orchards. There were very few Kazakh farmers. All the people, young and old, were wandering through the limitless steppes with their herds.

"We are a nomad people and we shall remain nomads to the very end," was what an old Kazakh I had met when we pitched camp near a well told me in his leisurely way. He wandered through the steppes together with his two sons, their wives and children. The eldest boy was 11 years old.

In my notebook I still have the following record:

" . . . and will these children keep on wandering as their fathers and grandfathers had done? But how can a nomad life fit in with science and culture? With schools and universities? But perhaps nomads have no need for them? I heard that they have only two literate persons per 100 Kazakhs . . . It would be interesting to see what will become of these children some 25-30 years hence . . . "

Turning a few pages, I find the following:

"Life will change here as well within one hundred years or more. Some change is bound to occur. There will probably be roads and some settlements will spring into existence. After all, it is a rich region with deposits of coal, oil, copper, lead . . . but all this will not be tapped soon. I shall probably not live to see it."

My readers, you have probably never met any people who would sincerely rejoice over their own mistakes. But the author of this article belongs to that class of people. And my joy was especially great owing to the speed with which my error was disclosed.

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It would take a long time and much space to give a detailed account of that. I shall therefore let you gather the story from the new map of Kazakhstan published in 1955.

On this map you will see numerous railways in the East and South, in the West and North of the republic. The Kazakhs call them roads of life, and they had truly brought an active, bubbling life to the formerly desolate expanses.

You can see its features in the black signs on the map next to the steel roads: They stand for the new oil and coal mines sunk in the barren steppes, for the new oil fields extending in the West next to the Caspian Sea, new factories and mills built in the heart of the desolate plains, on the low hills, on the lake shores, in the foothills and right in the mountains . . .

Equally striking are the changes in agriculture. The cultivated areas occupied a barely noticeable place on the pre-revolutionary map, whereas they occupy a vast territory today. It is especially large in the North, in the virgin steppes adjoining West Siberia and the Altai. The tiny spots of irrigated territories have grown manifold in the South of the republic where wheat, cotton, rice, tobacco, sugar beet, various technical crops and wonderful fruit (remarkably beautiful and tasty apples, honey pears, grapes and a wealth of raspberries used for making splendid raspberry wine) are growing today.

In the year when I made my first trip to Kazakhstan, its production was limited to meat, wool and a small amount of grain.

The rich natural wealth of the republic was still criminant, whereas today nature's hidden treasure store is nurturing a powerful mining industry and many enterprises which process these minerals. Nor are they ordinary enterprises. The Karaganda coal basin is one of the leading of the USSR for its technical equipment.

The lead works at Chimkent are classed among the biggest in the world. The Balkhash copper refinery is the most powerful of its kind in Europe and Asia.

I need not ask myself the question how it was possible for a typical land of nomads with a low cultural level, without machines or implements, to take such a leap in technical progress. But this question must arise in the mind of any person who has not had the good fortune of seeing the country and the character of its people change with such remarkable speed.

It has been the good fortune of the author of these lines to see all that with his own eyes.

I have made many trips to that country in the past thirty years. I have seen the construction of the Turkestan, the first railway between Turkistan and Siberia, the Chimkent colossus of the first hydro-electric stations in the mountains. I was present at the opening of the first Kazakh University and of the first opera theatre. And I saw with my own eyes the most wonderful change in the history of a people, the transition from a nomad to a settled existence.

This change from a mode of life which prevailed for many ages was not as simple and light a process as it may seem today. To most of the nomads it meant a difficult departure from age-old habits which had become traditions. And many difficulties had to be surmounted before the first villages came into existence.

The pioneer village appeared in the South of the Republic, next to the Russian villages, and the nomads had a concrete example: the few Kazakh families here were far better off. Their life was more secure than the life of the wanderers in the steppe.

The Kazakhs who led a settled existence were



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always sure of food, warmth and shelter. They did not starve, did not freeze and they were not ailing as much as the nomads. Their children did not die in the first or second year of life for very few could endure the scorching heat in summer, the bitter cold in winter, the autumn rains and the cool spring when the steppe was swept by howling winds.

The Kazakh villagers had a school next to their homes, and a hospital where the sick were treated by doctors and not by incantation of the witch doctors in the steppes.

The new villages were growing like mushrooms after a summer rain. This growth was so quick that the villages were given numbers (11, 28, 46, 73, etc.) before names were found for them.

The Russians helped the Kazakhs to educate a national intelligentsia.

They also helped the Kazakhs prospecting their natural wealth, and they built the first factories and hydro-electric stations and mines.

These industries received young technicians, engineers and other specialists educated in the colleges of Moscow and Leningrad and trained in the ore mines of the Donbas and the Urals, in the factories of the Ukraine and Russia. A few years later a university and institutes were founded right in Kazakhstan. And the research institutions opened in Kazakhstan were subsequently turned over to the Kazakh Academy of Sciences.

Thus did the Kazakhs acquire their own scientists, professors and academicians.

Thus were Kazakh workers trained for the oil, mining, lead and copper refining, and other industries. They learned to operate the machines which cultivate the soil and reap crops of grain and rice, cotton and tobacco, and many other plants which found a new home in Kazakhstan.

The population of the republic has been growing year after year, this growth becoming especially rapid owing to the great decline in the mortality rate. And still the republic would be sure to suffer from a shortage of labour if it had not been for the powerful machines and other equipment which do the work of hundreds, thousands and even—tens of thousands of men.

These steel assistants of man required electric power. It is supplied by the fuel-driven stations built next to the coal and oil deposits and by the hydro-power of the swift mountain rivers.

Kazakh cities differ little today from many cities in the advanced republics of the USSR while such a garden city as Alma Ata the capital of the Kazakh people, is superior to hundreds of other cities. It is perhaps one of the most beautiful cities of the Soviet Union.

During my recent trip to Kazakhstan I chanced to retrace the route of my first trip. I remember how I once regretted the fact that I did not make a note of

the name of the old herdsman and of the names of his sons and grandsons. Today, however, I think that it was not necessary, because their fate is inseparable from the general destinies of the Kazakh people. I am certain that there is not an illiterate member in that family because illiteracy has been banished from the Kazakh republic. And surely every member of that family has his trade or profession and place in life as does every Kazakh: We meet in their midst today, pedagogues and doctors architects, writers composers and astronomers.

In three and a half decades Kazakhstan has covered a great historic road. There is incalculable natural wealth in the vast territory of Kazakhstan. It is not without reason that the republic is called a land of unlimited possibilities. But its greatest asset is represented by its people who are cultivating the wealth of their native land, reclaiming millions of hectares of virgin land for agriculture every year, steadily advancing the culture of the rich and strong nation into which the Kazakhs, a nation of yesterday's nomads, have developed in the family of Soviet nations.

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Why Russia Can't Attack Us Now

The "inside report" that Dr. David J. Dallin analyzes here is one of many trying to show that a Communist attack is imminent. Such "reports," often officially inspired, invariably lead to the conclusion that we must strike first. Dr. Dallin shows how flimsy are the premises for such stories; our readers can judge the intentions of those who circulate them:

A story called "Russia's New Strategy for War," written by an anonymous former military attache of a Western power, has been published in *U. S. News and World Report* and aroused considerable discussion. The story says that, under Khruschev and Bulganin, the Soviet Union is out to regain the strength it lost after the war "thanks to Stalin's stiffness and Molotov's unimaginativeness." Since March 1955, the unknown author says, new and highly aggressive military plans have been developed, which Soviet "marshals and admirals" are now working out in detail.

The essence of the "new strategy," according to this analyst, is the belief that surprise nuclear attack would be decisive in any war. Therefore, it would be a "deadly error" for the Soviet to wait for such an attack by the West. Instead, the Soviets must "foreshadow the enemy by attacking by surprise" themselves. With appropriate quotations from Soviet sources, the author builds up the following picture of Soviet reasoning:

1. The Soviets, no longer encircled, are no longer bound to defensive strategy.
2. The West's war preparations and political-economic solidarity must not be underestimated.
3. The new thermonuclear weapons, employed by surprise, might decide any war.
4. Thus, the Soviets must avoid a surprise attack on the part of the West; they must continue building their own strength and weaken the West, so as to gain enough power for their own, decisive attack.

The wide circulation given this story recalls the forecast three months ago by a "highly authoritative source" in Washington that the Chinese Communists would attack Formosa in mid-April. Although that forecast was presumably based on intelligence reports, the attack never materialized. The "new Soviet offensive strategy" seems to have emanated from a similar source. Taken seriously, it would call for a complete revision of the policies of the Atlantic alliance; the logical consequence of such an analysis would be to prepare for a speedy "preventive" attack on the Soviet Union.

Fortunately, however, the analysis is not true to fact; its materials are culled from a much broader context which, on the whole, gives little cause for sudden panic on our part.

Soviet military doctrine, in its consideration of atomic warfare, has always distinguished between two

kinds of wars: (1) a war between a great power and a small nation, and (2) a war among two or more great powers with strong air forces using nuclear weapons. In the first type of war (a war similar to those between Italy and Abyssinia, Nazi Germany and Holland, the USSR and Finland), a surprise attack emphasizing airpower and the most modern weapons can be decisive. But in a war between two first-class powers, neither atom bombs nor hydrogen bombs nor a surprise attack utilizing both can be decisive. The *U.S. News and World Report* story quotes an article by Marshal P. Rotmistrov in *Red Star* (March 24, 1955), which says that "in some cases, surprise aggression might become a deciding condition for success not only in the initial phase of a war, but even for its final outcome." However, Marshal Rotmistrov goes on to say, such success would be possible only against a nation which could not properly resist or retaliate.

The molders of Soviet military strategy are experts and level-headed planners; they are controlled by a set of leaders who, though aggressive and ruthless, are not long-shot gamblers. Let us attempt to see this supposed "new offensive strategy" through their eyes.

Let us imagine that the Soviet surprise atomic attack has taken place and that it was "successful." Millions of Americans are dead, other millions are wounded, a number of cities lie in ruins, and death continues to devour thousands of victims. Has this successful attack meant victory for the attacker?

Moscow knows full well that the U.S. state, economy and defenses cannot be paralyzed even by several air attacks. Despite tremendous losses, a U.S. government, U.S. armed forces and a great number of dispersed U.S. bases and arsenals would survive. The Soviets have never doubted that, within 24 hours of its "surprise attack," a huge fleet of U.S. bombers would bring death and havoc to Russia. Because U.S. stores of nuclear weapons are admittedly bigger and better than the Soviet stores; because the U.S. has bases not only at home, but at a myriad of points around the Soviet perimeter; because the U.S. would be assisted by other nations whose combined forces are vastly superior to Russia's; and because Russia's radar screen is inferior—for these reasons, the destruction of Soviet cities would far exceed the losses inflicted a few hours earlier on the United States.

And then what? Not a single one of the nations involved in this apocalyptic struggle would be anywhere near victory. When the sun rose the following morning and made its way slowly from Siberia over Moscow, Berlin and London to New York, Washington and Chicago, everywhere its rays would be cast over mountains of corpses and heaps of ruins. Yet life would not cease, and victory would be just as far away as before the attack. When human and material losses were counted, Russia would be the biggest loser in any war started by her own government. And her chances of winning the war in subsequent stages would be almost nil. Belligerence and ruthlessness are not enough to win a war; this the world learned from the Axis in World War II.

Because of these atomic facts, the Kremlin cannot launch a surprise attack. Although the Soviets suffer from many misconceptions, an exaggerated belief in the decisiveness of atomic weapons is not one of them. Quite the contrary: This is one of our most widespread misconceptions. First came the illusion of "victory through air power" which facilitated dangerous cutbacks in our ground forces. Then came the illusion that the newest-model A-bomb alone could win any war for the nation possessing it. Behind these illusions was an unwillingness to face the imperative need for recruiting and equipping large-scale ground forces. Neither Stalin nor his heirs have made similar mistakes.

It is also inaccurate to depict Stalin as a "stiff" adherent of "peaceful co-existence," and to deem the Khrushchev-Bulgarian course aggressive by contrast. Stalin was far more inclined toward risky international adventures than any of his collaborators or successors. He played with the fire of war from 1939 till the day of his death. It was Stalin who invaded Finland in 1939; who ordered his armies to hold the Balkans at the end of the war; who kindled the Communist up-heaval in Northern Iran; who stayed in Manchuria long enough until Mao Tse-tung could successfully wage the Chinese civil war; who ordered the Berlin blockade; who initiated the war in Korea, and so on. Since Stalin's death, his heirs have been trying to limit the scope of the conflict.

Were it true that the Soviets are preparing a surprise atomic attack, then their recent maneuvers would be all deception: the Austrian State Treaty, the rapprochement with Tito, the release of U.S. fliers from China the *de facto* truce in the Formosa Strait, the easing of travel to and in Russia. Are these steps calculated simply to lull the West into a false sense of security? If so, the policy of this nation is a sequence of grave blunders. If we are to expect an atomic catastrophe soon, perhaps in the next few months, then there is no place for careful, circumspect diplomacy; then the only intelligent men in Congress are the three Senators (Jenner, Malone, McCarthy) who voted against the Austrian Treaty.

But are such expectations of disaster reasonable? To be sure, "peaceful co-existence" is a hypocritical phrase in the mouths of the Soviets, and among the world's governments today, the Soviet regime is certainly the most suarrelsonne, provocative and militant. At its first opportunity to make a real gain it would not hesitate to move its forces into a foreign land. That is why the armament of the free world is so essential, and present hopes for effective disarmament so illusory.

Nevertheless, Soviet policy is not a mere cover for an imminent attack. There has been a real change in Soviet policies in recent months. It

is not a reorientation from "cold" to "hot" war. Though halfhearted and inconsistent the new Soviet course represents an effort to stabilize the *status quo*, to freeze present strategic and military relationships before new facts reduce the relative impact of Soviet power. The new Soviet policy is dictated by the realization of the weakening of Soviet and Communist positions all over the world, but especially in Europe.

Soviet spokesmen react bitterly to American comments that the new Kremlin policy is being dictated by the West's "situations of strength." Yet that is the fact nevertheless. There is a world difference between the power of the United States and its allies in 1945-46 and their combined power now.

In addition to the fundamental military and economic changes induced by Western rearmament, there has been a basic psychological change. Something new has been growing: the Western will

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resil. It first emerged with the Berlin airlift, then again when we helped Tito after his break with Stalin. It emerged in full force when American troops entered the Korean War. Now the principle that Soviet encroachments must be resisted by force is a permanent and basic assumption of American and British policy. Strong will is itself a powerful force in world politics; Moscow understands its impact and is now trying to draw the consequences.—*The New Leader*, June 27, 1955.

Pilani—Combination of Gurukul and Varsity

K. K. Duggal writes in the *American Reporter*, September 14, 1955 :

Pilani (Rajasthan).—On the arid soil of this remote village in the heart of the Rajasthan desert has grown an oasis—a 400-acre campus of rolling lawns, flower-studded parks, tidy cottages, and sprawling schools and colleges.

Here is afoot an uncommon experiment in education that combines the ancient Gurukul philosophy of austerity and the modern, uninhibited, congenial atmosphere of the American university campus.

In this ideal rural setting where no city noises distract the student, nor cinema houses or luxury restaurants claim his time and energy, are groomed career engineers, economists, researchers and administrators. What is more important, they are taught to be self-reliant, enlightened democratic citizens who will help build the New India in the making.

What started as a two-student *pathshala* for Seth Sivanarayan Birla's grandsons 55 years ago has today grown into a first-rate academy of education where 4,000 boys and girls pursue study courses in arts, sciences, crafts, commerce, and engineering.

One of the 17 institutions that make up this "university town" of Pilani is the Birla Engineering College, which, within nine years of its birth, has assumed a truly international character. Here come scholars from countries as afar as Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, Pakistan and Africa to acquire professional skills in varied engineering careers. And from here have graduated 700 engineers to man India's leading industrial plants and factories, the multipurpose river-valley projects, and the Air, Naval and Army workshops in different parts of the country.

Recognition of the college's usefulness has come not only from the nation's private and public sectors and the Rajputana University but also from across the seas. Two years ago, the University of Wisconsin, U.S.A., entered into a TCM-sponsored teachers' exchange agreement with the Pilani college.

Under this programme a "mature, ripe teacher" (to quote Principal Lakshmi Narayanan) from the world-famous Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Prof. Boyd B. Brainard was assigned to the college faculty for one year. He left in May this year. Two more Americans—Prof. Franklin O. Rose and Prof. Lawrence A. Ware—will arrive shortly to teach mechanical engineering and electronics. Prof. Ware is an authority on electronics; he has written two text-books for American students.

The visit is being reciprocated by four Pilani professors—N. K. N. Murthy, B. L. Maheshwari, Inderit Nagrath, and R. P. Jerath—who left for the United States by air on August 29 on a two-year study-cum-teaching grant from the University of Wisconsin. The grant includes free passage, free tuition, and free

maintenance. They will prepare for their doctorates at Wisconsin. Principal Narayanan also has been invited. He plans to leave some time next year on a six-month lecture tour.

Of the exchange programme, Mr. Narayanan said: "Cross-fertilization of ideas promotes Indo-American understanding and goodwill. From Prof. Brainard our students and staff learnt a good deal about American teaching methods and the American people in general. The visiting professor, in turn, enjoyed living at the Pilani campus. Both he and Mrs. Brainard made many friends with whom they continue to be in correspondence."

Prof. Brainard, recalls Mr. Narayan, was pleasantly surprised at the Indian students' level of intelligence. Once he remarked: "Indian students are more hard-working and devoted to their studies than their American counterparts."

CLOSE TIE WITH U.S.

The exchange programme is not Pilani's only link with the United States. A close study of U.S. campus layouts and curricula went into the college blueprints. "We tried to adopt as much of U.S. practices as we could," said the Principal. "That is one advantage," he smilingly added, "of starting from scratch. You are not hampered by traditional, outworn techniques."

U.S.-manufactured tools such as electronic gadgets, electric generators, Ford and Chevrolet auto-engines, graphs on nuclear science and the Argus-Wright airplane on which students learn aero-engineering, fill Pilani's well-equipped laboratories; books by American authors line the shelves of the 5,000-volume college library.

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The Vice-Principal, Dr. A. K. Chatterjee, who heads the Electrical Engineering Department, is an alumnus of Illinois and Cornell Universities. One bright student of the college, Jagdish Chander Shourie, is currently studying for P.D. at the University of Columbia, Missouri. Another graduate, Harish Chander Pande, is leaving this month for the University of Purdue, Indiana, for higher studies.

Eastman—Author of Modern Photography

G. N. Radha Krishna writes in the same issue of the *American Reporter*:

It was the summer of 1888 and the Hartford *Courant* splashed the banner-line "Beware the Kodak!" on its front page. It added:

"The 'Kodak' has added a new terror to the picnic. The sedate citizen can't indulge in any hilarity without incurring the risk of being caught in the act and having his photograph passed around among his Sunday school children. And the young fellow who wishes to spoon with his best girl while sailing down the river must keep himself constantly sheltered by his umbrella."

The 'Kodak' brought a fortune to George Eastman and photography to millions. This catchy name was evolved one day when George Eastman was playing anagrams with his aged mother. The name Kodak raced round the world from the Hawaiian Islands to the remote hill tracts of Tibet. The newspapers outdid themselves in giving the name unprecedented publicity as demonstrated by the banner headline of the *Courant*.

Kodak's famous slogan, "You press the button and we do the rest," appeared in 1889 and release another whirl of publicity.

Eastman's interest in photography grew in an accidental way. When he planned a vacation trip to Santo Domingo, a fellow employee of his bank suggested he buy a camera and make a picture record of his trip. Eastman's interest was aroused and he started taking lessons at \$2 per lesson. It was the era of wet-plate photography. The plates had to be made and then photographed. The process was clumsy, slow and irksome.

From then on, Eastman became an ardent fan of photography. He pored through all technical literature and journals. An article in the *British Journal of Photography*, describing how dry glass plates are being used in England, drew his attention. He learnt the method and started making them in his own way and on a mass scale. He marketed them under his own trademark to the largest dealer in New York City. He was then working full time at the bank and gave his photographic business what attention he could, "between the hours of 3 p.m. and breakfast." His only rest was on Sunday when he slept, except for mealtimes, straight through the day.

All these ventures used up all his savings and he might have well gone bankrupt but for the boarder of his mother's one Henry Alvah Strong, a Civil War veteran who owned a buggy whip factory, who invested \$5000 in the business. This enabled Eastman to resign from the bank and go in full steam ahead into the photography business.

Eastman entered photography at the close of the wet-plate era, passed rapidly to the use and manufacture of dry plates and then by a series of inventions and improvements, which he completed in 10 years, shoved the whole process forward approximately to modern photography.

In 1879, Eastman started mass-producing negative material on machinery. Later, there was a race to substitute glass with lighter, flexible material. This contest among rivals continued from 1880 to 1884 till Eastman patented the "American Film" in 1884. It was not like the film of today. It was a band of paper coated with two layers of gelatin, one of which was made sensitive to light by silver salts. After it was exposed and developed, the sensitive layer of gelatin was peeled off and became negative for printing.

In 1884, in collaboration with William H. Walker, his partner-engineer, he invented the spool to roll up the "American Film." Eastman's personal invention came in 1888, when he produced the Kodak Camera, which contained a lens, a roll-holder and spool of "American Film" with 100 exposures. The novelty of this invention was the revolving shutter which was operated by simply pressing a button. In 1889, Reichenbach, employed by Eastman, produced a material for making films without a paper-back support. This was used till 1940, when replaced by acetate film.

QUALITY AND CHEAPNESS

Apart from his inventive genius, Eastman proved his mettle in business. His ambition was to trade throughout the world and to capture all international markets. He achieved this by the quality and cheapness of his products. The first Kodak Camera was sold for \$25 in 1888; 10 years later a much improved model cost \$5. In 1900, Eastman brought out what he then considered as the ultimate in camera value—the \$1 Brownie with rolls of films for only 15c.

In 1925, when Eastman stepped out of the presidency of his company, its profits were \$18.5 million. In 1933 alone, it sold \$633 million worth of products and made a net profit of \$50 million after paying \$87.5 million in taxes.

George Eastman remained a bachelor throughout his life. His constant companion was his mother. Eastman spent his money as fast as he made it. As soon as he made his first million dollars, he began to give it away in large chunks. During his life, he gave away \$80 million and his will added public bequests of \$20 million more. If he had retained his capital and invested for personal gain, he might have died worth \$200 million to \$300 million.



The French Car Industry

The car industry remains one of the greatest of French industries. It directly employs 110,000 people and indirectly gives a living to more. Its turnover topped 350 billion francs in 1955 and will easily exceed the total in 1954. Every autumn French and foreign techniques can be compared at the French Automobile Show.

In 1938 the French car production ranked fourth in world production, with 358,000 vehicles of all descriptions. France came after the United States, Great Britain and Germany, and was closely followed by the U.S.S.R. and Canada. In 1953, with 497,757 vehicles, France kept the fourth place, having been outstripped, so it seems, by the U.S.S.R., but coming before Germany. During the first half of 1954 France turned out 301,965 vehicles, and was classified after the United States, Great Britain and Germany.

The characteristics of French car construction are closely connected with the needs of the population. France is no longer, as in former times, one of the richest countries in the world: for that reason luxury cars are less prevalent. On the other hand, the average customer is more attracted by this means of travel; but they demand cheap cars which consume very little petrol and oil.—*News from France.*

French Technology Abroad

J. G. Fevrier write in the *News from France*, 15th April, 1955:

When one speaks of French commercial expansion abroad, one thinks chiefly of foreign trade statistics, that is to say, of the direct sale of goods. But there are many other ways in which French technical achievements reveal themselves successful in other countries. They can chiefly contribute to the industrial development of other countries by sending engineers and specialists, by drawing up plans for works, by the granting of patents and by delivering machines. This form of exportation creates stronger and more lasting ties between France and her customers than a mere exchange of goods. But this is not often known, and some still continue to represent France as a country only interested in the production of high-quality wines, fashion models, and the so-called articles from Paris.

Perhaps as illustration it would be worth mentioning that the fastest electronic calculating machine in the world (3 times as fast as those of rival countries) is of French invention and manufacture and that America has ordered them in large quantities (to a value of 2 billion French francs); and that the Egyptian government has signed an agreement with the great nationalized French firm, Electricité de France, for the organization in common of the production and the exploitation of electricity in Egypt.

It is not possible here to draw up a list of all the successes obtained by French technical achievements abroad in the last few years. But a few typical facts must be mentioned.

South America is a zone where international competition is particularly keen. In Columbia the highly important Iron-smelting works of the Paz do Rio will shortly begin production. They were built by French firms and engineers. French firms are also charged with supplying the town of Cali with drinking water. In Peru, a group of French firms associated with the Bank of Paris and that of the Low Countries, has been awarded the contract for the works which are to finish the building of the enormous Santa factory; these works comprise a saw-mill and a hydro-electric generating station, the total cost of which amounts to more than

15 million dollars. In Brazil the National Company of Alkali has ordered from French firms the materials necessary for the construction of an important factory of chemical products at Caba Frio, near Rio de Janeiro; in the same country, the firm, "Grands Travaux de Marseille," is charged through a local firm with the harnessing of the Cachoeira Dourada falls, on the Paranaiba river, the construction of the dam and the installation of a hydro-electric power plant.

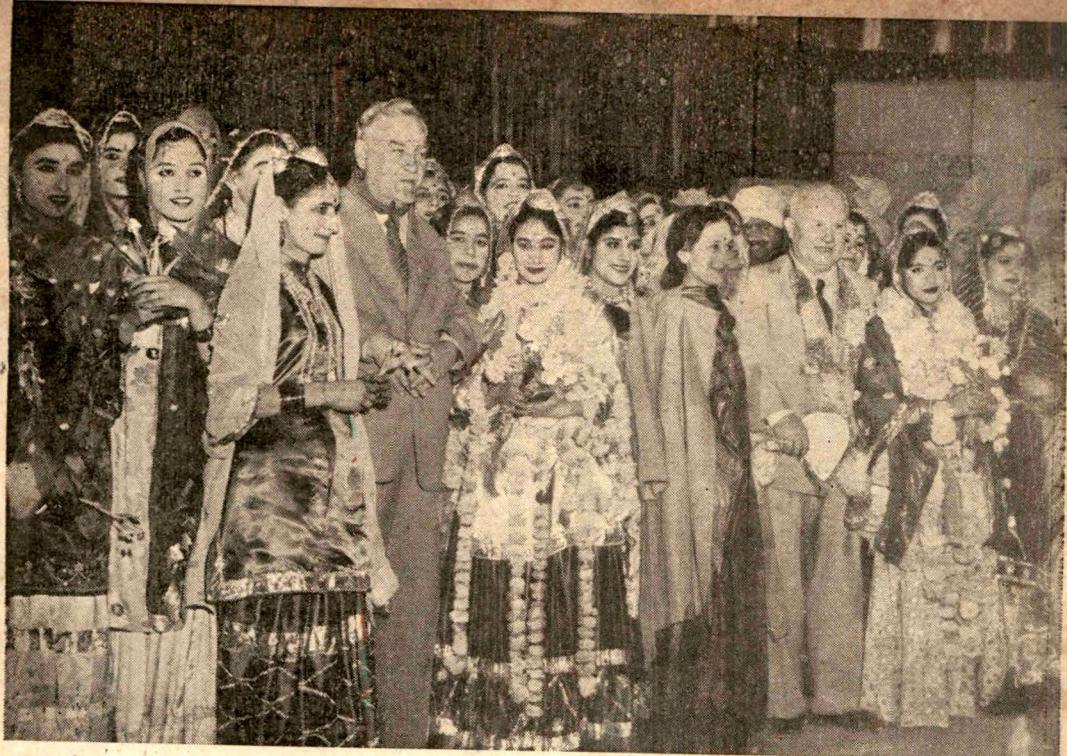
Throughout the East, international competition is just as keen. We have already spoken of Egypt. In Iraq the Development Board Officially announced that the important works to be carried out on the Dokan river in the Kurdistan mountains (construction of dams and irrigation works) will be in the hands of French firms.

In India, at Jachali, near Bangalore, a factory for the manufacture of electronic material will start work as from 1956; it will be administered by the Bharat Electronic Ltd. Twelve Indian technicians are at present going through a training course in Paris, at the General Company of French Broadcasting and Television, in order to form the technical nucleus of the factory. In Ceylon, a French firm, the Industrial Work Company, is carrying out the test of enlarging the port of Colombo. In Turkey, French industry has obtained a large number of orders. Three French firms have been awarded the contract for construction of several aerodromes. Etibank has charged the French firm, Merlin and Gerin of Grenoble, with the research, the supplying and the installation of 15 transformer sub-stations to supply a transport network with energy (15,400 volts) in the North and North-West of Anatolia. The whole of this order amounts to almost 200,000 French francs. The General Society for Tractors and Exploitation has signed an agreement for the construction of an underground railway line at Istanbul.

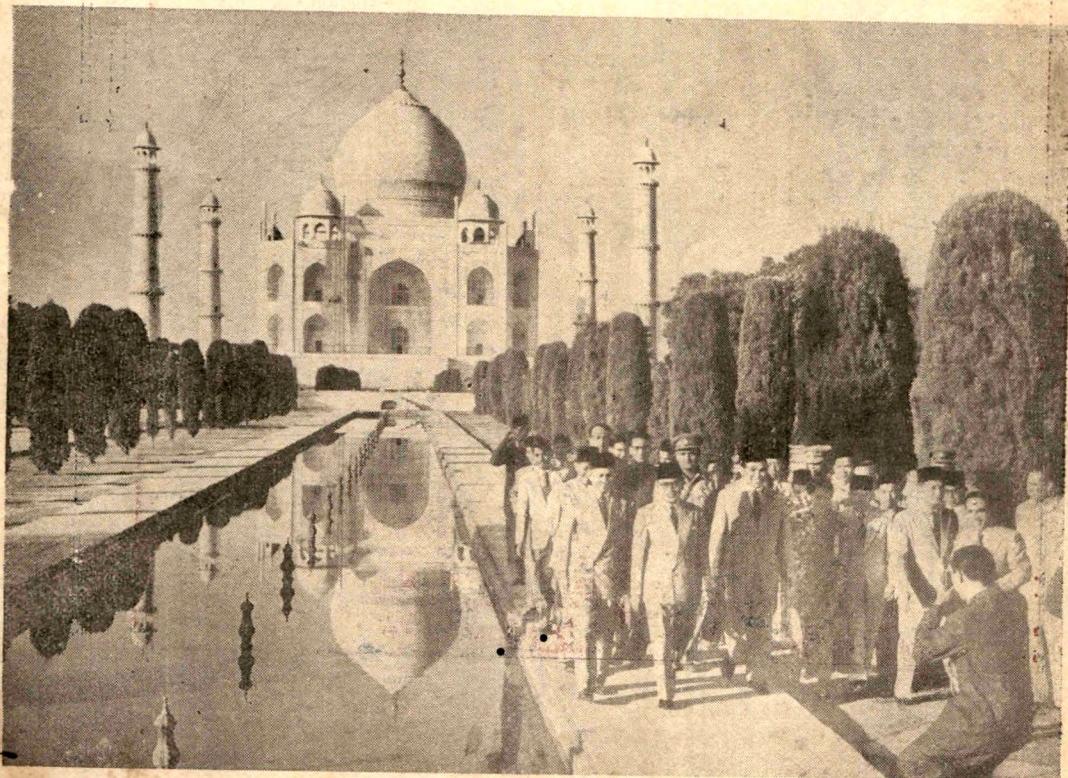
In the Far-East, except for China, which is economically dependent on Russia, French technical achievements have been just as successful. In a highly industrialized country such as Japan, the Shuan Machine Tool Company at Osaka is equipping itself for the construction of 20 precision lathes with a license from the French firm, Cazeneuve. These lathes are supplied with hydraulic copying devices. The Shouian Company will sell these lathes in Korea, Siam, the Philippines, Formosa, Indonesia and naturally in Japan itself. In Indonesia the firm Degremont is building installations for the purification and the complete treatment of the waters of the Bangir canal at Djakarta; the contract has a value of 200,000 French francs. In Australia the government invited tenders for the construction of an electric generating machine on the river Tumut. In spite of keen competition it was a group of 6 French firms which was awarded the contract for a total value of 3,900,000 Australian pounds. The generating station, situated in the region of the "Snowy Mountains," will be underground. It will be equipped with 4 generators each of 90,000 KW.

If we now turn to Africa we find that in Kenya two French firms are building a pipe-line, 150 miles long and for a value of 500,000 French francs. In the Belgian Congo, the Home and Colonial Firms have just finished a dam on arm of the Inkasi river. In South Africa, at Durban, a French firm has obtained a big order for the canalisation of water.

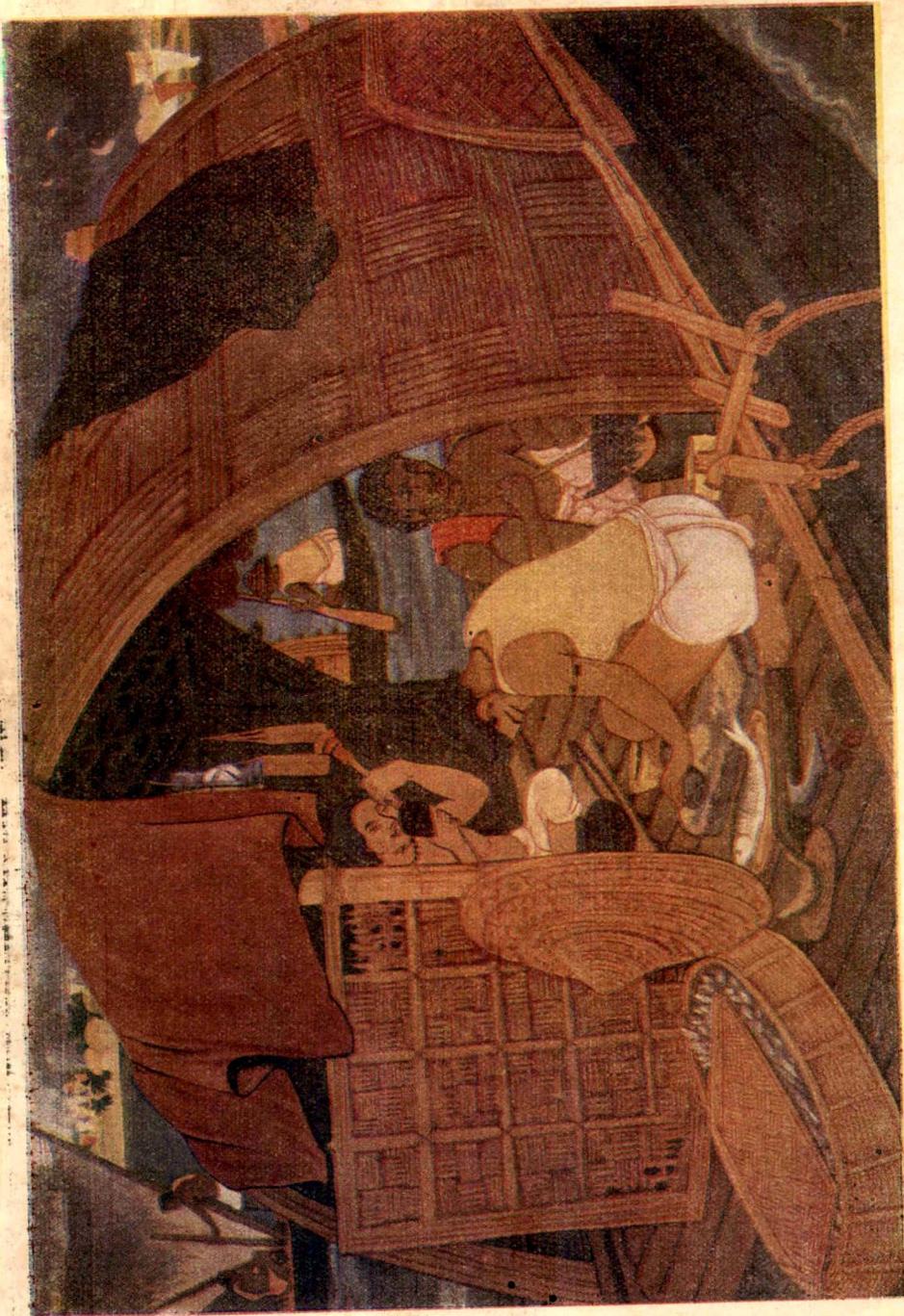
This enumeration is of course incomplete but at least shows that French production is not only turned towards specialities, it also manufactures which need the most modern equipment and the best technical achievements.



Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev with a group of artists who participated in a Dance Concert, specially arranged in their honour, at Nangal, on November 22



Dr. Mohammed Hatta, the Vice-President of the Republic of Indonesia, at the Taj Mahal, Agra, during his recent visit to this historic city



BOATMEN OF THE PADMA
By Nihar Ranjan Sen Gupta

Prabasi Press Calcutta.

THE MODERN REVIEW

DECEMBER



1955

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WHOLE NO. 588

NOTES

Our Guests

We have had a number of distinguished visitors from many lands, as State guests, within this last month or so. Mr. Lester Pearson, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, arrived here at the end of October, with the specific invitation to open the Massanjore Dam of the Mor Valley Scheme. That pleasant function took place at the beginning of November, and will be remembered long, by the people of West Bengal particularly, as a lasting link of friendship with Canada.

The next to come were Their Majesties the King and Queen of Nepal, on a visit and tour of goodwill and friendship. They were given a rousing reception and they are still with us at the time of writing these notes.

Then came a flying visit of an old friend, Premier U Nu, on his way back home from a tour in the U.S.S.R. He arrived practically in time to add his personal felicitations to our Premier, on the occasion of his 66th birthday. In passing we may also record our good wishes, for an occasion that has, quite fittingly, now been recognised as a festival for the young custodians of our future.

Dr. Hatta, the Indonesian Vice President, had also arrived, and ended a prolonged tour of goodwill in the third week of November. His visit was a mark of the bonds of friendship that binds India and Indonesia..

Then came the long-awaited visit of the Russian leaders, M. Nicolai Bulganin, the Prime Minister of U.S.S.R., and M. Nikita Khrushchev, the First Secretary of the Soviet

Communist Party. They were welcomed with the greatest demonstrations of friendship ever accorded to any distinguished visitor, at New Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta, and indeed all over the country.

Lastly came the visit of King Saud of Arabia on a State visit. He was given a royal welcome at Bombay and Delhi, and is still on tour at the time of writing.

What is the significance of all these visits? That is the question over which foreign Powers, particularly of the Western Bloc, are racking their brains. The main point, of course, is the official tour by the two topmost executives of the U.S.S.R.

Here in India, as abroad, different views are being taken of these visits. Most people think that at last India is being put on the World Maps. Others again think that, at last this country is finding friends, who are willing to help in raising India's status.

There are quite a few that are concerned with the fear that India might be forced, through the repercussions of these visits, to align herself with one of the warlike groups, and thus be obliged to abandon her neutrality. They point out the reactions of the extreme leftist parties, particularly the Communist Party of India. They also point out that with the exception of the Bombay S.R.C. incidents, the myriad functions and processions that have ensued out of these visits, have passed in calm and quiet, thereby clearly emphasising the source of all disruptionist activities.

It is too early yet to comment or to draw conclusions. We shall have to wait for the world repercussions.

communism, its growth or decline, overshadows the work being done by a non-Communist Government to build up the nation. "India is not just a Western problem," said a young Indian journalist, "it is our country."

But grant once that the story of India is what the Government and people are doing with their country, and not just what the Communists are trying to do to it, and most Indians would agree that they have been paid the compliment of having been selected as communism's No. 1 Asian target.

The United States and Britain carry on propaganda work in India, too. But the truth is that the West's propaganda work simply is not in the same league as the Communists, and can never be. The Americans and the British have some top-notch specialists in India doing diplomatic and information-service work, men who know the country and are warm to it. But they operate always, and must operate, as foreigners. They have to walk and talk softly; this is a country sensitive to the nerve-ends against being sold anything political from the outside.

Soviet Objectives

The same issue of the *New York Times* gives front page editorial space to a retrospect and survey of world politics titled "After Geneva," in which are the following comments on the objectives of the Soviets:

What were to be "the means short of war" by which the Soviets would pursue their objectives? The pattern had begun to unfold before the Foreign Ministers' conference. Russia clearly was embarking on a course in which it planned to use all its non-military resources—economic, political and diplomatic—to try to create trouble for the West and advance the frontiers of communism.

There are three main target areas at which the Soviets seem to be directing these tactics—Germany, the Mideast and Southeast Asia. This is the apparent Soviet strategy in each region, and the problems for the West:

Germany. Moscow clearly believes it is in the catbird seat on the German question and hence was in no mood to negotiate on Germany at Geneva. Russia alone, by her control over East Germany and her diplomatic relations with West Germany, has the power to negotiate unification.

Mideast. Russia is playing a complex and

dangerous game in the highly unsettled Mideast. The volatile conflict between Israel and the Arab States has stopped short of an explosion largely because the Arab nations are militarily weak and have been dependent on the West for economic aid and diplomatic support. Soviet offers, through its satellites, to sell arms to all comers in the Mideast; its hints that it might supply funds and technical aid for construction of a huge hydro-electric project on the Nile and another in Lebanon; and its alliance with Arab nationalists in the U.N. have brought Russia four-square into the Mideast picture.

Southeast Asia. The Soviets have begun to woo the "neutralist" Southeast Asian nations with diplomatic and economic overtures. Last week, as major step in that campaign, Soviet Premier Nikolai Bulganin and Communist party boss Nikita S. Khrushchev set off on a 5,000-mile "good-will" tour of India, Burma, and Afghanistan. In New Delhi Friday, an estimated 1,000,000 Indians turned out to greet and cheer the Soviet leaders.

In the matter of economic aid, Soviet capabilities are limited. Nevertheless, they appear to get maximum propaganda advantage out of every gesture they make. For example, a Soviet offer to send a team of oil experts to India received as much attention in the Indian press recently as the United States' appropriation of \$50,000,000 to India this year. Russia has also achieved a high degree of success in economic penetration of Afghanistan. There are about 500 Soviet technicians in the country which now sends 35 per cent of its exports to the Soviet Union. It is assumed the Soviet leaders will hold out some form of economic bait when they reach Rangoon.

In terms of economic aid, the United States is in a far better position than Russia to supply the money and goods the countries of Southeast Asia need. But in granting economic aid, the United States has to contend with political problems and pressures that are foreign to the Soviet rulers. John B. Hollister, director of the International Co-operation Administration which handles the Administration's foreign economic aid program, has gone on record as favoring a curtailment of foreign expenditures. In an election year, the pressures for budget balancing and reductions—and consequently cuts in foreign aid—are bound to be strong.

In short, the West is now confronted with

a diversified Soviet challenge that promises to provide some of the sternest tests in the history of East-West relations—tests that cannot be met with military alliances. The London *Economist* said last week :

What the free societies of both the West and Asia now face is a challenge to mortal combat—no less mortal for being largely nonmilitary.

Tata-Kaiser Steel Agreement

Under a recently concluded agreement one of the largest engineering and contracting firms in the United States Steel Industry, Henry J. Kaiser Company, would help the expansion programme of the Tata Iron and Steel Company of India. The designing procurement and construction of the expansion project would cost about 65 crores of rupees. The project would increase India's current steel plant capacity by about 45 per cent and raise the Tata plant's production from approximately 1.3 to 2 million ingot tons annually. It would be completed in about two and a half years' time.

A spokesman of the Kaiser Company announcing the conclusion of the agreement said on November 22 that the agreement was a "private deal and not government to government."

A U.S. Department of Commerce bulletin of November 22 disclosed that the U.S. steel mills were operating at 98 per cent of rated capacity in October, 1955.

Banks on Wheels

The State Bank of India would open several hundred branches in the rural areas in the near future. In this background the following news-item published in the 15th October issue of the *News from France* is of some interest. The periodical reports: "One of the problems which the French regional banks had to face was how to reach a scattered clientele, living at varying distances from the head office or even the branch offices. To have opened more branch offices would have involved too much expenditure on buildings and staff, which would not have been offset by the addition of new clients. So a new solution had to be found, and it has been found by introducing a system of travelling banks in vans, like travelling circulating libraries. These little banks on wheels visit a number of centres every-

day, and their itineraries and halts are fixed in advance and notified through the papers. These travelling banks are very well furnished, and contain both public counters and offices for the agent."

Indian Employees in Foreign Firms

The position of Indian employees in foreign firms operating in India over the past several years is available from the following table published in the *Hindu* of November 6, 1955 :

Year	No. of Indians	No. of Foreigners	Total
1947	6,162	7,623	13,785
1948	7,902	8,052	15,954
1949	10,033	8,286	18,319
1950	11,803	8,318	20,121
*	*	*	*
*	*	*	*
1954	18,642	7,750	26,392
1955	21,242	7,526	28,768

The *Statesman's* special representative in New Delhi adds that the progress of Indianization of services in foreign firms were officially regarded as satisfactory and no legislative action had therefore been taken.

He further writes : "A new factor being taken into consideration is the demand for technicians created by the industrial boom in Europe which, together with the increase in taxes in India, has reduced the net inducement to work in India.

"Government policy, it is officially pointed out is not to push foreigners out in order to create vacancies but to ensure that a high proportion of posts falling vacant in the normal course are filled by Indians.

"A recent example of an agreement seeking this objective is with tea plantation companies in which the highest percentage of foreigners are employed. They have agreed to appoint Indians to three out of every four senior vacancies.

"Employment figures indicate that foreigners are now in an overall majority only in plantation companies. Jute companies, in which a similar position existed last year, have employed an overall majority of Indians this year."

Resources for Second Five-Year Plan

Recently the problem of raising financial resources for the Second Five-Year Plan was dis-

cussed at several authoritative levels. At the third meeting of the Standing Committee of the National Development Council, held recently in New Delhi, the question of raising financial resources for the Second Five-Year Plan was considered. The Committee reiterated its emphasis on heavy industries and proper integration between hand industries and large-scale industries producing consumer goods. The Committee also placed the target of expenditure at Rs. 4,300 crores and stressed the need for exploring additional methods of increasing revenues and savings for financing the Plan.

The Prime Minister emphasized that planning had to be on an all-India basis and said that the various draft Central and State Plans added up to more than Rs. 12,000 crores as against the plan provision of Rs. 4,300 crores. The raising of resources is a complicated problem and there will have to give serious thought to the question of adding to the resources for financing the Plan by 'normal' ways. They would also have to think about 'abnormal' ways of adding to the resources for the Plan.

Referring to the basis of approach for planning, Pandit Nehru said that the authorities had decided to lay emphasis on heavy industries and village and small industries. He has rightly pointed out that without heavy industries, the rate of progress would be low and a country remains dependent on imports from abroad. For instance, the shortage of steel is a great big hurdle to our expansion programmes not merely in respect of rail transport but in regard to housing and other schemes of development. Sri Nehru considers the development of heavy industries as vital to the nation's economy, and also of the small industries as an employment providing factor.

The Finance Minister put emphasis on the fact that the size of the Plan and the resources should be properly matched. From such calculations as had been made it appeared that if the ratio of public receipts to national income was maintained at the existing level, the Government should be able to provide altogether about Rs. 3,500 crores for the Second Five-Year Plan. As against this, the size of the development programme as indicated in the Plan frame papers, was Rs. 4,300 crores. The problem is how to raise another Rs. 800 crores so that the size of the Plan and of resources may be suitably adjusted. A part of this expenditure shall have to be raised

by taxation. The Finance Minister, however, stated that efforts would have to be made to devise new methods of raising loans and mobilising savings. In his view, a lowering of the size of the Plan in the public sector below Rs. 4,300 is not desirable. During the First Plan period the rate of increase in national income was about 3 per cent per annum. "This is the minimum to be kept before us as a target," he added. He pointed out that the Planning Commission had in view a target of 5 per cent increase in national income.

If the country continues to increase the national income at the rate of 5 per cent per year, the national income will be doubled in 14 years. Taking into account this long term prospect, the Finance Minister emphasised that the raising of resources to match the development programme was absolutely necessary. If there is a short fall in the resources, of Rs. 800 or Rs. 1,000 crores, what is to be achieved in five years will be achieved in six years and there will thus be a lengthening of the period for achieving a given level of development.

Reviewing the general position regarding iron and steel, the Union Minister for Commerce and Industry stated that, including the demand of the Railways, India would need about a million tons of imports every year to meet internal requirements. Some progress has been made in regard to the Russian and German steel plants and actual production will start in January 1959. The Government, however, is trying to speed up the production programme of these two plants. The Government has also expansion schemes for the Tatas and IISCO's plants. Production of Tata's plant will be stepped up by another 500,000 tons by early 1958 when the steel situation is expected to ease. Production at the Mysore Iron and Steel Works is also proposed to be stepped up from its present capacity of 25,000 tons to 100,000 tons and India's steel production would total 4.5 million tons by 1959.

The essential aspects of the main approach in the draft plan-frame are: (1) Planning is to be undertaken with reference to the physical needs and possibilities subject to financial considerations and especially foreign exchange requirements; (2) emphasis is to be placed on heavy industries, especially on the development of machine-building capacity; and (3) development of village and small-scale industries will be speeded up. The development of village

and small-scale industries is important from several points of view, notably, supply of consumer goods, employment, decentralisation of industry, avoidance of social problems such as slums, lower capital costs and smaller expenditure on overheads.

On the subject of financial resources for the Second Five-Year Plan, the outlay in the public sector has been divided broadly into two parts, namely, Rs. 900 crores on revenue account and Rs. 3,400 crores on capital account. It has been estimated that the balance from revenue and additional taxation could be brought up to a total of Rs. 700 crores. There is a gap in the share of the States in this amount which has to be made good. There is also a further gap to be met if the resources on revenue account are to be raised from Rs. 700 crores to Rs. 900 crores. The target of public loans and small savings over the next five years has been placed at Rs. 900 crores, i.e., an annual amount of Rs. 180 crores per year. As there will be a gap of Rs. 800 crores for a plan of Rs. 4,300 crores in the public sector, additional steps are needed to be taken to raise the amount to be obtained from public loans and small savings.

In considering the size of the individual State plans, the Planning Commission will take into account a number of factors such as, population, commitments carried over from the first to the second plan, the level of development reached at the end of the first plan, the revenue position of the State and its ability to finance its plan on revenue account and the programme of irrigation and power which was determined largely on the examination carried out by the Technical Committee for Irrigation and Power.

As regards the employment aspects of the Second Five-Year Plan, 10 million jobs must be provided for new entrants to the labour force and there is also a considerable back-log to be made up. From such estimates as made by the Planning Commission, it appears that if the physical targets envisaged in the draft plan are achieved, in the non-agricultural sector employment opportunities to the extent of about 8 to 8½ million jobs may be realised. The Planning Commission also emphasises the need to devote special attention to the problem of educated unemployment. Special programmes are to be worked out for providing opportunities for the educated unemployed persons through work and training camps and other measures. The aim is to equip 1,00,000 educated

youths in the first year of the second Plan for productive work either in specific jobs in fields in which large-scale development was being undertaken and by way of self-employment.

During his Press conference at New Delhi in the first week of November, the Finance Minister of India gave the latest position regarding the financial resources of the Second Five-Year Plan. He expressed a sense of satisfaction with the progress of expenditure under the first Plan. His estimate is that nearly 85 to 87.5 per cent of the expenditure envisaged under the first Plan would be spent by the end of March 1956, that is, out of the target of Rs. 2,300 crores, as much as Rs. 2,000 crores would be spent. The achievements of the first five-year Plan include the ending of food scarcity, and the sufficient production of clothing and agricultural raw materials for industries. But the most disappointing failure under the first Plan is in the direction of providing employment at a much faster rate. The Finance Minister himself admitted that unemployment during the period of the first Plan increased by 4 million, although no correct estimate of unemployment is available. On the assumption that the creation of a job per person involves an expenditure of nearly Rs. 5,000 to Rs. 6,000, the Finance Minister estimates that additional employment to the extent of 4 to 5 million jobs must have been created in the first Plan, as against an increase of 9 million employable persons during that period. These figures indicate some idea of the magnitude of the problem. The population of India is increasing at the rate of 4.5 million per annum, and without the investments in the public sector under the First Five-year Plan, the unemployment situation would have worsened.

The Finance Minister estimated that of the amounts spent so far, Rs. 200 crores would represent deficit financing while by the time the Plan ended another Rs. 300 crores would have been spent by deficit financing making a total about Rs. 500 crores. Judging by the present level of prices, he felt that the deficit financing had been more or less matched by the additional production. He said that this deficit financing of Rs. 300 crores also included some of the expenditure planned for tackling the unemployment problem. The amount of deficit financing is nearly 25 per cent of the total outlay of Rs. 2,000 crores.

Dealing with the resources for the Plan, the

Finance Minister said that after taking note of the trade balances and the foreign assistance likely to be available, the deficit was expected to be of the order of Rs. 400 crores. Possibilities of floating a foreign loan had been explored in a distant way and he had some preliminary talks last year in Switzerland and he had made some tentative enquiries in the London money market. But for the moment India does not need to go in for loans and the question might become of some importance only during the second plan.

As regards the total outlay under the second Plan, the Finance Minister gave his personal opinion that the second Plan would be of the order of about Rs. 4,800 crores, thus representing an addition of Rs. 500 crores over the original estimate. This estimate he made from his association at various stages in the formulation of the Plans of the States and Central Ministries. In his view, the foreign exchange requirements would be of the order of about Rs. 1,500 crores. Of this amount, nearly Rs. 700 crores would be made up by way of foreign trade balances and about Rs. 400 crores by way of foreign assistance including loans from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. There would still be a gap of another Rs. 400 crores. Asked whether there was need for floating loans in foreign markets, when they had large sterling balances, the Finance Minister said that part of their sterling balances would have to be utilised as backing for their currency which would grow in the implementation of the second Plan on account of deficit financing. Taking all that into account, it would be found that the spendable surplus of the sterling balances would be small, even if nothing else happened.

To encourage the flow of foreign capital to this country, particularly dollar capital, the Government of India would take a decision on the American investment guarantee scheme in the not too distant future. The United States Government has suggested to the Government of India that India might participate in the scheme. Twenty six countries including the United Kingdom, Australia, Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, Yugoslavia, the Netherlands, Pakistan, Japan and the Philippines are stated to have joined this scheme. If India accepts this scheme, the payment of compensation to an American investor in this country in the event of nationalisation would not be justifiable matter in the sense it might have been

between a private party and Government, but would have to be settled between the two countries, namely, India and the USA by methods to be agreed upon as part of the scheme. The Finance Minister said that India would require foreign capital and foreign "know-how" in the field of those goods which our people cannot produce. In regard to the American investment guarantee scheme, the investment of the American investor would be in the private sector like the consumer industry which the Government of India is not thinking of nationalising.

In our view, India's foreign exchange resources can be increased by two ways, apart from those under contemplation of the authorities. Firstly, the gold holdings of the Reserve Bank should be revalued in line with present world price level. The old price of Rs. 21 per tola is much too unrealistic and uneconomic. By revaluation India should certainly get an additional sum of quite a substantial amount. The value of the present gold holdings is about Rs. 41 crores. We do not agree with the Finance Minister's views that sterling balances could not be spent as these are kept as currency reserves.

It is simply a wastage to keep gold or foreign exchange as a reserve against the issue of currency notes. Britain has adopted the system of entirely fiduciary issue which dispenses with the necessity of keeping gold or foreign exchange reserves and in consequence this system is the cheapest in the matter of note issue. It is time that India should switch on from the present costly system of proportional reserve to the fiduciary issue. The Bank of England's gold holdings are almost insignificant. There cannot be any better credit than that of the Government and gold is a costly substitute for that. In the socialist pattern of economy, reserves of foreign exchange against currency issue seem to be an anachronism.

Trade Protection

The General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade was modified at the tenth session of the Contracting Parties who met at Geneva during the last week of October, 1955. For various reasons this session was important from the point of view of international trade. This is the first session after the admission of Japan into the GATT. Moreover, the deliberations and decisions at this session will pave the way for a freer and smoother flow of world trade. It

may be recalled that the Havana Trade Charter which was drawn up in Havana in March 1948 has remained inoperative since then and the GATT has continued to be applied provisionally by its signatories. In accordance with the provisions of the GATT, a review of its Articles became necessary in view of the changing conditions in the pattern of world trade. This review was undertaken at Geneva in the winter of 1954. The objectives of this review were firstly, to consider amendments to the GATT itself where necessary and secondly, to provide for the setting up of an Organisation to administer it, since the International Trade Organisation which was to administer the Havana Charter had not come into being.

(Speaking broadly, the GATT has three objectives : firstly, to eliminate trade discrimination; secondly, to abolish unfair practices of all kinds, and, thirdly, to reduce the barriers to the smooth flow of international trade. India is in full support with the first two objectives. India does not believe in trade discrimination, and she allows imports from all parts of the world with the exception of dollar area. This is because on account of dollar shortage she has to be more restrictive. Likewise, in the matter of tariffs, she does not apply a discriminatory rate against those countries that do not have a Most Favoured Nation Agreement with us. Our country does grant preferences to certain specified goods originating in particular countries within and outside the Commonwealth. These preferences are being continued largely because so long as some countries enjoy preferences in particular markets, India cannot afford to give up our own preferences. The GATT prevents the creation of new preferences, and as a result of the tariff negotiations under the GATT the area of preference has been considerably reduced.

The second aim of the GATT is to provide a set of trade rules to regulate international commerce. In this category come matters such as the freedom of transit, methods of valuation for customs purposes and formalities connected with import and export. There are also provisions to deal with the questionable practices like subsidies and dumping. All these are matters where India can unhesitatingly subscribe to the principles of the GATT and the application of these principles are necessary for the interests of our own foreign trade. India does not give

subsidies, open or hidden, to her exports, and she does not dump goods in other markets. But if other countries do not follow a similar code, our exports and domestic industries are sure to suffer. So far as non-discrimination and trade rules are concerned, the GATT has the full support of India.

But when we come to the third principle, that is, the question of reducing trade barriers, we feel that the provisions of the GATT call for amendments. As a country with a substantial stake in international trade, India can certainly demand that there should be the minimum of obstacles to the smooth flow of her foreign trade. She has many industries dependent on export markets. These are important industries like the jute industry, the tea industry, the mica industry and the coir industry, to name but a few. It is quite undesirable that these industries should be allowed to suffer on account of unjustified trade restrictions.

The Government of India holds the view that in the course of our economic development it is inevitable that we should seek to discourage particular lines of imports in order that domestic industries producing similar goods may grow and expand. This point was recognised when the original GATT was drafted by providing Article XVIII for special measure to promote economic development. But the problem which the industrially developed countries have in this respect differ largely from those confronting a country which is in the early stages of its industrial development. This was the point which was overlooked by the old GATT. The old provisions of the GATT gave to its members a completely free hand except where the country concerned had during the course of tariff negotiations voluntarily agreed to give any tariff concessions in return for any concession which it had asked for and received. Although this was in no sense an unfair position, India felt that what was necessary was that there should be a suitable procedure to enable countries in the process of rapid economic development to withdraw concessions on particular items without too much difficulty or delay if such a course was found necessary in the interests of their development.

Further, the GATT stipulated that Quantitative Restrictions on trade should not be used except when a country is in balance of payments difficulties. Accordingly, the Indian delegation to the review session of the GATT was given in-

stitutions to press for amendments to its articles to secure two objectives: namely, to enable under-developed countries like India to use quantitative restrictions on import in order to fulfil their programme of economic development and to assist the development of particular industries, and secondly, sufficient flexibility regarding the bound rates of tariffs should be secured to enable under-developed countries to make changes as and when new industries develop.

Accordingly, to meet the special position of the under-developed countries in the matter of extending protection to their growing industries, Article XVIII of the GATT has been wholly revised. Under the modified Article, member countries in the early stages of industrial development would enjoy additional facilities to enable them (a) to maintain sufficient flexibility in their tariff structure to be able to grant the tariff protection required for the establishment of particular industries and (b) to apply quantitative restrictions on imports to protect their balance of payments in a manner which takes full account of the continued high level of demand for imports likely to be generated by their programme of economic development.

The modified Article begins with the recognition that there should be special facilities for the development of economies which can only support low standards of living and are in the early stages of development. There are thus two criteria laid down for use of these special provisions. If a country is under-developed in the sense that there are vast resources which have not yet been tapped but which has a high standard of living—for example a country like Australia, it cannot have recourse to all the facilities of Article XVIII. The same applies to a country which has a low standard of living but is well developed economically, as for example, Japan. The modified Article is really intended for countries which suffer from both handicaps like India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia and certain South American countries. Provisions for these have been incorporated in Section A, B, and C of the Article. Section D deals with countries still in the process of development but not having a low standard of living.

We on our part should, however, like to suggest that the protection of industries should be related to an overall plan of economic development; otherwise there may be unequal distribution of burdens and an unplanned

and uncoordinated development of industries. The criteria to be applied for granting protection to industries in the unplanned private sector should be the economic advantages enjoyed by the industry, its actual or probable cost of production, possibility of its development within a reasonable time and its ability to carry on successfully without protection or assistance and/or it should be an industry to which it is desirable in the national interest to grant protection or assistance, the probable cost of such protection or assistance to the community being not excessive. Protection must not be the protection of uneconomic and inefficient industrial units, nor protection should be an indulgence to recalcitrant and anti-social industries, as was the case with the sugar industry which was admittedly anti-social in the difficult days after the attainment of independence.

Another point which we should like to stress in this connection is that the authorities should not forget, while according protection to industries through import control, that the interests of the consumers would suffer if competition is totally shut out. A total prohibition in the import of particular consumer goods will lead to price racketeering at the cost of the State to the detriment of the consumers.

Why the Stubbornness over Goa?

The Soviet's standpoint on Goa has been very clearly expressed by our distinguished guests. It has had many repercussions in the West, and further reactions are likely. It would be interesting to note the background to it all as given in the *Worldover Press* for September 9, under the above caption:

On the face of it, Portuguese India, or Goa, is nothing but a relatively unimportant speck on the west coast of India. Its area is only 1,538 square miles, partly jungle; its population only some 640,000. Yet India is determined to acquire it, to wipe out this vestige of colonialism, and Portugal has an obvious—and an undisclosed—reason for hanging on. The little territory has every characteristic of colonialism—an idle clique of Portuguese socialites, the trappings of a virtual police state. If India gave firm guarantees, more than Nehru's personal assurance, that Indian possession would not detract from Catholic observances, local stubbornness might be assuaged.

As usual, however, there are factors that do not meet the eye. Even as far from Europe as

this, the drive to put Spain into NATO has had a lot to do with the controversy. Portugal's dictatorial regime is Spain's chief sponsor and unofficial spokesman. Britain has often gone along with Lisbon's boss, Dr. Salazar. Indians reason that if Spain gets into NATO, the nature of that alliance will change for the worse, and even as it is, India wants neutrality rather than backing for the NATO set-up. It sees Goa as a potential outpost of NATO in a future conflict, and can't tolerate the thought of even a theoretical military activity centered on its doorstep. In spite of its confidence that Goa could hardly, without NATO, ever be used as a springboard for interference with New Delhi policies, it hasn't forgotten that when the Portuguese first occupied Goa, their leader exclaimed: "If you lost the whole of India, from Goa you could reconquer it."

Behind the Worry over NATO

The same issue of the *Worldover Press* has also the following revealing comment which would explain a lot regarding U.S. sympathies for Portugal:

You can discount some of the moans lest NATO countries, in view of the changed Russian line and the spirit of the "Summit" Conference, "let down their guard." There is genuine concern because France has pulled troops out of West Europe to back its colonialism in North Africa. And though the Italian government backs U.S. plans, last March a popular poll showed 51 per cent of the Italian people for neutrality, and the tide in recent weeks has swelled.

Concealed behind the expressed alarm, however, is American frustration in Washington's attempts to get the Spanish dictatorship into NATO. When a House of Representatives committee voted for it, several NATO countries were angered. Norway said, "Never." Denmark did. And in recent days, off the record, other governments have manifested a strong displeasure.

West European countries which hate all forms of dictatorship have not yet recovered from their shock at a message sent last July 18, by President Eisenhower to Dictator Franco, congratulating him in effect on his 1939 overthrow of the legally elected Spanish Republic with the aid of Hitler and Mussolini. The triumph of Spanish Fascism is now celebrated as an annual holiday, though for 80 per cent of the people it is an ironic mockery. Yet Mr. Eisenhower said to Franco: "On this national holiday of Spain, it gives me

pleasure to convey to Your Excellency and to the people of Spain the best wishes and congratulations of the people of the United States." Worldover Press informants inside Spain have reported the despair and dismay caused by this moral backing for the cruel and oppressive Madrid regime.

Singapore and Malaya

The background to the recent occurrences in Singapore and Malaya is provided by the following commentary in the *Worldover Press* bulletin:

Singapore.—Ever since early April, when David Marshall took over as Chief Minister in Singapore's first mainly elected government, there has been labor trouble. Criticized in the initial outbreaks as showing lack of firmness, the Chief Minister has lately been coming off better. At best his task has been extremely difficult.

What is going on in Singapore, a small island with 1,250,000 people, might not matter so much if it weren't for the important position it occupies in South-east Asia. What happens there, however, can easily influence the Federation of Malaya, Burma, Thailand, Indonesia, Borneo and Hong Kong. A lot hinges on Singapore's experiment in democracy.

The government's first big test came in late May. Workers at a Chinese bus company came out on strike because the company tried to break the men's union with a yellow union created by the firm itself. Thousands of Chinese students ranging from 11 to 22 years toured the streets singing songs and shouting slogans. Bloodcurdling speeches by strikers and students aroused hatred against the police. When rioting broke out, 20 badly hurt policemen were sent to hospital; two were beaten to death. In the senseless fury, an American correspondent, Gene Symonds, was also brutally murdered. *Ironically, Gene was known for his sympathetic understanding of Asian aspirations.*

Peace was restored when Mr. Marshall brought pressure on the bus company to dissolve the yellow union. But when he threatened to expel from school certain students he said were guilty of inhuman brutality, thousands of boys and girls staged a stay-in strike. There they remained until the Chief Minister changed his mind and set up a committee to go into the whole question of Chinese education in the colony.

Shortly after, 2,000 bus drivers and conductors came out in a sudden strike in sympathy with striking Harbour Board Clerks and a conductor charged with cheating the bus firm. At this stage, three trade union leaders threatened a general strike. They were Assemblyman Lim Ching Siong (aged 22), secretary of the Factory and Shop Workers' Union; Devan Nair, not long out of prison where he spent two years as a Communist suspect; and S. Woodhull, secretary of the Naval Base Union. At first, although sympathetic strikes are illegal, Marshall talked with these men, giving the impression he had made a deal. That night, however, the police arrested six trade unionists and raided the premises of Lim's union.

Enraged, the three unionists called a general Strike. While 17,000 bus and factory workers came out, more than 100,000 workers—Mr. Woodhull's own union among them—ignored the call. To save face, the trio told workers to go back for eight days to see what happened to the six men who had been arrested and charged with planning subversive violence. Marshall refused to be intimidated. Nevertheless, on June 24 the last of the arrested men were released.

Lim, Nair and Woodhull are members of the anti-colonial, socialist People's Action Party. Consequently, his party has been blamed by Mr. Marshall and a strong section of public opinion for causing all the trouble. The three, in fact, did not have the party blessing. The party's policy is based upon constitutionalism. Neither its president nor its secretary gave any approval to the acts of Lim, Nair and Woodhull, and the secretary, Lee Kuan Yew, pointedly stayed on holiday.

There is an extremist group within the party, however, and a struggle between the party and the Labor Front government for control over the unions, for political purposes. Few trade union officials here yet understand the idea of unions democratically organized and operated.

Indonesian Elections

The first General Elections in Indonesia were held on September 29. Though the final results are not yet available a broad picture of the relative position of the contesting parties discernible which is not likely to be materially disturbed by the final figures.

The most notable outcome of the elections

is the disappearance from the political arena of the greater of the majority of the one hundred and ninety parties and organizations that took part in the elections. Even some of the parties with relatively large membership in the "provisional" parliament have failed to gain popular backing for them. So that for some time, at least, Indonesian politics is going to be a struggle for power between four parties—P.N.I. (Nationalist), Masjumi (Moslem), Nadatul Ulema (Conservative Moslem) and the Communist Party.

About 75 per cent of the 430 million voters actually took part in the elections in which the proportion of male and female voters were about equal. Despite a number of instances of malpractice detected it may safely be concluded that the elections were greatly successful.

Indonesia is soon to have another election based on adult franchise. On December 15 the citizens of Indonesia would elect a 520-member Constituent Assembly which would frame a constitution for the country.

UNESCO on South Asia

The second issue of the *South Asia Social Science Abstracts* covering the year 1953 was recently published in New Delhi by the South Asia Science Co-operation office of the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation. Following the classification in the first issue the abstracts are presented in five groups : Sociology, Social Anthropology, Social Psychology, Political Science and Economics. The abstracts cover 57 publications in three countries, India, Burma and Ceylon, but admittedly the greater majority of the abstracts come from Indian journals since the number of social science journals published in Burma and Ceylon were very small. The Abstracts showed that greatest emphasis was being given to Economics in the three countries, although Political Science also claimed some interest. Relatively little was published in the other social science disciplines.

A publication of this character, even with its present limitations, particularly as regards the number of countries covered, cannot fail to receive the heartiest welcome of all concerned with the study of social sciences.

Britain and Self-determination

Mr. Samuel Hoare, the British delegate in the United Nations Social Committee, urged the adoption of a motion sponsored by the three

powers—Britain, Australia and the Netherlands—to eliminate the first article of draft covenant on Human Rights which said that all peoples and all nations have the right to self-determination—namely, the right freely to determine their political, economic, social and cultural status. According to the view of the British Government there was a "fundamental difference between self-determination as to right as (as it was spoken of in the right) and as a principle (as it was referred to in the United Nations Charter)." The British Government accepted the principle but denied the right, which could give a handle to minorities in many countries to launch break-away movements and deal a blow at the sovereign rights of nations.

Speaking on a different occasion and at a later date U.S. Deputy Under Secretary of State Robert D. Murphy also echoed the British view. In a speech before the conference on "Africa and Asia in the World Community" sponsored by the Catholic Organization for World Peace, Murphy expressed U.S. sympathy for the colonial people's striving for self-determination. "We look forward," he said, "to the day when the remaining non-self-governing territories, large and small shall have attained the goal of self-government and where suitable, the status of independence." But "the Charter articles on self-determination should not be given the far-reaching interpretation of a general right for any people or country to break all ties with the mother country."

Mr. Murphy added that because of the various concepts of self-determination, the United States delegation to the General Assembly of the United Nations would propose that the whole question of the principle be made the subject of a "much more profound study to see if a substantial measure of agreement on the meaning and essential elements of the problem can be reached."

Reuter reported from New York on November 3: "India today appealed to opponents of the article on self-determination in the draft covenants on human rights—particularly the U.S.A.—to reconsider their position and join in a final attempt to reconcile differences on it."

Rev. J. D'Souza, the Indian delegate referred to the fact that the U.S.A. had joined with India, Belgium and Lebanon at Paris five years ago when it had been decided that there should be two separate covenants—one dealing with civil and political rights and the other with economic, social and cultural rights. The U.S.A. had then

agreed to welcome the covenant on political rights, but now it took a position that it could sign neither.

A Sample of "Civilization"

Southern Rhodesia in the continent of Africa is a British colony. Its membership in the 1953 Central African Federation did not materially change its political status. Despite general non-interference in the internal affairs of Southern Rhodesia by the British Government the approval of the latter was compulsory for any enactment relating to the African population.

Following the usual racial policy of the European settlers in other parts of Africa, Southern Rhodesia also had a system of racial segregation in operation within the country. Needless to mention that the best lands had been appropriated by the white settlers.

Recently two diplomatic and consular representatives from India and Pakistan went to Salisbury—the capital city of Southern Rhodesia—on official business. But in spite of great efforts they could not secure suitable accommodation for their offices. The two representatives were (at least to the British eyes) dark-complexioned; so they could not secure any premises in the area inhabited by the whites. The African-inhabited areas, on the other hand, being very poor had no suitable accommodation to offer from where diplomatic and consular activities could be carried on fruitfully. Eventually they were able to obtain temporarily an office for their purposes only with the personal intervention of the Prime Minister, Lord Malvern.

It may be mentioned here that it was not only in regard to residential accommodation that the Indians were subjected to such humiliating discrimination. Such discrimination extended to cinema houses, hotels and streets.

Middle East Security

The Egyptian Economic and Political Review, a monthly review of economic and political affairs in Middle East published from Cairo, writes in its leader of October, 1955, that the crumbling facade of the Turco-Yugoslav-Greek alliance over the Cyprus question conclusively demonstrated that "no serious defence of the Middle East can be assured without the collaboration and support of the

local populations;" that alignment in military pacts and defence structures being hopelessly incapable of rallying the required popular support was no solution at all.

Referring to the periodical Western accusations against Egypt and other Arab countries that the latter were irresponsible trouble-makers the review writes: "It is only fair today for us to accuse both the Turkish Government and whoever in Britain is responsible for the present Cyprus impasse of equal irresponsibility and disregard for Middle East security."

The magazine regrets the attacks on the places of Christian worship in the anti-Greek riots in Turkey and condemns these outrages, "for such deeds are not only condemned by the Faith, but the Moslem is required to protect and secure the churches of the Christians from attack." Even after all these riots the Cyprus issue was not nearer any solution and such disorders were clearly unnecessary, the paper notes. The Turkish Government's efforts to disclaim all responsibility and to put all the blame on the Communists are ridiculed in the editorial article. "In the Turkish police state hardly anything happens without the Government's knowing about it, for, in Turkey, there are more policemen and soldiers per inhabitant than in any other country in the world," it writes. The violence of the anti-Greek demonstrations was also "a reflection of the state of internal security in Turkey, where growing economic instability and political resistance is steadily increasing against the Government."

Criticizing the British stand on the Cyprus issue the editorial says that the main stumbling block to any agreement or compromise in Cyprus lay in the outlook of the British Colonial office "that Britain is in Cyprus for good." This indefensible stand upon permanent occupation of the island must at once be given up. Again if it was Britain's policy to stay on the island "there was really no reason at all for inviting Greece and Turkey to discuss a matter which must in such circumstances be an internal British affair."

The editorial assails the Turkish claim to represent the Cypriot Moslems in the following words: "Cyprus has never been Turkish, for Turkey is a product of the First World War. If, on the other hand, relationship with the former Ottoman Empire now inspires Ankara, one must assume that it is concern for fellow Moslems that moves them. Should this

be the case, one feels that other Moslem States whose relationship to the Empire was more definite than that of the Kemalist Turkey should also have been invited to London."

Refuting the argument that Turkish concern for Cypriot Moslems was related to the maintenance of her State security in the southern borders, the newspaper points to the fact that Caucasus area was far more important to her State security than is Cyprus. "There are certainly more Moslems of Turkish origin in Southern Russia than there are in Cyprus. It is easy to adopt martial attitudes when the attendant risk of retribution is small, but where the Caucasus is concerned Ankara no doubt considers that discretion is the better part of valour," the periodical writes.

A Philosopher's Sacrifice

The subjoined news-item sent by Reuter from Rome is a reminder of the cost of one single step forward in the genuine advance of humanitarian scientific knowledge: "Prof. Mario Ponzo, pioneer Italian radiologist, today (October 25, 1955) underwent his 18th operation in 30 years for cancer contracted in the course of his radiation studies. One of his disciples Prof. Achille Mario Dooliotti amputated two of the three remaining fingers on his right hand.

"The senior professor, whose condition is stated to be satisfactory, lost his left arm and part of the shoulder last July."

The Buraimi Oasis Crisis

For several years now the Buraimi Oasis has been an apple of discord in the relationships between Saudi Arabia and the United Kingdom. The question of the jurisdiction over the disputed area was submitted to a five-man arbitration tribunal in Geneva in July, 1954. The tribunal was to decide: (1) the location of the common frontier between Saudi Arabia and the British-protected Sheikdom of Abou Dhabi involving some 75,000 square kilometres of territory lying between Buraimi and Hofuf; and (2) sovereignty over Buraimi Oasis, an area defined for arbitration purposes as a circle containing about 2,000 square kilometres. Saudi Arabia considered Buraimi to be a part of her territory while the United Kingdom supported the claims of Obou Dhabi to part of the Oasis and the claims of the Sultan of Muscat, who also Britain represented, to the remainder. The British delegate on the tribunal, Sir Reader Bullard resigned on Septem-

ber 16 of this year alleging that the Saudi Arabia representative on the tribunal, Sheikh Yusuf Yasin was not acting impartially as a member of the tribunal. Following the resignation of the British delegate the President of the Tribunal, Dr. Charles de Visscher of Belgium also resigned from the tribunal on September 23. The other members of the tribunal were Sr. Ernesto de Dihago of Cuba and Mr. Mahmud Hassan of Pakistan.

In a statement issued on September 18, the Saudi Arabian delegate, Sheikh Yusuf Yasin refuted the charges of the British delegate. He pointed out that his official position in the Saudi Arabian Government had all along been known to the entire tribunal and his position had never been a cause for objection on the part of the neutral members although the tribunal had been in existence for nine months and had held two full sessions.

Following this disruption of the tribunal troops of British-protected Sultan of Muscat and of the Sheikh of Abu Dhabi occupied the disputed Buraimi Oasis on October 26, 1955. Disclosing this fact in the British House of Commons on the same date Sir Anthony Eden, the Prime Minister, said that the troops had occupied the Oasis up to a line proposed by Britain in 1935 but further modified in favour of Saudi Arabia in 1937. He added that the Saudi Arabia Government would be informed of the decision to reoccupy the Oasis up to the modified 1935 frontier line. "I hope in time the Saudi Arabian Government will accept the solution we have had to declare," he concluded.

The Saudi Arabian delegation to the United Nations denounced this action of the British Government and said that Britain was trying to force the Buraimi issue to an armed conflict rather than settle it by peaceful methods. The statement of the delegation issued on the night of October 2 recalled the fact that originally Saudi Arabia favoured a plebiscite in the disputed area to ascertain the wishes of the people whether they wanted to remain Saudi Arabian citizens or would like to join either Muscat or Abou Dhabi, "so-called British protectorates." It was only at the suggestion of the British Government that Saudi Arabia had accepted international arbitration. But at the moment the British Government "felt that the tribunal's decision was going to be unfavourable to her, she ordered the British

representative to resign in order to hinder the work of this international body and forestall any peaceful settlement of the dispute." Afterwards an official protest was lodged with the British Government against the forcible occupation of the Oasis.

In a statement issued from Cairo on October 29, Emir Faisal, the Saudi Arabian Prime Minister, warned the Persian Gulf chiefs, the Sultan of Muscat and the Sheikh of Abou Dhabi against the dangers of furthering British designs at the Buraimi Oasis.

The British Commonwealth Secretary, the Earl of Home, said in Peshawar on November 1, 1955, that the occupation of the Buraimi Oasis by British troops was an act under treaty obligations. Troops had been moved in only at the request of the Rulers of Muscat and of Abou Dhabi.

According to Reuter the permanent Saudi Arabian delegate to the United Nations reportedly said on November 2 that unless the British Saudi Arabian dispute over the Buraimi was solved peacefully "we might have to resort to force." The delegate, Sheikh Abdullah at Khayyal added the question of bringing the matter before the Security Council was under active consideration of the Saudi Arabian Government.

Commenting on the resignation of the British delegate to the arbitration tribunal the *Egyptian Economic and Political Review* writes that "on the British must rest the responsibility for the stoppage" of the work of the tribunal. However, it notes, the disruption of the tribunal was not surprising since clearly "the Buraimi question is of an importance and a magnitude which tends to place it above the competence of an arbitration court, for of such conflicts wars are made" (the editorial article was written before the British occupation of the territory in October, 1955).

It goes on to add: "It would appear that Sir Reader had counted far more than was prudent on his supporters in Muscat and Abou Dhabi and was in consequence taken by surprise when confronted with the evidence that many of these had supported the Saudi argument rather than his own. It is this that has brought forward the accusations of Saudi bribery, which has been broadcast with such vehemence during the last few weeks."

"It would be interesting to hear the British representatives' opinion on what they

consider is bribery. Bribery is a word easy to use but hard to prove and define. For the coercion of bribery can come in many forms but not least amongst them that of the military and financial support given to many of those whom Britain claims to represent in the Persian Gulf.

Referring to the bloodshed in the Buraimi area consequent on the armed attack on Saudi Arabian positions on October 26, the Moscow weekly *New Times* writes that evidently it was not the vassal states of Muscat and Abou Dhabi "that are interested in the annexation of Buraimi, but British oil companies which intend to operate the petroleum deposits of the area. The London *Times* wrote some two months ago that it was important to retain control over Buraimi: 'because it is supposed to contain rich oil deposit, because companies are prospecting there and because, if sovereignty cannot be determined, they will not be certain that their investment is made upon a safe foundation'."

The *New Times* notes the significance of the timing of the armed occupation of Buraimi and says that "it is in a way a demonstration of determination to act in the Middle East from 'positions of strength.' It is plainly a move to exert pressure on Saudi Arabia which, with some Arab States, is pursuing an independent foreign policy and upholding its national interests."

U.S. Air Bases in Pakistan

The New York correspondent of the Ma'ras Hindu quotes the *New York Times* of November 18 to report that agreement was reached between the United States and Pakistan for use of 20 million dollars of American counterpart funds for improving air bases, port facilities and highways in Pakistan.

He adds: "General Talley, who was in charge of construction of American air bases in North Africa will, it is stated, proceed to Pakistan next week to supervise the operations there."

Traffic in Women

Press Trust of India reports that the Social and Moral Hygiene Advisory Committee appointed by the Central Social Welfare Board were presented in November 11 at the conference of the Chairmen of the State Social Welfare Advisory Boards in New Delhi by the

President of the Committee, Mrs. Dhanwanti Rama Rao.

The Committee laid greater emphasis on preventive steps rather than on detection and punishment in regard to trafficking in women. It also drew attention to the weak enforcement of the existing laws.

The Committee referred to the existence of a countrywide network through which this immoral business prospered. The existence of such a network was evident from the fact that in large cities women drawn from distant parts all over the country were lodged in what were freely pointed out brothel areas. These women could not have found their way unguided into those areas. "Most prostitutes operate only under the 'protection' of the *gharwalis*, *naikas*, pimps and procurers. A determined effort to break the system is the surest method of minimising this evil."

Though prostitution was regarded as primarily being an urban problem as many as 66.5 per cent of such women came from rural areas, the age group of prostitutes falling between 10 and 29 years on the average. On the causes of prostitution the Committee gave the following facts: 55.4 per cent took to prostitution on account of economic distress; 27.7 per cent due to domestic disharmony, inadequacy, ill treatment, desertion, widowhood, etc., and 16.9 per cent due to certain social and religious practices obtaining in some communities. "While figures for kidnapping and seducing are not available, it is estimated that even in respect of such women the original cause would fall under one or other of the above three heads," the Committee said.

Military Wealth of USA

Anthony Leviero writes in the *New York Times* that, according to an official estimate disclosed on October 29, the United States had \$123,900,000,000 tied up in armed forces properties and goods. This evaluation, however, did not include the investment in atomic energy which was valued at \$12,500,000,000 including \$6,000,000,000 in capital investment. The following categories were also excluded from the above estimate: Properties and equipment of the national industrial plant and equipment reserve, which were in the custody of the General Services Administration; supplies and equipment in overseas field Army

depots and some overseas Airforce depots that had not yet brought into the monetary accounting system, properties in the hands of the Civil Works Organization (rivers and harbours and flood control) of the Army corps of engineers and certain other minor items.

The bulk of the evaluated properties could be used up, wasted away or could become obsolete. The report of the Defense Department to President Eisenhower said: "Some 4,000,000 of different kinds of items aggregating well over \$100,000,000,000 of assets comprising the properties and material inventories owned by the Department of Defense are involved in these accounting and reporting systems."

Land, buildings and long-life equipment, such as ships were priced at acquisition costs. The total cost of the Government of real estate controlled by the Army, the Navy and the Air Force was thus valued at \$21,500,000,000 as on January 1, 1955. But that figure by no means indicated the present market value of the properties because some land had been acquired a century or more ago at a fraction of today's prices and some lands had been received as donations to the Defense Department. On the other hand, no allowances had either been made for loss in value as a result of depreciation. Moreover, since the data represented an inventory as of a given date, they did not include costs of structures which had been demolished or replaced prior to that date.

The Army portion of the total inventory holdings on the basis of cost was 39 per cent, Navy 34 per cent, and Air Force 27 per cent.

About 82 per cent of the holdings were in the continental United States.

"The Department of Defense," the report said, "though the three military departments controlled a total of 29,400,000 acres of land throughout the world on January 1, 1955. This included land owned, leased, used on temporary permit, and various occupancy rights (easements and foreign rights of different types)."

Recapitulation of the Inventory (Millions of Dollars)

As of December, 1954*

Type of property	Total	Army	Navy†	Airforce
Grand total	\$123,866	\$34,082	\$56,428	\$33,356
Real property inventories	21,469	8,399	7,352	5,718
Machine tool inventories	2,883	836	1,084	963

Equipment & supplies in the supply system	50,643	20,729	17,680	12,234
Stock funds inventories	8,784	6,185	2,019	580
Appropriated funds inventories	41,859	14,544	15,661	11,654
Industrial funds inventories‡	332	121	211	**
Major equipment in use	48,539	3,997	30,101	14,441

Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy

A resolution on the peaceful uses of atomic energy and the establishment of an international atomic agency which was sponsored jointly by eighteen nations was adopted by the Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly by a vote of 53 to 0 with 6 abstentions (Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen). The resolution made the following major points :

It recognised the necessity of ensuring that the agency and the nuclear material which might be placed at its disposal would be used exclusively for peaceful purposes ; it suggested the convocation of a conference of all prospective members of the agency—all members of the United Nations or of its specialised Agencies—on the final text of the agency's statute; it requested the Secretary-General of the United Nations to draw up suggestions for the future relationship between the agency and the U.N.; it increased the number of drafters of the statutes of the agency from eight to twelve by the inclusion of Brazil, Czechoslovakia, India and the Soviet Union; it recommended the publication by the agency of a scientific periodical on peaceful uses of atomic energy ; and the holding of a second international scientific conference within two or three years and technical conferences on specific subjects and it endorsed the continuation of the Atomic Advisory Committee of the UN Secretary-General.

Whaley-Eaton Service in Washington recently published the world's first catalogue of the more than 1000 scientific and technical papers submitted to the UN Atoms-for-Peace Conference in Geneva. The catalogue is available free on request by educational institutions, business firms and government officials.

* Except inventory in machine tools, which was as of March 1, 1955.

† Included marine corps. ‡ Consists of raw materials, supplies, work-in-process, finished goods, excess and salvage. ** Less than 0.5 million.

Radiation Study

The Political Committee of the United Nations General Assembly unanimously approved the establishment of a U.N. machinery for a scientific study of nuclear radiation levels, their effects on mankind and for setting uniform standards to measure them. The resolution sponsored by India and the United States was approved by 59 votes to nil on the 7th November. Earlier the Committee rejected several amendments, separately sponsored by the Soviet Union, India, Indonesia and Syria calling for a ban on nuclear weapon tests and for the participation of China.

The decision marked the second time within less than a month that the United Nations reached unanimity on a matter connected with peaceful uses of atomic energy. The earlier decision gave U.N. backing for international co-operation in the utilisation in medicine industry and agriculture.

Under the present resolution the Secretary-General of the United Nations would convene a committee of scientists from 15 nations to carry out the radiation study. After collecting and evaluating radiation reports from national sources, the Committee would make annual progress reports from national sources and would present a summary of its findings by July, 1958 at the latest.

The resolution called on all the members of the United Nations and its specialised agencies to co-operate with the committee and on the specialised agencies themselves to co-ordinate possible work in radiation research with the Committee. The countries making up the Committee were : Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Czechoslovakia, Egypt, France, India, Japan, Mexico, Sweden, the United Kingdom, the U.S.A. and the USSR.

A USIS news release says : A Soviet amendment calling for a ban on nuclear weapon tests was defeated by a vote of 39 to 9, with 8 abstentions. A similar suggestion by Syria and Indonesia was turned down by 36 votes to 17, with 6 abstentions.

Another Soviet amendment to include China and Rumania in the scientific Committee was rejected by a vote of 40 to 9 with 9 abstentions. An Indian amendment not naming China but opening the door to active Chinese participation was defeated by a 28 to 25 vote with 6 abstentions.

The Political Committee by a vote of 48 to 9 with 11 abstentions accepted an amendment

sponsored by all the Latin American countries to add four nations—Argentina, Mexico, Belgium and Egypt—to the Scientific Committee originally projected as including eleven members.

The United States Atomic Energy Commission recently rejected a proposal for an "Atomic Summit" meeting in the Pacific made by one of its five members, Mr. Thomas E. Murray as "contrary to the best judgment of the AEC." The statement issued on November, 17, by Commissioner Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman, Willard F. Libby, John Von Neuman and Harold S. Vance said that the Commission had earlier rejected a similar suggestion of Mr. Murray to invite foreign observers, including Communist observers, to witness tests of nuclear weapons. The statement recalled that the Russians had been given an opportunity to witness the atomic explosion at Bikini in 1946. But that had not improved co-operation.

After the recent atomic explosion in Russia Moscow Radio announced on November 29 that the Soviet Union was ready to discontinue tests of nuclear weapons if other Powers would do the same.

American Big Business

Five hundred American business firms, comprising less than two-tenths of one per cent of the 360,000 mining and manufacturing companies in the United States, controlled more than half of the United States industrial production and approximately one-quarter of that of the non-Communist world. All but two of these five hundred firms had net annual sales of \$50 millions or more and together they accounted for 51 per cent of the sales of all manufacturing and mining companies in USA. Reaping 66 per cent of net industrial profits they commanded 56 per cent of all industrial assets although employing only 44 per cent of the country's industrial workers.

The report in the *A.I.C.C. Economic Review* from which the above facts have been taken adds ; "By far the most imposing of these giants is General Motors Corporation, with sales in 1954 of nearly \$10,000 million. Second to General Motors come Standard Oil (N.J.) with sales of \$5700 million, and next probably Ford whose sales, although not officially published, are thought to beat those of U.S. Steel, \$3200 million, for third place.

"In many industries, three or four major con-

cerns dominate production and continue to hold the lead from year to year. Below these, however, the composition of the 500 largest firms varies a good deal from year to year. In 1955, for example, between 50 and 100 new firms may succeed in pushing others of the list."

A USIS news release, October 28, adds : "The world's largest private manufacturing enterprise, the General Motors Corporation (GMC), in the first nine months of this year has exceeded its earning for any full year in its history. The net income for the first nine months of 1955 amounted to \$912,887,537 larger by 13.3 per cent over its income in the whole of the year 1954.

Private U.S. investments abroad stood at \$26.5 billion at the end of 1954 registering a rise of nearly three billion dollars over 1953, disclosed the Office of Business Economics, U.S. Department of Commerce.

Most of the investments were mining and petroleum enterprises in Canada, Latin America and the Middle East. A striking development in 1954 and early 1955 was greatly increased purchases of European securities. Net purchases of European Corporate Stocks were \$100 million in 1954 and a further \$55 million were purchased in the first half of 1955. At the end of 1954 American holdings of foreign bonds and stocks were valued at \$5 billion in current prices sixty per cent of which was in Canada where by the end of 1954 U.S. direct investments were valued at nearly \$6 billion—\$2 billion being invested in mining and petroleum and \$2.5 billion in the manufacturing industries.

Direct investments in Western Europe were climbing at a rate of about \$200 million a year in recent years, mainly through reinvestment of earnings. At the end of 1954 their value was \$2.6 billion, including \$1.4 billion in manufacturing and about \$700 million in petroleum enterprises.

Capital outflows for investments in foreign securities and short-and-medium-term foreign credits and assets reached a post-war high of \$860 million in 1954.

The following chart shows the different types of investment :

Private U.S. Investment Abroad, 1953 and 1954. (Billions of dollars ; year ends).

	1953		1954			
	Total	Total	Canada	Latin America	Western Europe	Other Countries
Total	23.8	26.6	9.7	7.7	4.8	4.4
Long-term	22.3	24.4	9.5	6.7	4.1	4.1
Direct	16.3	17.7	5.9	6.3	2.6	2.9
Portfolio	6.0	6.7	3.6	.4	1.5	1.2
Short-term	1.6	2.2	.2	1.0	.7	.3

Russell Pushes Abolition of War

In view of the new turn in the cold war, the following interview that the *Worldover Press* correspondent, Maurice Cranston, had with Bertrand Russell is of interest.

It will be seen how even this philosopher-scientist had to change his views when the "other side" also got the "know how" and the technique of atomic weapons:

London.—Undeterred at the brushing aside of his appeal for the ending of war by some American scientists, Bertrand Russell talked to me about the importance he still attaches to that statement, backed by many eminent scientific figures and addressed to the governments of the world. Lord Russell does not intend to slacken his effort.

"Scientific methods of warfare," said the 83-year-old philosopher, "have had the unexpected result of making war absurd. War can no longer be used as an effective instrument of policy, because nuclear weapons will destroy most of the participants in any war and may even destroy the human race."

I asked Lord Russell whether he did not think the traditional moral justification of war was obsolete. He said it was. "We can no longer say it is right to go to war to defend freedom, because war can no longer defend freedom. It can only serve to destroy freedom together with almost everything else." He did not accept the view many people hold, that it would be a good idea to ban nuclear weapons alone. "To say 'Let us ban nuclear weapons' is as futile as saying 'Let us go back to bows and arrows.' We must outlaw war."

Asked whether, while it might be impossible to defend freedom by nuclear war, it might be possible to defend it by the threat of nuclear war, Lord Russell replied : "That was the view I put forward myself five or six years ago, when the West had an overwhelming superiority of atomic weapons, and I thought an atomic threat might force the Communist to come into an international organization for peace. But now, of course, one can see that the threat of nuclear war can be used

to uphold tyranny against freedom just as easily as to uphold freedom against tyranny. Behind such threats is the reality that neither side could achieve its object by acting on such threats. Both sides have the power to inflict enormous damage on the main cities of the other side in a matter of hours, but neither side has the power to destroy the other's power to retaliate with the same weapons. That is one reason why a nuclear war is a war which cannot be won."

Lord Russell did not suggest there was any prospect of international friendship eliminating all disputes; he only recommended that there should be international machinery for settling such conflicts by peaceful means. "This is a long and arduous task," he admitted, "and it is not likely to be completed quickly."

At a recent conference of scientists on nuclear warfare held in London, several eminent scientists said they were reluctant to sign such appeals as that drawn up by Lord Russell because they did not think the scientist as such had any authority to speak on moral questions. "I have never claimed that the scientist has any such authority; what I have said," declared Lord Russell, "is that it is the duty of scientists to warn mankind of the disasters war must inevitably bring to the world now that nuclear weapons have been devised. It is also the scientist's duty to tell mankind about the immeasurable benefits which science might bring if the danger of war is removed."

Lord Russell said it was certainly not for scientists to decide how their knowledge should be used; the statesmen and politicians would have to decide that, and they in turn would be guided by public opinion.

"We have reached a point in history where human beings must make the great decision," Lord Russell said. "On the one hand there is the prospect of war which may bring death not only to all mankind, but also to all living things on our planet. On the other hand, there is the prospect of peace and happiness, with scientific knowledge being used for the elimination of misery and want. That is the choice. I allow myself to hope that men will choose peace."

Film Awards

We have received the following communication from the Secretary, Sangeet Natak Akademi:

The Sangeet Natak Akademi has decided to

institute Akademi Awards in the field of films, similar to the awards for outstanding attainment in the fields of dance, drama and music. The first two film awards will be made along with the next Akademi Awards in early March, next year:

1. To the best producer or director of a feature film.
2. To the best actor/actress in a feature film.

Film organisations and institutions, film critics and other individuals connected with films are invited to recommend names of persons who, in their opinion, are qualified for the above two awards. In each case, full particulars of the person recommended and the reasons for the recommendation should be given.

Recommendations should reach the Secretary, Sangeet Natak Akademi, 70 Regal Buildings, New Delhi, not later than January 31st, 1956.

Inquiry into Suicides

Suicides have apparently assumed such disturbing proportions in Saurashtra that the Saurashtra Government have considered it necessary to appoint a seven-member board under the Chairmanship of Sri Maldevji Adodra, M.L.A., to inquire into the reasons for suicide in the State. The Board would enquire details of suicides in the next three months and recommends to the Government the steps to be taken, the *Bombay Chronicle* reports.

NEW YEAR'S SUBSCRIPTION TO THE MODERN REVIEW

Subscribers, whose subscriptions expire with the current December number, are requested to send the next year's subscription quoting their respective serial subscribing numbers before the 28th instant by money-order. Otherwise, unless countermanded, the January number will be sent to them by V.P.P.

Those who may happen to have sent their subscriptions immediately before the arrival of the V.P.P., should refuse the V.P. packet, as fresh packets will be sent to them by ordinary book post as soon as the money-order reaches this office.

MANAGER, *The Modern Review*.

SOCIAL REGENERATION IN INDIA

By RAJANI KANTA DAS, PH. D. AND SONYA RUTH DAS, D.LITT. (Paris)

A most important factor in the upbuilding of India's new civilization is her social regeneration. Indian society has for a long time been moribund and backward and more or less immobile and static, due to a number of causes such as poverty and disease, illiteracy and ignorance, caste and untouchability, superstition and prejudice, idolatry and priesthood, and invasion and conquest. Although the Renaissance and various other social movements have made great contributions to the awakening of national life, they have not yet touched more than a fringe of the vast society and its progress has been hampered by such factors as revivalism, communalism, separatism, colonialism, and imperialism. India is therefore urgently in need of reconstruction and reorientation of her cultures in order, first, to establish a solid moral and spiritual foundation of her new civilization and second, to build her social, political and economic life.

The most important factor in social regeneration of India is the achievement of national independence, which has been followed by the establishment of the democratic Republic. In the First General Election of 1950, India mobilized 176 million men and women of 21 years of age and over, by far the majority of whom were illiterate. It was not only the greatest event in the history of national election, but was also the greatest factor in the awaking of India's masses, who had remained asleep in the countryside since primordial times. There are, however, several other organizations and movements which have long been engaged in bringing about a veritable social regeneration of India, some of which have been discussed in the pages of this periodical.*

CULTURAL REORIENTATION

The greatest asset of society is its cultural heritage or social tradition coming down from time immemorial and supplying not only the

most of the techniques of group life—mores, beliefs, folklores, customs, laws, and institutions—but adding some kind of mysticism and sanctity to the social process and making life worth living. Social tradition in fact forms the basis of life, whether national, group, or individual, and gives it stability and solidarity. Moreover, its significance lies in the fact that it forms a subconscious part of human nature and exerts a great influence upon human behavior in all social activities.

RATIONALIZATION OF THE TRADITION

Like the human body, the human mind, as far as its social attributes are concerned, is a continuation of the past. Even before it becomes self-conscious the child absorbs social traditions from its parents and other members of the primary group and gradually comes under the influence of larger and larger groups. An important problem of cultural reorientation is the rationalization of the old traditions in order to create an objective attitude towards the world and to facilitate the acquisition of knowledge in its true perspective and significance. The greater the volume of scientifically ascertained social traditions of a community, the greater the possibility for its continued progress.

Both the volume and the value of social traditions are of great importance to the development of the individual and society. Although a living institution, social tradition has fallen into inertia and inactivity in India, and this is also the case in many old civilizations. In spite of its great achievements in art, philosophy, and science, India's cultural heritage suffers from a number of defects :

First, by far its largest volume was acquired during the pre-historic and ancient periods when superstition and mythology were the dominant features of social traditions. Moreover, unlike other religions, popular Hinduism is a mode of living consisting of customs, mores, practices, habits, laws, and institutions rather than a set of tenets or doctrines, compiled from the preachings of a prophet or the Sacred Book.

* See, for instance, in *The Modern Review* the writers' article on "India's Creative Recreation," (February, 1955), and "The Educational Movement in India" (June, 1955).

Second, Aryan and Dravidian cultures are extremely rich in literature, such as the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Puranas, the Mahabharata, the Ramayana, and other works which have become parts of Hindu religion practised by the common people. But during the medieval period India was invaded, conquered, and ruled by the Moslems, and this often involved the destruction of temples, palaces, and universities, the annihilation of royal dynasties, and the forcible conversion of Hindus into Moslem religion, all of which had deteriorating effects upon Hindu culture.

Third, during the modern period, India was conquered and ruled by the British. The very fact of domination by a foreign power thousands of miles away, discrimination by the British Government against the Indians in all high functions of the State, and the neglect of India's arts and crafts that might compete with Britain's growing industries, created an inferiority complex among the people and retarded their moral and spiritual development.

Hindu civilization has thus passed through many varieties of experience from pre-historic to modern times and has inherited not only the cultures developed by the Aryan and Dravidian peoples, but also indigenous aboriginal cultures and heterogeneous foreign cultures. It thus contains a large variety of cultural traits, some of which are of the highest social value while others are primitive, obsolete, grotesque, and contradictory.

An important problem of social regeneration in India is the rationalization of her cultural heritage. Research studies should therefore be undertaken in all the phases of India's cultural history from ancient to modern times. An immense amount of research has been done both in India and abroad and the results of these researches should be compiled. Moreover, a large amount of Buddhistic literature, which left the country immediately after the suppression of Buddhism in the 12th century, should be brought back to India and translated into various Indian languages.

While there should be some general collection of facts throughout all these periods to serve as a source book, what are more important are: First, a cultural history of India from the earliest periods up to the present time including the various epochs and periods—Vedic, Buddhistic,

and Hindu; second, a history of Moslem rule and its contribution to Indian civilization; third, a history of British rule and its contribution to Indian civilization; fourth, effects of Moslem and British rule on Hindu civilization; and fifth, such general subjects as religion, ethics, aesthetics, sociology, politics, economics, metaphysics, philosophy, mathematics, physics and chemistry, with an outline of the historical development and actual achievement in each case.

A very important step has been taken for the reorientation and reconstruction of India's cultural heritage by the appointment of a committee to prepare a history of Indian philosophy, and it is hoped that similar committees will be appointed for the study of each of the important subjects mentioned above, thus giving an authentic and comprehensive idea of India's cultural achievements to her own people as well as to the world at large.

ADAPTATION OF NEW CULTURES

The adaptation of new cultural traits is still another important method of cultural reorientation. These may be derived from a variety of sources, as indicated below:

First, primitive indigenous cultures, some of which have already been assimilated with the Dravidian and Aryan cultures, particularly during the Buddhist period. They and the Buddhistic culture formed an integral part of Hindu civilization and should be analytically and critically studied in order to adapt them to India's rising civilization. The cultural traits of the tribal groups, numbering about 20 million in 1951, had been derived from the influence of their natural environment for thousands of years and may form the nucleus of some new cultural traits and also help in amalgamating these groups with other parts of India's population.

Second, Moslem rulers made India their home and brought their arts and crafts and science and philosophy and other cultural achievements with them. While some of their cultural traits have been fused into Hindu or Indian civilization, others have still remained unassimilated or even neglected. It is time for the Indian people, especially the Moslem population, to study such cultural traits as can be adapted to the national life of India. Moreover, such cultural adaptation would help to bring Hindu-Moslem communities closer together.

Third, under the impact of the West, some

of the British and other have laid the foundation juridical, economic, and educational institutions, and have already become India's cultural heritage. But many other cultural traits brought into India by the British and other Western nations still remain unassimilated, and attempts should now be made to ascertain their suitability for adoption into Indian national culture.

Fourth, some cultural traits of other countries should also be studied to determine their adaptability to Indian national life. The co-operative rural industries and mass education systems of China, the Japanese art of living with its simplicity, elegance and cleanliness, and the arts and crafts of Europe and elsewhere may be profitably studied for the same purpose.

POPULARIZATION OF LEARNING

Popularization of learning is still another method of cultural reorientation, especially in India, where foreign domination during the medieval and modern times retarded not only political and economic development but also moral and intellectual progress. Reference has already been made to dissemination of knowledge through various methods, and some of them require further discussion.

First, the issuance of publications by competent authorities on modern science, philosophy, art and literature in Hindi or the national language under the auspices of national universities and with government subsidies; these should probably be of convenient size. Similar publications should also be prepared by provincial universities in provincial languages and with the help of government subsidies. Such publications should improve both national and provincial languages. Moreover, the professors at national and provincial universities should be required to deliver public lectures in their respective fields.

Second, the circulation of valuable works through libraries. An important step in this direction has been undertaken by what has been called the library movement in Bombay. "A library for every village" is the slogan of the movement, and it proposes to set up a network of libraries in the entire province. The first step was

taken on June 26, 1947, when the central library was opened in the city of Bombay. To carry out the project, the plans provided for : (1) Three regional libraries ; (2) a library at each district headquarters ; (3) a library at each *taluk* or *peta* (subdivision) ; (4) a library in every village having a population of 2,000 to 5,000 ; and (5) the gradual extension of the scope of the movement to include smaller and smaller villages. A similar step has been undertaken by Bihar and there is no doubt that similar measures will be taken by other provinces.

Third, the most significant social groups are what might be called the learned associations in science, philosophy, history, economics, politics, education, literature, medicine and other subjects, which have been increasing in number throughout the country for the last quarter of a century or more. These associations meet periodically and discuss important topics of their own research or of others both in India and abroad and often give suggestions as to the best means of solving some of the outstanding problems. They often guide social thought and it is through their constant efforts that society generally obtains scientific knowledge and directs its activities on progressive lines.

Fourth, the movements like those of political parties, trade unions, employers' associations, agrarian movements and other organizations of different political and economic interest are also important factors in the dissemination of knowledge. Although most of these movements are guided by party interests, their activities are important in view of the fact that they bring group interests to the attention of the general public.

Finally, the press and the platform are also great institutions for national awakening, inasmuch as they supply necessary information on almost all social questions. While most of the journals and periodicals are party organs and often express partisan views, there are also others which are impartial and take an objective view of things. To these must also be added the platform for the propagation of religious, political, industrial, ethical, aesthetic ideals by different organisations or individuals. Both the press and the platform are of great help to the popularisation of knowledge.



GEOGRAPHIC ENVIRONMENT IN INDIA

By PROF. C. B. MAMORIA, M.A., (Geog.), M.Com.

IV

MULTI-PURPOSE PROJECTS

RECENTLY several projects have been undertaken by the Government, for power and irrigation in India. These projects are known as multi-purpose projects because of the manifold advantages they yield. They are designed not only to provide irrigation facilities for growing additional food and commercial crops, but also for hydro-electric power, flood-control, fish-fulture, navigation, conservation of soil, afforestation, drinking water and recreation facilities.¹ After the completion of these plans, India will be using about 10 per cent of her latent water power capacity, and about 28 million acres of land will become available for cultivation. About 153 projects are under execution in different parts of the country. Of these only six are multi-purpose, 104 irrigation and 43 power projects. 12 of these 153 projects are major. Of the major projects, 6 are multi-purpose, 3 power-schemes and 3 irrigation-schemes. The cost of these 12 major projects will amount to Rs. 439 crores and of the remaining 141 projects to Rs. 680 crores. The Five-Year Plan provides for the execution of 175 projects which will irrigate 8.53 million additional acres and provide a million kw. of additional hydel power. Eventually these projects will irrigate 16.94 million additional acres and generate 1.5 million kw. of additional power.²

TRANSPORTATION

The extension of facilities of transportation is the most essential condition for the successful commercial and industrial development of a country. In fact, transportation permits a country to utilize its economic resources to the best possible advantages. Various kinds of transport means are available

in our country. From the track animals of the mountains and the desert, the bullock-cart of the trackless agricultural areas, the country boats and crafts of alluvial water courses, to the railways that link up parts with important inland industrial and trading centres, the motor cars that have rendered door to door conveyance easy and economical, and aeroplanes that have reduced barriers of long distances to a minimum, India has become an epitome of all classes of transport. Transportation in India can be divided into four heads : (i) Roads, (ii) Railways, (iii) Waterways and (iv) Airways, all of which are influenced by the topography and climate of the country to a very great extent.

The road transport by its very nature touches the heart of the country and affects the well-being of the people at every turn. In India, road is the indigenous means of communication. Over a large part of India road-building of unmetalled type is a simple affair and presents no great difficulty. India has miles of roads. Over most of the country 40 to 75 per cent of the area is not served by road at all. Considering the size of the country this mileage is very meagre. We have only 73 miles of roads per 100,000 population compared to 2,411 miles in U.S.A., 4,398 miles in Canada and 934 miles in France.³ Of the total road mileage of 241,513 miles (1950) only 95,463 miles are hard-surfaced. More than half of the metalled roads is in Peninsular India where the old hard rocks facilitate the building of such roads. Of the unmetalled roads, 146,060 miles, on the other hand, about four-fifth lies

3. The following table gives an idea how deficient we are in road mileage in comparison with some other countries:

Country	Per sq. miles	Per 1,000 sq. miles	Per 100,000 persons	Remarks
Canada	..	160	4,938	..
Italy	0.89	1,467	376	Motorable
Japan	3.00	3,988	728	"
England	2.02	2,070	581	Motorable
France	1.84	—	934	"
U. S. A.	1.03	1,006	2,411	"
Germany	1.95	—	260	"
India	0.15	201	73	Only 35 p.c. motorable
Australia	—	168	6,602	—

--Vide *Eastern Economist, Annual, 1952, p. 1064.*

1. In N. India : (i) Mandi Hydro-Electric Works, East Punjab 45,000 kwts.; (ii) Ganges Canal Hydro-Electric Grid System (U.P.) 11,000 kwts.

The important multi-purpose projects are:

(i) Damodar Valley Project; (ii) Bhakra Nangal Project; (iii) Kachhi Project; (iv) The Hirakud Project; (v) Rihand & Nayar Dam Projects; (vi) The Tungabhadra Project; (vii) Machkund Hydel Scheme; (viii) Rampat Sugar Project; (ix) Tungabhadra Project and Lambal Project.

2. *The Five-Year Plan, p. 351.*

in the Indo-Gangetic valley, where the soft alluvium, the great distance from which road metal has to be obtained and the frequent floods naturally favour the construction of the unmetalled road which is rebuilt chiefly after every rainy season. Want of adequate roads is keenly felt in rural areas. By far the greater portion of these roads is unbridged and heavy shower cuts off the communication whenever the stream crosses a line, and they are in many cases so unfit to stand the effects of the wheels while the surface is wet that in monsoon months they are out of use except for cattle or foot passengers.⁴

The best-served part of the country is South India and the areas worst served in this respect are Rajasthan, Assam, Orissa, Kutch and the Punjab. These are either too arid and thinly populated or too rainy and jungly with unbridgeable gorges and streams which intersect them.⁵

Indian roads are divided into five classes: (1) National Highways, (2) Provincial or State Highways, (3) District Roads, (4) Urban Roads and (5) Village Roads. The first are the important arteries of communication in the country.⁶

India's road system is insufficient for her needs and therefore in the Five-Year Plan a provision of Rs. 100 crores has been made for the purpose out of which 27 crores are to be spent on national highways and the rest mainly on State roads. The Plan envisages the development of nearly 3,000 miles of new roads and 16,000 to 17,000 miles of village roads through community effort.

RAILWAYS

The Indian railway system is by far the largest in Asia and the second biggest State-owned enterprise in the world. They employ about 9.23 lakh people, carry 123.21 crores of passengers, and 98.3 lakh tons of goods; consume about 10.8 million tons of coal; and their net earning is 66.55 crores of rupees. India has now 34,000 miles of railway lines,⁷ which operate on three different gauges: 6 ft. 6 ins.; 3 ft. 3½ ins. and 2 ft. 6 ins.⁸

4. D. R. Gadgil: *Modern Industrial Evolution of India*, p. 4.

5. *Indian Year Book*, 1945-46, p. 36.

6. At present there are 6 National Highways: running from (a) Calcutta to Bombay; (b) Delhi to Bombay; (c) Bombay to Madras; (d) Madras to Calcutta; (e) Calcutta to Bombay via Nagpur and (f) Delhi to Madras via Nagpur.

Of the total route mileage roughly about one-half is in the Indo-Gangetic Valley, which with its fertile plains and large population together with Calcutta naturally offers the most favourable conditions for railway development. The general characteristic of this route in this valley is that it is straight over long distances because of absence of hills. But while the level nature of the valley helps the railway, the heavy rainfall and the numerous streams necessitating costly bridges are a drawback. The frequent floods also raise the cost of maintaining the track. The railway lines in this valley are characterised by a large number of branch lines, which are particularly numerous in areas where the traffic is spread over the adjoining area. The railway lines running in Peninsular India are zig-zag. The broken topography of the south compels the lines to change their course and gradient from place to place, and also causes the making of tunnels at some places to get over obstructions. The mountains in the north and the Western Ghats also present considerable difficulties with regard to the construction of railway lines. The Satpuras and Vindhya are low, and the railway lines can bypass the big ranges or cross them by means of tunnels. The Thar desert in Rajasthan with scanty population and resources make railway operation difficult and unprofitable. Thus in India, the railway pattern has been much influenced by the forces of economic geography.

The mileage of railways in India is very small as compared with that of other important countries. Large countries with comparatively small population, such as Canada and Australia, record a low territorial ratio, viz., 11 miles and 9 miles of railways, while smaller countries with dense population and a high degree of railway development show high ratios. U. K. has 206 miles of railway per 1,000 sq. miles; France 120 and Japan 87 for the same area. India with her large territory

7. On the eve of the partition, there were 40,524 miles of railways in undivided India of which 6,958 miles went to Pakistan and 33,566 miles remained in India.

8. Of the total mileage, 15,700 miles narrow broad gauge, 15,000 miles are metre gauge and only 3,300 miles narrow gauge. The metre gauge railways are seen mostly in the State of Assam, North Bihar, Rajasthan, Saurashtra and also in the northern part of West Bengal, in South India and some parts of U.P. The narrow gauge railways are in existence in mountains and in interior parts of the villages of West Bengal. In other parts broad gauge railways predominate.

but with a moderate extent of railway development has only 28 miles of railway per 1,000 sq. miles. Distribution of railway mileage on the population basis presents an entirely different picture. Large countries with a small population such as Canada and Australia, show low ratios; while small countries with high population density, despite the relatively large route mileage, such as U.K. or Japan, stand comparatively low under the population ratios. India has but 10 miles of railway per 100,000 people.⁹

With a view to effecting economy and efficiency in administration, a scheme for regrouping the entire railway system, except a few privately owned light railways, was prepared by the Railway Board in 1950 and enforced during 1951-52. As a result of regrouping the six zones were created: (i) The Southern Railway, 6,017 miles with headquarters at Madras; (ii) Central Railway, 5,428 miles with headquarters at Bombay; (iii) Western Railway, 5,461 miles with headquarters at Bombay; (iv) Northern Railway, 6,007 miles with headquarters at Delhi; (v) North-Eastern Railway, 4,767 miles with headquarters at Gorakhpur and (vi) Eastern Railway, 5,667 miles with headquarters at Calcutta. And from August 1955, a seventh railway zone, viz., (vii) South-Eastern Railway zone is also going to be opened.

WATER-WAYS

India is a land of many rivers, and yet her water transport is not much developed. This is due to certain geographical drawbacks. Firstly, during the rainy season the rivers are in high floods and consequently have a strong current which is not easy to navigate. During the dry seasons, only the big rivers have water throughout their course, others become disconnected pools in which navigation is impossible. Secondly, even in big rivers the water is very shallow and there are sandbars due to silting which further reduce the depth of

water. Thirdly, owing to the shifting of river courses, permanent jetties or wharfs cannot be made. Fourthly, the rivers usually enter the sea in shallow, sandy delta-mouths instead of deep and broad estuaries. In lower Bengal, Assam and in the river deltas on the east coast, there is enough water in the rivers and navigation is possible throughout the year. These regions are not well-supplied with roads or railways. This fact naturally makes navigation the only efficient means of communication. On the Ganga in Bengal and Bihar and on the Brahmaputra in Assam a large number of steamers ply.

There are other parts of the country where canal navigation is active. In Andhra and Madras States, the Godavari canals including the Dummagudan canal, the Kistna canals, the Buckingham canal, the Kurnool-Kuddaph canal, the West-coast canals and the Vedaranniyam canal; in Bengal, the Circular and Eastern canals; in U.P., the Ganges canals; and in Orissa, the Orissa canal, are important highways for water-borne traffic. On the West coast the backwaters form the chief means of transport.

The total mileage of waterways in India is estimated to be 25,000 miles. Of these about 10,000 miles are rivers and 15,000 miles canals. But the approximate length of navigable waterways at present is only 5,144 miles distributed, as U.P. 745 miles; Bihar 715 miles; West Bengal 777 miles; Assam 920 miles; Orissa 287 miles; Madras and Andhra, 1,700 miles.¹⁰

India has a coastline of over 3,500 miles and merchant ships from all important maritime countries call at her ports. The sea routes radiate mainly from the five major ports of Calcutta, Vizagapatam, Madras, Bombay, and Cochin. The principal sea routes are the Suez route, the Cape route, the Australian route and the Singapore route.

At the end of 1952, the total tonnage of Indian ships of over 150 G.R.T. was 452,274 G.R.T. with 111 ships and 25 companies. The coastal traffic is reserved for the Indian fleet since August, 1950. According to the statement made by the Government in Lok Sabha in March 1953, 24.48 lakhs of deadweight ton cargoes were carried on the coast in 1951 and 24.66 lakhs of deadweight tons in 1952. In order to carry our coastal cargo 259,000 G.R.T.

Country	Routes mileage	Routes per 1000 sq. miles	Passenger per 100000 persons	Electric traction mileage	Railway routes miles
U. S. A.	227,244	60	118	224	2,708
U. S. S. R.	54,487	..	..	..	1,040
Canada	42,836	11	291	211	..
India	34,000	28	10	111	239
Australia	31,199	9	321	287	..
U. K.	25,601	120	61	413	2,520
J. Africa	19,357	206	38	411	905
S. Africa	13,932	28	103	Not available	..
Japan	12,572	87	15	568	3,591

⁹—Vide *Directory of Railway Officials and Year Book, 1952.*

¹⁰—*Times of India's Directory and Year Book (1954-55)*, p. 260.

of Indian shipping was employed. Practically the entire coastal trade and 43 per cent of the adjacent trade is now being carried by Indian ships. The total freight earnings of Indian companies from the coastal trade amounted to Rs. 10 crores in 1951-52. Indian shipping companies have regular cargo services to the U.K., the Continent, the U.S.A. and Australia. By the end of 1952, the total tonnage employed in the overseas tradeway 173,000 G.R.T. The freight earnings of the Indian companies from overseas trade during 1951-52 was Rs. 9 crores, under the plan the total tonnage employed in the coastal and overseas trade will increase from 362,150 to about 600,000 G.R.T. by 1955-56 for an expenditure of Rs. 14.94 crores.¹³

AIR TRANSPORT

India's place in Civil aviation is fourth among the nations of the world. As a meeting point of the air routes between the East and the West, India holds a key position in the international aviation. With its vast distances and favourable climate throughout the year, India provides an ideal field for air transport. But in spite of this fact, compared with U.S.A., U.K. and Canada the progress of Civil aviation in India is very modest.

There are three types of air-transport routes in India: (i) Trans-Continental trunk routes, (ii) Regional trunk routes and (iii) Local service routes. A typical trans-continental route is one which connects Bombay with Calcutta and is linked up with foreign and overseas air routes at Bombay and Calcutta. The regional trunk routes connects foreign and over-seas routes at Bangalore, Delhi, Nagpur and Hyderabad. The local service routes feed regional and trans-continental routes.¹⁴

11. India's share in the world's merchant shipping fleet is very insignificant as would be clear from the following figures:

Countries	No.	Gross R. Tonnage (000 tons)
U.S.A.	3,492	25,793
England	3,102	18,873
Norway	959	5,136
France	519	2,889
Holland	500	2,820
Italy	423	2,474
Denmark	307	1,116
Japan	423	2,783
Germany	174	476
India	111	452
World		872,000

—Vide *Eastern Economist Annual*, 1952, p. 1071.

India has three international aerodromes, Bombay (Santa Cruz), Calcutta (Dum Dum) and Delhi (Palam); seven major aerodromes at Agartala, Ahmedabad, Begumpet, Bombay (Juhu), Delhi (Safdarjung), Gauhati, Madras and Nagpur; 29 intermediate aerodromes and 37 minor aerodromes.¹⁵

The total route mileage is 27,763 miles of which 14,050 miles are domestic route mileage and 13,713 international route mileage.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we may say that India is a country unique in many respects. Within her own borders she presents every variety of natural features to be found on the surface of the earth. Snow-capped mountains, precipitous ravines, undulating hills, high plateau, level plains, sandy deserts, verdant oases, mighty streams and rich fields diversify the surface of the country. India has been favoured bountifully from the permanent snows of the Himalayas and the glorious alpine regions of Kashmir to the rainless desert of western Rajasthan and the continental extremes of western U.P. and Rajasthan and the perpetual hot-houses of Malabar. India possesses great diversity of animals, vegetation products and minerals ranging from the heavily coated Kashmir sheep to the camel of Rajasthan, the tiger of Bengal and the elephant of South India; from wheat, fruits and fir trees of the north to the jute and rice fields of West Bengal and slender and elegant areca palms, banana, mango, and *dhupa* trees of Mysore, cocoanut palms of low-lying swamps and coastal regions; and from the coal and iron fields of West Bengal, Bihar and Orissa to the gold region of Mysore, the manganese region of Madhya Pradesh, the salt lakes of Rajasthan and the oilfields of Assam.¹⁶ Diversity of

12. There are 14 Indian transport companies. These companies run air lines on 7 routes as follows:

- Route No. 1 (Formerly Air Lines Ltd., Calcutta)—5 Services.
- Route No. 2 (,, Bharat Air Ways Ltd., Calcutta)—7 Services
- Route No. 3 (,, Himalayan Aviation and the Kalinga Air Lines Ltd., Calcutta)—2 Services.
- Route No. 4 (,, Indian National Airways, New Delhi)—7 Services.
- Route No. 5 (,, Deccan Airways Ltd., Hyderabad)—4 Services.
- Route No. 6 (,, Air India Ltd., Madras)—6 Services.
- Route No. 7 (,, Air Services of India, Ltd., Bombay)—4 Services.

Besides these internal services, Indian Air Corporation maintains overseas services with U.K., Burma, China, Japan, etc.

13. *Times of India's Directory and Year Book*, 1954-55, p. 252.

14. Vera Anstey: *Economic Development of India*, pp. 5-6.

physical features and the climatic conditions have produced great varieties in population and the economic habits of the people. What different types are represented by the hard-working Deccanees of the peninsula, the ease-loving agriculturists of Bengal, the shepherd hill-men of the Himalayas, the traders and commercial magnates of Rajasthan and the primitive huntsmen of the hill regions!

What strikes us is the fact that though our economic life is rich in variety man in India has failed to profit adequately. The contrast between the bounties of nature and the poverty of man is here very striking. Nature has been very bountiful in bestowing her gifts lavishly but man has failed to play his part well. Hence, the usual statement, "India is a rich country inhabited by poor people."¹⁵ What is needed is initiative, enterprise, business skill, capital, government co-operation and above all

active population to use and exploit the dormant resources for material advancement and the raising of the standard of living of the masses. It is a happy augury to see that we are now fast on the road to development. India is not only reclaiming her marshy lands and bringing new lands under the plough with the help of tractors and bull-dozers, enriching her soils by inorganic fertilizers and improved appliances, planning her agriculture and industries, developing her vast water resources, exploiting her forests and mineral wealth, fighting with her food and raw material shortages by every possible means, organising her railways and opening vast tracts of new lands by country roads but also developing her new outlook of life and devising various means of making the masses happy, healthy and prosperous.

(Concluded)

15. Jathar & Beri: *Indian Economics*, Vol. I, p. 32.

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CHINA AND ASIAN STABILITY

BY DR. KALIDAS NAG, M.A., D.LITT. (Paris)

As Russia with the Asian Soviet forms the vast single block of diverse nationalities and languages inspired by a common ideology, so China, the compact mass of mankind dominantly Mongloid is being transformed into the bulwark of Asian solidarity. But there is another fragment of Chinese party politics in Formosa under Chiang Kai-shek who with American support mainly is trying to perpetuate schism defying the People's Republic, fully functioning from 1949, with over 50,000,000 souls. Then the third element is represented by the Overseas Chinese numbering about 10 million : majority of them in Asia (with 2½ m. in Malaya and 1½ m. in Indonesia) and also in Oceania, Africa, Europe and America.

In religion the Chinese were cosmopolitan in spirit, harbouring the Jews in Honan, the Moslems counting 50 million and the Buddhists 150 million coming from outside. The rest are Taoists or Confucians but all religious groups are now subjected to the new communist drive to secularization. The resultant psychological types and their reaction to the new Government should be cautiously watched. The West has clashed with the East, in China as well as in India

for over three centuries of modern history started by the Manchu dynasty (1640 onwards). Emperor Ch'en Lung (1736-1795) was a contemporary of Clive and Hastings; so we may follow easily the quick transformation of China during the last two centuries. China invaded Tibet in 1751 and began controlling the succession of the Dalai Lama. In 1758 Keshgaria was conquered maintaining Chinese control over Central Asia. In 1781 the revolt of the Muslims were suppressed, the Formosan rebellion was crushed, and the Gurkhas of Nepal were vanquished (1792).

Between 1757-1842 China suspicious of the Christian westerners stopped them systematically from settling down in any Chinese port under the pretext of trade ; Earl of Macartney was sent away (1793) from the Chinese Court of Peking; but the Americans luckily entered into a profitable trade in Canton (1784).

During the century of 1795-1895 we notice China declining through total refusal to take to modern science and industry which Japan accepted and, thus defeated China in the first Sino-Japanese War of 1893-94.

In 1821 the Opium trouble started, for the East India Company began sending (defying Chinese Emperor's prohibition) 5000 chests of Indian opium to China. It was temporarily stopped (1834) with the end of the Company's monopoly of British trade with China. The Chinese burnt 30,000 opium chests and the British opened the Opium War (1841-42) and forcibly took Hongkong and opened other ports like Canton, Amoy, Foochow, Nengpo and Shanghai. Chaos reigned between 1850-64 when the Tai Ping rebellion led to ruthless destruction of life and property. The French took advantage of it and gradually grabbed Indo-China (1862 onwards).

In these gloomy days was born Sun-wen famed later on as Sun Yat-sen (1862-1925), a contemporary of Lenin. Dr. Sun tried to organise rebellion against the decadent Manchus (1895) but failed; he escaped *via* Hawaii to Europe and America and organised (since 1893) the overseas Chinese. Meanwhile Japan defeated the corrupt Manchu rulers of China and took Formosa (1895). The big Powers of Europe—France, Germany, Russia—began a scramble for “concessions” forming States within a State. So the hot-heads of China started the Boxer Rising (1900-1901) lowering the prestige of the Manchus who were driven out in 1911 by the Revolutionary Chinese who elected Dr. Sun Yat-sen their President (December, 1911). After a second revolution in July, 1913, Yuan Shi-kai was elected President; but he too tried to play the Emperor (1917) and lost his chance. Dr. Sun moved to Canton and made his Government in 1921. In 1915 Japan presented the notorious 21 demands during the First World War but the Washington Conference (February, 1922) guaranteed to China independence and territorial integrity. There was also the remission of the Boxer indemnity of 6 million dollars diverted to rehabilitate Chinese education by creation of the China Foundation for Promotion of Education and Culture. So U.S.A. sunk billions of dollars in China to conciliate the Chinese and to capture their vast market. But other factors went against U.S.A.

Soviet Russia in repudiation of the Tsar's ill-gotten gains gave up (1919-20) extra-territoriality, etc., at Tientsin and Hankow and balance of the Russian share of the Boxer indemnity to be used for the education of young Chinese in Russia who with many other Asians,

were invited to the first Pan-Asian Congress in Baku (1920). In January, 1924, the first Kuo Min Tang Congress at Canton with Sun Yet-sen as President admitted the Communists to the party which began to be influenced by Russian advisers, notably Michael Borodin; and Chiang Kai-shek (born 1887), himself trained in Japan, headed the Russian instructors in the new Whampoa Military Academy. He went to Russia for further experience and on return—when Dr. Sun died (March, 1925)—began destroying the Chinese communists, who, in their turn, waged a 30 years' war against Chiang championing outmoded feudalistic capitalism. Yet Chiang's master Dr. Sun propagated progressive socialism since 1901-1907 (a decade before the Russian Revolution of 1917). Before his death (12 March, 1925) he published his lectures—San Min Chu I or the three Principles of Nationalism, Democracy and Social Progress—all three betrayed by Dr. Sun's corrupt or incompetent followers, Chiang Kai-shek, Hu Han-min and Wang Ching-wei.

COMMUNIST CHINA

The dividing line between two historical periods was drawn by the youths of Peking who on May 4, 1919 called a huge demonstration against the supine and corrupt Government and thus began a truly nationalistic and cultural revolution. Few now remember that a young graduate of the Normal School of Ch'angsha organised the New People's Student Union joining the Revolutionary movement. He was Mao Tse-tung, (born 1893) in Hunan Province where he joined as a boy a small Communist Party cell which had its ramifications in Hankow and Peking. Mao in 1918 took a small job in the library of the Peking University studying books, writing poems and he was elected delegate to the first Communist Congress in Shanghai and Chia-ting (July, 1921). Its second session met in Hang-chow (July, 1922), which formally resolved to wipe out imperialism, warlordism, stressing Dr. Sun's Nationalism. They decided to join the Communist International and invited the third Congress to Canton (June, 1923) where Mao was elected Member of the Central Committee. The fourth Congress met in Shanghai (January, 1925) where the party resolved to organise the Farmers' and Labourers' movement and the youth and the women's organisations. Thus their youth corps had a good number and the Party had more than 1000 members. The fifth Congress in Hankow

(April, 1927) brought 100 delegates representing 500,000 members of the party. Mao took the lead in Land Reforms. The sixth Congress met in Moscow (July, 1928), for Chiang started his ruthless campaign to expel the Chinese communists who took up guerilla activities against Chiang's Kuomintang Government. Mao formed the first Red Army (1927-28) with the youths of Yenan, Fukien and Kiangsi whence Mao led the famous Long March (1934-35) to Yenan (800 miles). He also set up a Chinese Soviet and led the Agrarian Revolution seizing for peasants the lands of the idle landlords. Meanwhile the Japanese began occupying Manchuria (1931-32) and Mao appealed to the nation and made common cause with Chiang for the war of Resistance. In September, 1937 Mao kept back his communist propaganda and ordered his Red Army to fight the Japanese as part of the Chinese National Army which was strengthened under Chiang who concluded a non-aggression treaty between China and Soviet Russia (August, 1937). The Japanese and Russian forces clashed (August 1937) on the Manchuria-Korea-Siberia borders. The Japanese took Canton and Hankow amidst protests of the Western Powers but the Second World War broke out in full fury in 1939.

LIQUIDATION OF KUOMINTANG (1939-1949)

In August, 1939 Hitler and Stalin made a strange German-Russian Pact and in September England and France declared war on Germany invading Poland. In December, 1939, Russia was expelled from the League of Nations for distributing vital war materials to the enemies. In May, 1940 Churchill formed his Coalition Government with Labour Party in June, after French collapse, and America made a big defence programme with a "two-ocean navy" and offered warships to England in exchange for American naval and air bases in the British Empire by the agreement of September, 1940 when Germany, Italy and Japan entered into a Pact which encouraged Japan to attack Hawaii (December 1941). U.S.A. thus entered the war and England reopened the Burma Road to send supplies to China. But civil war raged in China (1931-45) and the seventh Congress of Chinese Communists met at Yenan in 1945. Mao after Japanese surrender (August, 1945) flew with U.S.A. Ambassador Hurlay to Chungking to conclude Peace, if possible, with Chiang. But in 1945 civil war again broke out in Mukden,

Kalgan and Yenan. From 1948 Mao Tse-tung began his big offensive and totally defeating (1949) Chiang's forces, drove them to Formosa and occupied the Chinese mainland establishing the People's Republic of over 500 million souls.

In June, 1950 Chairman Mao Tse-tung delivered a memorable address on "Fight for a better turn in the Economic situation in China" and the whole nation began working as one man to develop a New Democracy in the East with Soviet friendly assistance. U.K., India, Burma, Ceylon, among others, promptly recognised the People's Republic which is showing throughout very cordial sentiments to India led by Premier Nehru who was most warmly welcomed as a guest of the Republic. The Chinese Foreign Member Chou En-lai naturally gave full support to the policy of Nehru in the Bandung Conference (July, 1955). Chou En-lai was born (1896) in Kiangsu who studied western diplomacy while in Paris as a student forming Chinese communist cells in Paris and other European cities. Returning to China in 1923 he helped Chiang and Mao in their anti-Japanese drive but when civil war broke out Chow retreated to Yenan and finally emerged as Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic and Administrative Councils and also as the Minister of Foreign Affairs helping Mao in all sectors.

Ten years senior to them is General Chu Te (born 1886), the Communist Commander-in-Chief. Graduate of the Yunnan Military Academy he formed the Revolutionary League taking part in the Yunnan uprisings. After that he visited Germany (1922) and fostered the Chinese Communist cells in Berlin and other places. He joined the North Expedition (1926) after his return to China where Kuomintang and Communists began clashing (1927). He helped Mao Tse-tung in building up the Red Army of Farmers and Labourers and led the Eighth Route Army and commenced the Long March (1935). Famed General and Vice-Chairman of the People's Military Council Chu Te is also Supreme Commander of the Chinese Forces.

Another great leader is Ku Mo-jo (born 1892), poet, novelist, critic and scholar; now Head of the Cultural Ministry. He began as a medieval student (like Dr. Sun Yat-sen) in Japan, publishing there his Poems (1921-22). On return to homeland he organised the "Creative Society" most influential in modern Chinese literature. In 1925 he was of the staff of the

Sun Yat-sen University, Canton. In 1927 he fostered Proletarian literature from Shanghai (1927) and thence escaped to Japan where he studied old Chinese history and wrote copiously (1927-37). In 1945 he visited Russia and in 1949-51 he was in Poland and France. On return he was elected Chairman of the Committee of Cultural-Educational Affairs, President of the Academia Sinica winning the Stalin Peace Award. He translated also from Goethe, Tolstoy, Up'ton Sinclair, etc., and wrote copiously on Political Science, Social Problems and Archaeology—a prolific and versatile writer who recently visited India.

This new generation, of course, got inspiration from progressive veterans of the last century some of whom I mention : The oldest to remember, I suppose, is Kiang Yu-wei (1856-1928), scholar and social reformer admiring western culture. Condemned by the Manchus he fled to Hongkong and then to Japan where he met Dr. Sun Yat-sen, but was against violent revolution. He rather followed Confucius and Buddha writing on the Theory of Compassion and Equality in the Buddhist Teachings, which should be translated by Indians.

His favourite pupil was Liang Chi-chao who invited Dr. Tagore to China in 1924. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's (I often met him and his colleagues) noble wife Sung Ching-ling (born 1890) helped Dr. Sun in his revolutionary works and later joined Chu Te, Chow En-lai, etc., of the Revolutionary Party. She could not pull on well with her brother-in-law Chiang Kai-shek. She travelled through Russia and other parts of Europe and America for the cause of World Peace and Chinese Democracy. She wrote in English *The Struggle for New China* and got the Stalin Peace Prize (1951). She should be invited by the Indian Women's Organizations, as she is the real disciple of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and now Chairman of All China Democratic Women's Federation of the Welfare Institute and also Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Republic. Her Federation helped to convene (December, 1953) the Conference of Asian Women with 165 Delegates from 23 Oriental countries contacting 76,000,000 women workers of different grades and ideals. Free India should invite another such Conference soon.

The People's Republic of China (proclaimed 21st September, 1949) passed the Organic Law

of the State led by the Communist Party with five million members (July, 1950) who strive for independence, democracy, peace and strength of China through unification. China (like India) is a subcontinent of 32 Provinces and 12 municipalities, covering an area of over 3,000,000 sq. miles. Food, clothing and housing problems are as acute as in India but within five years (1949-54) China has made tremendous strides through hard labour and honesty. By the Sino-Soviet Treaty of 1950, U.S.S.R. granted to China commodity credits of 300 million U.S. dollars to be repaid in 10 years (1954-63). With great zeal for science, new China is applying modern methods of agriculture, reafforestation and irrigation. Foreign air services have closed but the Sino-Soviet Civil Aviation Co. (1950) is operating lines from Peking to Central Asia and Russia has returned to China important railways to the East. Shipping industry is being developed and the Bureau of Navigation has regional centres at Tientsin, Shanghai, Tsingkao, Dairen and Canton. Before 1949 Communist victory there were many western trading agencies : 151 British, 142 American, 20 Swiss, 11 French, Belgian, Dutch, Italian, etc.; also 7 overseas Chinese. How many have resumed commercial relations are not definitely known. But Ceylon, India, Pakistan, etc., are doing good business with U.K. After U.S.A. and India, China is the third in the world's total cotton production, next in silk and tea. So manufactures relating to these articles are thriving. Coal and iron are there in plenty and will help developing heavy industries. China is also rich in minerals like gold, silver, copper, lead, zinc, tin, antimony, tungsten, etc., which are found in plenty. So oil is being extracted in Shensi, Kansu, Upper Yangtse and South Manchurian zones. Tin mining thrived in Yunnan with its vast tin ores. Sino-Soviet Joint-stock Companies are developing oil and non-ferrous metals in Sinkiang. Total trade union membership was over 4 million in 1950 and must have gone higher now. Like U.S.S.R. in the west China may develop into the biggest Labour Republic in the East benefiting most of the "under-developed" (yet over-populated) countries of Asia. On the livelihood and well-being of these teeming millions depend the permanent peace and stability of Asia.

THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA—MORE UNITARY THAN FEDERAL

PROF. K. N. SINHA, M.A., LL.B.

It is interesting to note that although based on federal model our constitution does not contain any reference of the word 'federal.' Article 1 of the constitution describes India as a 'union' and not a 'federal union' of states. It seems to be a deliberate omission that strikes at the root of the intention of the fathers of the constitution. There is no doubt that the designation of units as 'States' and not 'Provinces' suggests that the Union is federal. But the Central Government under the new constitution has far more extensive powers than it had under the Government of India Act, 1935. Thus, the Prime Minister of India may seem to be "not merely a grand Mogul but a lion and the provincial Governments would be like lambs and goats which will tremble before him."

A serious complaint is made on the ground that there is too much of centralisation and that the states have been reduced to municipalities."

These views might look apparently exaggerated, but a clear analysis of the relations between the Union and the States would make it abundantly evident that our constitution is more unitary than federal.

In every Federation there exists a clear demarcation of powers of the centre and the constituent units, for, as Professor Dicey has said :

"Federalism means the distribution of the force of the state among a number of subordinate bodies, each originating in, and controlled by, the Constitution."

In India, too as, elsewhere, the legislative functions of the Union and the States have been placed under different heads. The spheres of activity for the Union and the States are precisely laid down by the Constitution itself, and within that particular sphere the authority of each is prescribed to the exclusion of the other in normal times. But the powers of the states are taken into consideration it becomes clear that our Constitution although given a federal shape has, at the same time, a very strong centre. The structure of

Government contained in the constitution of India is federal, but the structure is so tight that it is almost unitary.

Article 246 provides that the Parliament has exclusive powers to legislate over 97 items prescribed, in the Union List and the State legislature has power to make laws regarding 66 matters only, enumerated in the State List, while both the parliament and the state legislatures have power to make laws on 47 subjects referred to in the Concurrent List.

According to Article 248 the residuary powers of legislation (subjects not included in the Union, Concurrent or State Lists) are assigned to the centre, i.e., to the Parliament and not the Legislatures of the states. This is in contrast with the powers of states in U.S.A., and even Australia, although it conforms to the practice in the Union of South Africa and Canada. In U.S.A. and Australia the residuary powers have been given to the states, but in India as in Canada and Union of South Africa they have been vested in the Union Government in order to make it more powerful.

It has been pointed out that both Parliament as well as State Legislatures are empowered to make laws on the subjects in the Concurrent List. If Parliament as well as a State Legislature happen to make laws on the same subject in this List, and if it is found that the two laws are in conflict with each other, then the law made by the Parliament shall prevail and any provisions of the state law, which are repugnant to what has been enacted by the Parliament, will be null and void. Thus in the matters of Concurrent List the centre has been afforded a definite supremacy.

Normally the Union Parliament shall have no jurisdiction to make laws for those subjects which are in the State List, and in keeping with the essentials of a federal arrangement, a clear distribution of subjects between the Union and the States, has been made by the Constitution. But the Constitution also contains a further provision which will have the effect of empowering the Union Parliament to enact over a subject, enumerated in the State List, over which normally

* Shri Thakur Das Bhargava in the Constituent Assembly on November 15, 1949.

the states have the exclusive jurisdiction. The constitution, lays down that if the Council of States passes a resolution by a two-third majority of the members present and voting declaring that in the national interest it is necessary or expedient for the Union Parliament to make laws with respect to any matter included in the state list, Parliament shall be empowered to legislate on that matter so long as such resolution remains in force. The life of such a resolution shall normally be one year, which if necessary may further be extended by periods of one year at a time by subsequent resolutions. Such a drastic power given to one House of the legislature is unique in the history of federations. It negatives one of the most fundamental principles associated with federal polity, namely, that encroachment either by the Central Government or by the State Government on spheres which are exclusively assigned to the one and to the other will not be permissible.

Again, if the houses of the legislatures of two or more states pass a resolution that the Parliament may legislate for them, it shall have the power to do so. Any such Act passed by the Parliament shall apply to such states and to any other state also; by which it is adopted afterwards. Only Parliament shall have the power to amend or repeal any such Act, and the state to which it applies will, have no power to amend or repeal it.

Article 253 provides that the Parliament has also the power to make laws for the whole or any part of the territory of India for implementing any International treaty, agreement and convention or the like.

It is clearly stated that the executive power of every state shall be so exercised as to ensure compliance with the laws made by Parliament, and that the executive power of the Union shall extend to the giving of such directions to a state as may appear to the Government of India to be necessary for that purpose. Similarly, the executive power of every state shall be so exercised as not to impede the executive power of the Union. The Union can also give directions to a state as to the construction and maintenance of means of communication which are declared to be of national or military importance. It can also give directions to a state as to the measures to be taken for the protection of Railways within the state. If any state fails to comply with, or

to give effect to, any directions given by the Union, it shall be lawful for the President to hold that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the state cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, and to take the requisite consequential action, i.e., he is empowered to take over the administration of that state in his own hand (Act. 265). Parliament also when it makes a law, which applied in any state, may confer powers or impose duties upon the state or its officers in respect of that subject even though it does not fall within the competence of the state legislature. Article 263 further authorises the Parliament to establish an inter-state council for settling inter-state disputes or discussing matters of common interest between them. Thus, in spite of the federal form given to the constitution, the responsibility for the faithful and adequate execution of the powers vested in the Union to operate within the territory of a state, is thrown on the shoulders of the State Government themselves.

Turning to the financial matters, it is found that certain sources of revenue are allotted to the states, but the power of imposing taxes or duties in regard to them is vested in the Government of India. The distribution of the proceeds of such taxes among the different states is to be determined in accordance with such principles as may be formulated by Parliament by law. The finance commission also is appointed by the President every five years.

To cope with national peril, such as in times of war, external aggression, internal disturbance, constitutional deadlock or financial stringency, the President of India has been armed with almost dictatorial powers. It is really during this period of emergency that the constitution becomes completely unitary. "The provision of Emergency Powers leaves in the hands of the President a loaded gun which can be used both to protect and to destroy the liberty of citizens." When a Proclamation of Emergency issued by the President is in operation, Parliament shall have power to make laws for the whole or any part of the territory of India with respect to any of the matters enumerated even in the state list. Such a law will continue to have effect during the currency of the Proclamation and for a period of six months thereafter. During such a period the Union Government can give direc-

tions to any state as to the manner in which the state's executive power should be exercised.

Again, if the President is satisfied, or has been informed by the Governor or Raj Pramukh of a state, that a situation has arisen in which the Government of a state cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, he may by Proclamation assume to himself all or any of the functions of the Government of the state and all or any of the powers exercised by the Governor, he may declare that the powers of the legislature of the state shall be exercisable by or under the authority of the Parliament.

In the event of a financial stringency in India or in any part thereof, the President by a Proclamation can give directions to any state which may include the provision of the reduction of the salaries and allowances of public servants belonging to the Union or the State. In such abnormal times all money bills passed by the state legislatures may be reserved for the consideration of the President.

Thus, in an emergency the centre can supersede the powers of the states. The contribution is unique in so far as "it is at once unitary and federal according to circumstances. Normally it is meant to be federal, but in emergencies it can assume a unitary character." Such overriding powers mean to some extent that the states have been reduced to the status of "glorified municipalities and corporations." In the opinions of some, "the provinces have been tied with new claims of slavery." But a power of this type is essential in times of national crisis. During the two world wars even in countries like U.S.A., Australia and Canada the tendency towards an enlargement of federal powers, in order to meet the grave emergency, was found in practice to be irresistible. Political thinkers believe that a federal form of Government is essentially weak more in the face of an emergency as it parcels power into too many hands.

"In the vein of a philosopher, critics allege that a house divided within itself cannot stand when the rains descend in torrents and the overwhelming floods come—when dissensions within and the aggressive shocks from without put its stability to the test."

Naturally, therefore, in a federal form of Government provision has to be made to meet the emergencies.

Like all federations, the federation of India

has created a dual polity, but unlike the U.S.A., which allowed the states to have the right to continue their own constitutions or to modify them or even to make them if the states were new, it has laid down detailed constitutions for its Constituent units. The states in India have therefore, no power or freedom to deviate from what has been prescribed for them in the same framework which has also prescribed the constitution of the Union.

Again, the component units in the 'Indian Union' have no power to secede from the Union. Once a state becomes a part of the Union, it is not competent to sever its relations from the Union. The constitution of U.S.S.R. also provides a 'Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics,' but it specifically allows the Republics to secede from the Union whenever they like. Our Constitution does not permit such a thing.

Our Constitution does not admit dual citizenship. Unlike the Constitution of U.S.A. it provides single citizenship. The creation of a dual polity has not resulted in the creation of a dual citizenship, with the aim to have uniformity in all fundamental issues for the consolidation of the Union. There is only one single citizenship for the whole country, namely, Indian citizenship, and there is no state citizenship. Thus another important characteristic of a federal constitution is absent in our Constitution.

Unlike other federal constitutions the Indian constitution provides a comparatively easy process of constitutional amendment, the initiative lying only in the hands of the Centre. Article 368 provides that if a constitutional amendment is passed by each house of Parliament by a majority of its total membership and by not less than two-thirds of the members present and voting, it shall be presented to the President for signature. Except for some matters enumerated in the above Article which requires its ratification by the legislatures of not less than one half of the states, the states have no initiative in constitutional amendments (unlike the constitution of the United States).

There is a single integrated judiciary, and uniformity in civil and criminal laws. The President appoints not only the judges of the Supreme Court but also of the High Courts. Article 222 empowers the President to transfer a judge from one High Court to another after consultation with the Chief Justice of India. Moreover, the Union Judiciary itself is not free from

the control of Parliament which has the power to get the judges removed by passing an address to this effect and presenting it to the President.

The Governors of the states are appointed by the President and shall hold office during his pleasure. The Governors and the Raj Pramukhs in the states are connected with the Centre in more than one way. Article 160 provides, that "the President may make such provision as he thinks fit for the discharge of the functions of the Governor." This and other such provisions shall knit together the State administration with the national Government almost on the pattern of a unitary system.

(Discretionary powers of Governors would, in all probability, be exercised under the instruction from the President.) The constitution makes an important reference to certain undefined powers of the Governors to be exercised in his discretion. Although silent on this issue the framework of the constitution makes it abundantly clear how this power would be exercised. A Governor is the nominee of the President and holds office during his pleasure, i.e., the President may withdraw his pleasure even before the fixed term of five years. Therefore, the Governor, by a curious position in which he is placed, has no option but to obey the directive of the President which ultimately means of the Prime Minister. Governors, that is why, are considered by many critics as "the watch-dogs of the centre." It is possible that directions may be issued similar to the Instrument of Instructions as provided under the Act of 1935. This may be an inevitable development of a constitutional convention necessitated by the silence of the constitution on a vital issue like this. In this connection it may be mentioned that in Travancore-Cochin when recently the Congress Ministry was defeated and the opposition requested the Raj Pramukh to give them a chance to form a ministry, the Raj Pramukh, while obviously acting according to the wishes of the centre, refused to give any such permission and dissolved the Assembly, and thus acted in his discretion.

The administration of Part C and D states shall be directly under the President. According to Article 239 and 243, they shall be administered as the President thinks fit, through a chief Commissioner or a Lieutenant Governor to be appointed by him or through the Government of a neighbouring state.

Moreover, the Election Commission, envisaged in Article 324, whose members are appointed by the President, will superintend, direct and control elections not only to the Parliament but also to the state legislatures.

Again, the Comptroller and Auditor General, appointed by the President under Article 148 will keep a careful watch not only over the finances of the Union, but also of the states.

The Union Parliament has been authorised by Articles 2 and 3 to establish new states, increase or decrease the area of a state or even change the name of a state.

Article 169 (1) authorises the Parliament to abolish the legislative Council of a state or to create such a body where it does not exist, on a resolution of the Legislative Assembly of that State.

Articles 200 and 201 provide for the reservation of a bill by the Governor for the consideration of the President.

The Union Government is also authorised to impose restrictions on the trade and commerce in any part of India.

Moreover, during the Emergency period the President is empowered even to suspend the Fundamental Rights of the citizens. He has the power to declare that enforcement of such rights shall remain suspended for the period during which the Proclamation is in force.

At the same time, although the members of the state legislatures along with the members of the Parliament have the right to choose the President for their Union, the members of the Parliament alone have been given the power to remove him. In his removal the states have no say at all.

In a federation the upper chamber is intended to represent the states as units and their equality of status is embodied in the equality of their representation. In the U.S.A., for instance, every state, big or small, sends two representatives to the senate. In the Indian Federation, however, this principle has not been accepted. The Council of States which is the upper chamber, is not formed on the principle of equality of representation to the constituent units irrespective of their size or population. Besides, the President has been given the power to nominate 12 members in the Council of States. This is a clear instance of the emphatic preference for centralization that undoubtedly inspired the framers of

the Indian constitution, even though they endeavoured to give it the federal form.

Thus, it is obvious that the partnership is not among equals but the Union Government stands supreme over the state Governments. Every effort has been made to make the Union much stronger than what central governments usually are found to be in federal constitutions. The emphasis probably is more on the authority of the centre than on the autonomy of the units. As a matter of fact, even where that autonomy is supposed to be guaranteed, interference and dictation by the centre is not only prohibited, but authorized as a normal procedure of the functioning of the constitution. Thus our constitution is more unitary than federal in essence and spirit.

"It is like a pyramid which begins with a broad federal base and narrows upward to evolve into a singular unitary top."

India's federalism, a type by itself as it is, may well be termed as unitary federalism. A federation which can easily become a unitary state at times of crisis may ultimately prove to be a variety of constitutional form hitherto unknown in history. It may even be taken to be a distinctive contribution of this country to the theory and practice of federalism.

CREATION OF A POWERFUL CENTRE JUSTIFIED

This over-centralisation has retarded the spirit of federalism and has provoked much criticism. This grant of overwhelming powers to the centre has, however, been done under very compelling and strong reasons of diversity and vastness of the country. The national interests and the integrity of the country have always been the two dominating thoughts in the minds of the architects of the constitution. We can scarcely forget the colossal sufferings which we had long been subject to mainly due to the fissiparous and disruptive tendencies working in our country. India, being a land essentially of different languages, creeds and religions, rightly needed a cen-

tral machinery to control and maintain its component units. Moreover, the latest upheavals caused by the partition of the country have also made the creation of so powerful a centre a necessity. The issue of the economic development of India on a nation-wide scale and the problem of raising the standard of living of the citizens of India as a whole, all necessitated a strong unifying central control. The economic unity should necessarily follow the political unity. The units are truly autonomous except in cases of emergencies or when the national interests are being threatened. In fact, there is always a necessity of a strong unquestioned centralised authority to face the grave emergencies, when the interest of the nation is in question. On such occasions federations have proved to be a failure, and they are always weaker in tackling the immediate problems, which require quick, forceful and immediate action. Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee endorsing the same view held that

"There should be power reserved to the centre, full and untrammelled both in the formulation of the policy and its execution to deal effectively with such emergencies. The constitution which ultimately emerged guarantees all this and guards against the dangers of disunity and turmoil."

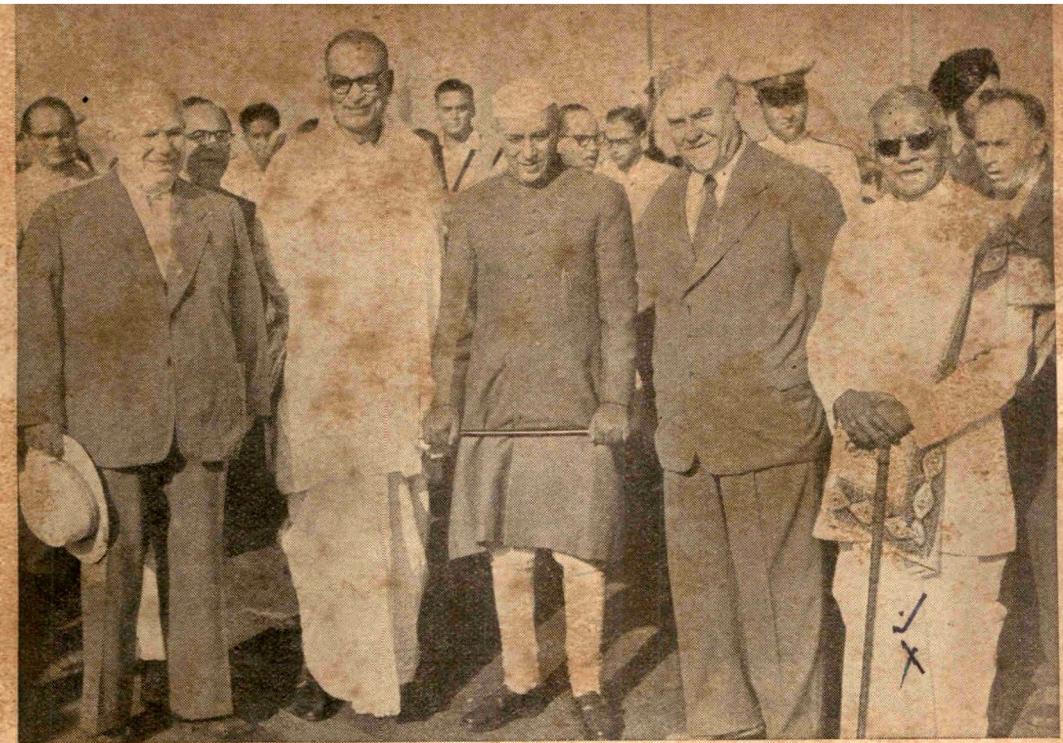
The centralisation of authority in a country is needed, for it is only the centre and not the constituent units that can work for a common end and the general interests of the country. Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, the so-called Modern Manu, rightly remarked :

"Those who do not admit the justification for such over-riding powers to the centre even in any emergency do not seem to have a clear ideal of the problem which lies at the root of the matter."

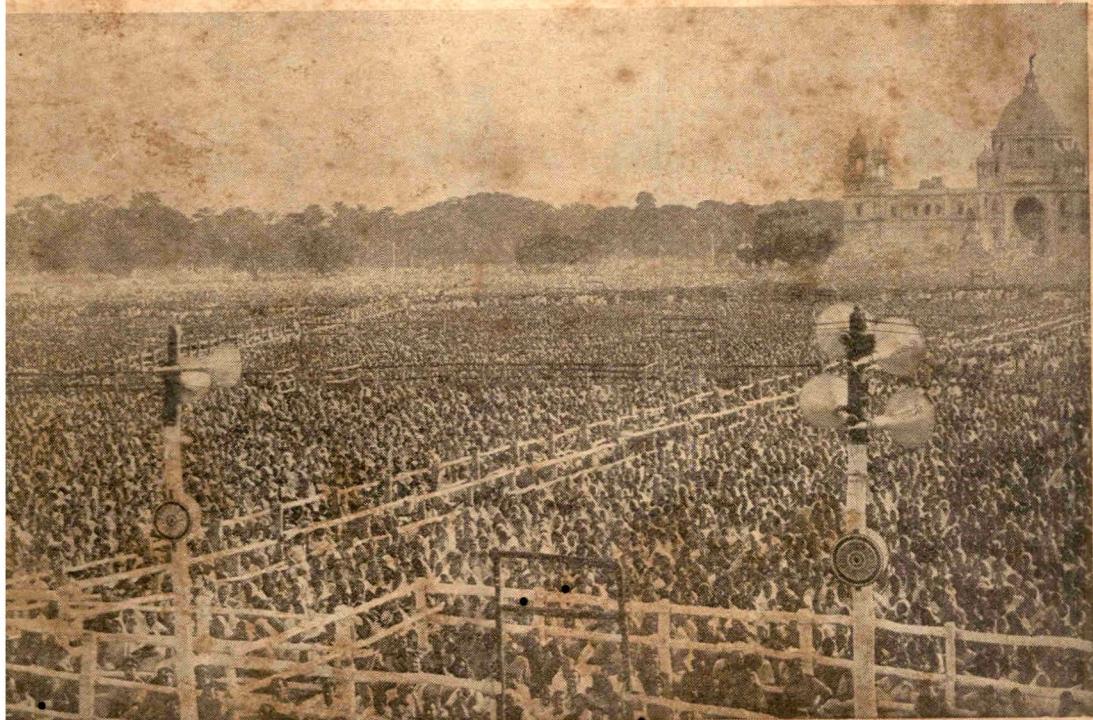
It has to be admitted in the end, as Dr. S. P. Mookerjee said :

"Whatever may be the constitutional provisions, success in their practical working would, however, be not in riding roughshod over provincial feelings but in evolving a balance between the exigencies of unity and the requirements of provincial autonomy."





Mr. N. A. Bulganin, Prime Minister of the U.S.S.R., and Mr. N. S. Khrushchev, Member, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, left Calcutta for Burma on December 1. They were seen off at Dum Dum airport by Sri Jawaharlal Nehru, Dr. H. C. Mookerjee and Dr. B. C. Roy



Mr. N. S. Khrushchev, Member, Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, addressing a mammoth public meeting, held at the Brigade Ground, Calcutta, on November 30



Mr. Bulganin, Prime Minister of the U.S.S.R., replying to the speech of the Chief Minister of Mysore at the State Dinner given in honour of Their Excellencies Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev at Bangalore on November 26



Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khrushchev, being shown Micro-Electronic Components at the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore

GOA'S LIBERATION : PROSPECTS AND POSSIBILITIES

By ELEUTERIO SOARES

RECENT developments in India have cast the Goa problem into an entirely new setting. While the determination of the Government of India to liquidate the foreign pocket is never in doubt, the question how and when the goal may be achieved has acquired a new angle following policy changes and adjustments. Old estimates are no longer valid and the situation calls for a complete reassessment of the prospects and possibilities of Goa's liberation in the context of the changed circumstances.

Broadly speaking, under the existing conditions the liberation of Goa depends either on a voluntary change in Portugal's colonial policy or on circumstances internal or external compelling the Portuguese to quit Goa. The former may come about as a result of self-enlightenment or the emergence of a new regime in Portugal while the pressure of world public opinion or economic sanctions or a resistance movement in Goa may induce the Portuguese to bow down to the inevitable. What chances there are of these possibilities being realised is of course a matter for investigation.

Now to begin with, the possibility of a voluntary change of heart on the part of the Portuguese ruling clique may be ruled out. The Portuguese are, to put it mildly, at least two centuries behind time in their political thinking and with their passionate attachment to past glories have failed to keep pace with the progress of ideas around them. It will need something more than a miracle to convince the Portuguese that the era of colonialism has ended and of the utter fallacy of their theory of "overseas provinces."

They cannot be expected, with their illusions about "civilising missions," to appreciate the fact that no amount of political juggling and high pressure propaganda can transform Goans into Portuguese or to recognise the justice of the contention that Goa's destiny must be decided not by the Portuguese National Assembly, wherein Goans have no representation worth the name, but by Goans themselves in the exercise of the inalienable right of self-

determination. But then respect for democratic principles and the demands of justice are understandably not the virtues of dictators.

Furthermore, constructive statesmanship and foresight have never been the strong points of the Portuguese, much less so are they of the present rulers of Portugal. Consequently, while the untenability of their precarious position in Goa is evident to any sensible individual, and the Portuguese are not unaware of it, they will rather break in the process of sustaining their false pride and prestige than bow to reality and quit with grace and decorum. Goa is a striking example of the traditional blind fanaticism of the Portuguese and we see them clinging to a historical relic with a callow indifference to the serious consequences which such a sentimental stand entails upon themselves and much more so, the people of Goa.

A democratic regime at the helm of affairs in Portugal would have undoubtedly adopted a more realistic and liberal attitude towards the Goa problem but prospects of any change in the Portuguese political set-up are, at the moment, extremely dim. Opposition to the Salazar regime is undoubtedly growing in Portugal but in the face of official repression and the complete suppression of even the elementary fundamental rights it is comparatively ineffective. Only an army coup can dislodge Salazar from the pedestal of power, but the chances of such an event taking place, at least for the moment, being out of question, Goa cannot bank upon such an uncertain factor to free her from foreign bondage.

Reliance must, therefore, be placed upon more positive means and the mobilisation of world opinion against Portugal's unjust stand is one of the methods that suggest themselves. But here again the prospects are not encouraging. First and foremost international opinion is today so deeply influenced by the exigencies of regional security pacts and power-bloc loyalties and so little by considerations of justice and fairplay, that few nations can be expected to pronounce an unbiased verdict on the Goa issue.

Indeed, with great powers like Britain and France actively engaged in suppressing colonial peoples it would be foolish to expect at least the Western countries to prevail upon Portugal to quit Goa, even if they are firmly convinced of the righteousness of India's stand. On the contrary, it would be in their interest to encourage Portuguese obstinacy, as, it is feared, is actually happening today; the conspiracy of silence on the Goa issue on the part of the major powers and the jaundiced eye with which the foreign press, the British press in particular, with a few rare exceptions, has been viewing the Goa problem, have their own tale to tell.

But even if international opinion were to express itself firmly and clearly it is extremely doubtful whether that would help matters. The Portuguese dictators who, with their archaic political ideologies, have no respect for the wishes of their own people, can hardly be expected to show any consideration for the opinion of other nations. It would, therefore, be futile to hope that the pressure of international opinion will induce the Portuguese to quit Goa for such pressure does not exist and even if it did the Portuguese dictators would hardly be influenced by it. For similar reasons the talk of international mediation also does not inspire confidence.

The imposition of economic sanctions, however, holds out some promise of success. It is true that in view of the unhelpful attitude adopted by the Governments of Pakistan and Ceylon and the reported defection of some Indian merchants in finding devious ways to convey supplies to Goa, the Indian blockade loses much of its sting, but its effects on Goa's economy cannot be discounted. Whether the Portuguese admit it or not, the steps which the Government of India has so far taken and the suspension of remittances in particular, have created serious difficulties for the Portuguese in Goa. A continued stalemate can only add to their difficulties, for the expenditure involved in running long lines of communications and supplies, and maintaining a large standing army in Goa, is a heavy drain on Portugal's financial resources, although the Goan people are regrettably the worst sufferers in the process.

Fresh measures to tighten the economic cordon sanitaire are in the offing but it is too much to hope that such economic pressure, even

if Pakistan and Ceylon are prevailed upon to co-operate with India and other Asian countries like Japan fall in line, will bring about a speedy solution of the Goa problem. Only a complete economic collapse would be adequate to bring the obstinate Portuguese to their senses and even if a fool-proof blockade were imposed, it must take a considerable period of time to be effective to that extent. It has inevitably to be a long-drawn-out process demanding continued patience and forbearance from the Indian people and a capacity for sacrifice and suffering on the part of Goans.

There is also no promise of a resistance movement in Goa providing quick relief. No one who is acquainted with the conditions prevailing in Goa can expect a mass movement there to drive out the Portuguese in the near future. Not that there is no nationalist movement inside Goa. No matter what the Portuguese propagandist may proclaim Goan patriots have, in spite of the tremendous odds in their path, shown commendable courage and initiative, but in the face of the savage, inhuman repression let loose by the Portuguese they are compelled to function in disjointed groups indulging in nothing more than stray acts of sabotage and sporadic outbursts of fruitless agitation.

The inequality of the struggle is further enhanced by the comparative lack of political consciousness among the large mass of people. Discontent against Portuguese rule undoubtedly exists but centuries of foreign domination have virtually benumbed the Goan's sense of national pride and having become accustomed to be ruled by others he fights shy of the prospects of assuming the responsibility of managing his own affairs. And the existence of a police State in Goa, with no civil liberties and no freedom of expression, makes the task of breaking this paralysing lethargy extremely difficult, if not entirely impossible.

No amount of repression, however, can keep the people always in the dark and there are signs of a growing political awakening among the people of Goa, but in the prevailing conditions, it will be a fairly long time before this awakening spreads deep and wide enough to crown with success any positive effort to overthrow Portuguese rule.

There are also the Goan emigrants to be taken into account. Free as they are from the limitations, which their compatriots in Goa are

subject to, they have been in the very nature of circumstances in the vanguard of the struggle for Goa's freedom, but if they have failed to make to the cause of Goa's freedom a contribution commensurate with the opportunities and scope available to them, it must be mainly attributed to needless divisions and factions in the ranks of political workers. It is a crisis of leadership, and solution to this problem does not seem to be within sight. It is of course no exaggeration to say, the sooner the Goan people are able to find leadership which will be capable of cutting across petty rivalries and inspiring the confidence and co-operation of the masses the shorter will be the process of Goa's liberation.

In the ultimate analysis therefore the responsibility of shortening the birth-pangs of Goa's freedom devolves on Goans themselves. Certainly other possibilities may develop in course of time and even the factors we have examined may operate more favourably in a different set of conditions. The problem of Goa is also a part of the larger struggle against colonialism, and events elsewhere, whether in Cyprus, or Morocco, or East Africa or West Irian, are bound to influence the trend of developments in Goa.

In any case the cause of freedom is bound to triumph in the end but the point that must be borne in mind is that since police action is ruled out under any circumstances and *satya-*

graha by Indians is also taboo it is improper to expect a quick solution of the Goa problem.

That, of course, is not meant to be a criticism of the Government of India's Goa policy. The correctness of that policy is unquestionable for the approach to the Goa problem must fit into the frame-work of India's foreign policy. To ask for direct action in Goa is to demand a betrayal of the principles which India is doing so much to foster among the nations of the world. The cause of world peace and harmony and the prestige which India enjoys in the international councils cannot be sacrificed at the altar of Goa's freedom.

Not that India is not and should not be interested in the struggle for Goa's freedom. Far from it, India cannot rest until Goa is liberated, for it involves not merely a question of liquidating the last vestige of colonialism from India's soil but also of reclaiming a section of the Indian people who because of a queer twist of fate find themselves under the heel of a ruthless alien dictatorship. All possible means so far as they are consistent with the ideals which India has chosen to serve must and will be taken to achieve the object but it is at the same time necessary to view the various aspects of the problem in the proper perspective so that no false hopes, which only lead to a sense of frustration and disappointment, may be entertained.

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RURAL UNIVERSITIES

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INDIA was at one time prosperous. Through her village order she distributed leadership all over the country making the best use of her lands and men. The villages were her schools of living. No knowledge material and moral contributing towards life was unknown to them and every individual had the opportunity and guidance to attain fulfilment through devoted work creating wealth for common good. The country, it is said, then flowed in milk and honey. She attained a height of glory in her ennobling art, literature and architecture, and people from

far and wide came on pilgrimage for her message of peace. The basic principles of her village civilization were self-help, respect for others' rights and service before self.

Times changed. The leadership that circulated like life-blood through the entire body of the nation drifted away from the villages leaving lands and men behind to fall into disorder, disuse and poverty. Foreign domination played no small part in bringing about this change. Progress in science and humanities henceforth remained confined to a few cities and

towns here and there, primarily subserving the interest of the foreign rulers who did not recognise the oneness of life with the people of the land. Their distress grew from bad to worse.

Thanks to the genius of India that it did not fail to realise however that village reconstruction was the keynote of her resurrection. Her leadership came back to its own once again and mobilised the forces of life in the villages throughout the country to win freedom from foreign rule in order to achieve freedom from poverty and distress. No opposition could stand before the one will of the people. Political freedom won, India has set herself to reconstruct her village order keeping pace with the march of life in the 'one world' of today.

Free India's constitution, her friendly relation with the nations of the world, her development plans, community projects and village government provide the frame-work on which to build her new life. And in order to make knowledge of science and technology, arts and literature, ethics and politics available to every citizen, to make every one of them mentally and physically well-equipped for making the best use of lands and his own imagination and enterprise for the good of all, a new orientation in her system of education has been conceived. Every boy and girl, by the time they are fourteen, will receive Basic Education, learning some useful craft, the principles of general science, hygiene, and community relations and some amount of history and literature.

The next stage of education for a period of three years will have two aims in view, firstly, to give more intensive training in a craft or a vocation together with some further general education and secondly, to prepare for University education.

A University conducts higher education in the different branches of knowledge of science, technology and humanities for training teachers and specialist workers, and carries our research to extend the bounds of knowledge. It thus works.

represents the highest institution that guides the life of a people not only for the present but also for the future. It is in this context that rural Universities assume their significance in the scheme of India's rural reconstruction. It will be for the Universities of India to lead her life today and in the days to come with the wisdom of her glorious past.

A rural University has no other meaning but that it is an institution of life as a whole and not of a group of knowledge or of a section of people. It has to deal with every branch of knowledge useful to make the best use of lands by men to achieve a happy life, and make itself a living example of progress inspiring imagination and enterprise of man eternally seeking truth, harmony and beauty.

The old Universities that came into being under conditions of foreign rule will now have the same objective as the new institutions in the reconstruction of India. They cannot remain in isolation although according to the conditions of time and place they may have their special features and functions and the country may have also Universities for special branches of studies such as technology, engineering, etc., pertaining to special requirements of her reconstruction programme.

A typical Rural University will deal with life directly based on agriculture. Its stress will be on the cultivation of sciences, and technologies pertaining to the best use of land and life under agrarian conditions. It has to deal with all branches of humanities and sciences and make special studies of (i) agriculture—in all its branches ; (ii) rural industries ; (iii) rural engineering—irrigation, electricity, sanitation, village planning, house building, etc., (iv) social administration ; and (v) teachers' training. And in order that all students may get the opportunity of higher education and create confidence of self-help in them there should be scope for earning while learning in agricultural farms or industrial



THE STATES REORGANISATION COMMISSION'S REPORT

BY CHUNI LAL RAY

II

THE work of the 4-man High Power Committee now sitting in judgment on West Bengal's and Bihar's conflicting objections to the recommendations of the States Reorganisation Commission will be very much simplified, if they will condescend to support the New Bengal Association's request (page 50 of the New Bengal Association's memorandum No. IV, dated 7th December, 1948, being a Rejoinder to Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha's memorandum submitted to the Constituent Assembly) to Dr. Rajendra Prasad (in his individual capacity, as he was in 1939 and in 1947, and not as President of the Indian Union, whom it will possibly be impertinent to address in a matter like this) to make clear what was intended by the two expressions 'Bihar proper' and 'areas bordering on Bengal where Bengali is spoken' which he used for his classification of different groups of Bengalees in Bihar, in the note submitted to the Bardoli Conference in January 1939, and also what were "the vast tracts in Bihar where Hindi was not widely spoken" mentioned in his speech in the Bihar Sahitya Sammelan in December 1947. It is understood that, in the returns which the Tata Iron and Steel Works are required to submit periodically to the Labour Department of the Government of Bihar, the expression 'Bihar proper' is used in a sense which excludes the whole of Chota Nagpur Division and also the Santal Parganas district. Was the connotation the same, or was it different, of the expression 'Bihar proper' as used in the note to the Bardoli Conference? And did "areas bordering on Bengal where Bengali is spoken" exclude any portions, and, if so, which portions, of pargana Dhalbhumi, (specially mentioned in the Sahitya Sammelan speech) of the entire district of Manbhumi, or of the eastern fringe of the Santal Parganas (also specifically mentioned in the speech), with a base about 20 miles wide at the southern end near Chittaranjan and Miliijam, but slowly tapering to only about 5 miles width near Sakrigali? I believe that Dr. Prasad's response to the request will dispense with the necessity of any further enquiry; but as I cannot count on the High Power Committee taking any notice of the request in the New Bengal Association's Memorandum, I find it necessary to proceed with my statement of facts that I have been able to collect and of arguments that may be based on the same.

As stated in the November number, Sri Ranchhor Prasad I.A.S. who had been Census Superintendent for Bihar in 1951, expressed his inability to supply figures of linguistic distribution separately for Jamshedpur City and for the rest of Dhalbhumi subdivision and for other regions of Singbhum district, as "the Census office had been closed, and no staff was available to compile the figures." But a pamphlet, *Singbhum, Sarai Kella and Kharsawan through the Ages*, written by the Saraikella Tikayat Nrupendra Narayan Singh Deo, speaks of such figures having been supplied to the

Government of Orissa, the figures being:

(See Table on the top of next page)

Strangely enough, the aggregate of total population (the last line) figures in columns 4, 5 and 6 only (which are supposed to take no account of population in towns other than Jamshedpur shown as ? in column 7), 613,504+199,922+667,390 reaches the district total 1480816, leaving one wondering about the total population figures of the smaller towns and also doubtful about the accuracy of the other figures. The figures have, however, to be taken as they are; and they show that, in Dhalbhumi, Bengali retains its position as "the largest language group", as the States Reorganisation Commission have observed in para 667 of the Report, in spite of the very large increase in the Hindi figure, by 75,484 which can be accounted for by heavy immigration from Hindi-speaking areas numbering 65,392 and of the still larger increase in the Oriya figure, by 83,552 which cannot be explained by the migrations from Orissa, only 31,083.

The surmise in the November number that the recommendation for retention of Saraikela in Bihar was chiefly, if not solely, for the purpose of providing without any justification whatever, a corridor for access of Hindi-speaking Bihar *cum* Chota Nagpur to Jamshedpur and Bengali-speaking Dhalbhumi, has proved correct. Para 625 of the Commission's Report (not available to the public in Calcutta till the 19th October) contains the observation that

"In view of the recommendation for transfer of part of the Manbhumi district to West Bengal, the transfer of the Saraikela subdivision, or of any portion thereof, to the State of Orissa will convert the Dhalbhumi subdivision in the east into an enclave which will not be physically contiguous to the rest of Bihar."

The Commission evidently started with the predetermination that Jamshedpur must be kept for Bihar, whether there was justification for this or not, and that everything else must be subordinated to that consideration.

Why, in spite of Bengali being the largest language group in Dhalbhumi and, in spite of Dhalbhumi having contiguity with West Bengal, but not with Bihar and in spite of the previous history of Dhalbhumi's uninterrupted contact with Bengal right up to 1910* (prior to the

*In addition to evidence on this point cited in the November number, the following also may be mentioned: (1) the word "In the district of Midnapore; Dhalbhumi, including Ghast" occurring in the Regulation that constituted the South-West Frontier Agency, XIII of 1833, and (2) in the Map of Acquisition of British Territory in Bengal and the Burmese Provinces that forms the frontispiece to the first edition (1862) of Aitchison's *Treaty Engagements, Summits, etc., the south-western boundary of the Medinipur district of 1750 extending right up to the side of the old Porhat Raj acquired by the British in 1818 (which later took up into Porhat, Kharsawan and Saraikela), and covering, therefore the pargana of Dhalbhumi.*

Language	Jamshedpur City	Rest of Dhalbhum	Total Dhalbhum	Saraikela		Chaibasa Rural	other than Jamshedpur	Towns Total
				Rural	Rural			
Ho	3,064	9,124	12,188	43,691	353,293	4,531	413,703	
Oriya	18,710	109,782	128,492	49,309	104,849	15,049	297,699	
Bengali	54,762	131,070	185,832	43,857	30,270	8,826	268,785	
Hindi	91,782	33,426	125,208	23,633	34,554	29,274	212,669	
Santali	2,012	101,774	103,786	30,624	14,300	1,974	150,684	
Mundari	2,002	100	2,102	...	60,393	1,749	64,244	
Bhumij	...	...	...	...	914	8	922	
Orao	1,624	...	1,624	...	9,048	2,083	12,752	
Mainali				5	2,435	72	2,512	
TOTAL, including other groups	3,064	395,342	613,504	199,922	667,390	?	1480,816	

creation of a separate Judgeship for Manbhumi-Singbhumi-Sambalpur), and in spite also of contribution by Bengalees to the development of Jamshedpur having been very much more substantial than contribution by Biharites who turned up only from about the year 1920, the recommendation is for Dhalbhum's retention in Bihar and not for its transfer to West Bengal, the States Reorganisation Commission do not care to mention directly. Nor have the Commission clearly stated that they accept Bihar's contention (para 642 of the Report) that.

"The transfer of this rich mineral-bearing and industrialised area to West Bengal is bound to dislocate the economy of residuary Bihar, and it will upset the balance between agriculture and industry."

One can only draw inference from the observation in para 659 that:

"Dhanbad, like Jamshedpur, may soon attract a mixed population from all over India as it is further developed; West Bengal's claim to this area is, therefore, untenable." (*italics mine*).

The only possible inference appears to be that, in the opinion of the Commission, every place in the north-eastern region of India (if not, in the whole of India) which has the potentiality for development to an extent that would attract a mixed population from all over India, must be reserved for Bihar, whether there is contiguity or not, and must not be claimed by Bengal, even if there is contiguity, and even if the development be on the initiative of people of West Bengal. And the Commission, so solicitous about Bihar's economic needs, are presumably of opinion that West Bengal's economic difficulties, consequent on the influx of refugees from East Pakistan, a mere 35 lakhs in number, should solve themselves. The Commission's Report has very little to say about this problem of displaced persons, except that they are not to be sent to the Purnea corridor, where "the density of population is such that there is little scope for any resettlement of displaced persons." Strangely enough, the scheme for rehabilitation outlined by Bihar in the Eastern States Rehabilitation Ministers' Conference on the 21st October, assigned the first places to Shahabad and Champaran districts which have densities 610 and 706 respectively per sq. mile more than 50 to 70 per cent. in excess of that in the Purnea corridor, which is only about 405 per square

mile ; and a subsequent report says that "the districts of Purnea and Champaran will be visited by high officials of the Central Rehabilitation Ministry shortly to conduct a preliminary survey." Other points stressed in the same Conference were that Bihar was trying to make some 25 to 30 thousand acres available for refugees, Assam 33 thousand acres, Tripura several thousand acres possibly quite as much as Assam or Bihar, but that Uttar Pradesh has offered to take charge of only 500 families (possible requirement of land, about 2,000 acres). It will be no wonder if several more of the 12 other States contemplated by the Commission follow Uttar Pradesh's lead, and restrict their offers to less than one thousand families each, the aggregate of the 12 reaching not even 10 thousand families consisting of about 60 thousand persons. Even the much more generous offers from Assam, Bihar and Tripura will not suffice for more than 2 lakh persons; and the net effect of all-India's profound sympathy for displaced persons will possibly cover somewhat less than 3 lakh persons or only one-twelfth of the number that has come over to West Bengal. At the most, the relief for West Bengal would not exceed 5 lakh persons, only one-seventh of the 35 lakhs that West Bengal is now faced with. West Bengal would still have on her shoulders the burden of over 30 lakhs of displaced persons. This is a point to which the S. R. Commission, talking big of the "preservation and strengthening of the unity and security of India," have chosen to direct only the blind eye. And another point that has been equally ignored is that rehabilitation of displaced persons, which is the responsibility of the entire Indian Union, not of West Bengal alone, is being practically left on West Bengal's shoulders alone.

How can West Bengal, forced by circumstances to shoulder responsibility 10 to 15 times more than its due, carry on, if even areas like Dhalbhum and East Dhanbad, immediately adjoining Bengal, and with Bengali as the biggest language group, are kept back on the ground that they are rich in minerals or that they are industrialised? Has West Bengal (or, for the matter of that, any other State which may be saddled with the problem of at least 25 to 30 lakh refugees, involving increase in density of population by 50 to 80 per square mile) no need for industrialised areas or areas rich in minerals? Is it not fair that the right to include Jamshed-

pur, the City of all-India importance, should carry with it the burden of shouldering the major portion of the all-India responsibility of rehabilitating the 35 lakh refugees now huddled up in West Bengal? If Bihar, getting Jamshedpur, is simultaneously saddled with the responsibility of taking over at least 25 lakhs of the East Pakistan refugees and of declaring Bengali as the regional language for the areas where these 25 lakhs are settled, there may be some excuse for asking West Bengal to stop grumbling, even though Jamshedpur has contiguity with Bengal and not with Bihar. But asking West Bengal to have the headache resulting from the burden of at least 30 lakh refugees, and giving Bihar the monopoly of drinking from the wells of Jamshedpur City would be the grossest injustice.

It has already been pointed out (in the November number) that the contribution of Bengalees to the development of Jamshedpur has been far more substantial than the contribution of Biharees; and it is worth mentioning that out of 37,976 men in Tatas' labour force in January 1955, as many as 13,046 were Bengalees forming 34.35 per cent, the largest single group. Of about 30 thousand students in the Jamshedpur and Jugsalai schools run by the Tatas, as many as 12,718 have Bengali as their medium of instruction; the numbers of those with medium Hindi and Urdu are shown as 12,626 and 3,601 respectively, but it is explained in the Tisco Education Officer's report for 1955 that "in the Hindi medium group, are included not only children whose mother-tongue is Hindi, but also children whose mother-tongue is neither Hindi nor any one of the three other languages Bengali, Urdu or Oriya," which means that Telugus, Tamils, Malayalis, Mahrattas, Kanarese, Gujratis, Punjabis and even West Pakistanis go to swell the number for which Bihar alone gets the credit.

The assertion in para. 641 of the Report that "in these bi-lingual areas Hindi is either the predominant language or at least is a very important language" is absolutely without foundation. In respect of Dhalbhum there is the S. R. Commission's own statement, in para. 667, that Bengali is the largest language group; and in respect of the corridor which is in the extreme east of the Purnea district, para. 648 says that Siripuria or Kisanganjia, the language spoken there, has close affinities with Bengali. The admission in para. 667 is no doubt qualified by the clause that Bengali is by no means predominant; but, will any one out of Bedlam seriously contend that, in Dhalbhum excluding Jamshedpur, Hindi, with its percentage of less than 9, is predominant (or is even a very important language), if Bengali, with percentage 33 for mother-tongue and a further 15 to 18 for subsidiary language spoken by tribals, total over 50 per cent, is not predominant? Even for Dhalbhum including Jamshedpur, the figure is 31 per cent, for mother-tongue Bengali, substantially in excess of 21 per cent each for Oriya and Hindi, and about 17 per cent Santali; and of the Santals, at least one-half speak Bengali as a subsidiary language.

It is true that Jamshedpur City has a large Hindi-speaking population, close upon 92 thousand out of the total of 218 thousand; but very considerable portions of these are from outside Bihar. The Census Tables show as many as 18 thousand to have been born in Madhya Pradesh, 12½ thousand in Uttar Pradesh, nearly 3 thousand in Rajasthan; and many more born in Jamshedpur must have been in families from these distant regions who had temporarily made their residence in Jamshedpur. Why should Bihar alone get the benefit of nearly 92 thousand Hindi-speaking people, having no better contiguity with Jamshedpur than Madhya Pradesh or Uttar Pradesh has? Of Bihar's less than 61 thousand, 32 thousand were born outside Singbhumi district (not taking account of close upon 10 thousand from Manbhumi district who presumably have Bengali or Santali as their mother-tongue), which means that the local Hindi-speaking population is within 30 thousand in number, which is far behind the number of Bengalees in Jamshedpur. And much larger percentages of immigrant Bengalees settle down permanently in Jamshedpur than immigrants from Hindi-speaking regions.

The S. R. Commission have, no doubt, given reasons why they disapprove the homeland idea and give equal preference to permanent residents and to immigrants who have come only as temporary wage-earners (para. 158 of the Report); but while they take account of aggregate population (floating as well as permanently resident) when arguing against West Bengal's demand (e.g., in reference to 65 per cent Hindi-speakers in Dhanbad in para. 650), they had no scruples whatever about invoking the homeland idea for ignoring the Tamil immigrants to Travancore-Cochin (para. 295). Nor can they plead *status quo* justification for recommending retention of Jamshedpur in Bihar, after having recommended the cutting off of big areas from Madras and from Madhya Pradesh, and the dismemberment of Hyderabad, on grounds no whit stronger than can be urged for Jamshedpur's transfer to West Bengal.

Of immigrants to Singbhumi, almost every one destined for Jamshedpur, the largest number for any single district in all India come from Manbhumi, the number being 9,771 in 1951. It may safely be assumed that every one of these came from the Purulia subdivision; for Dhanbad gets, instead of sending out, migrants. The 9,771 who had already arrived by 1951, and the few thousand more that may have increased the number during the next four years that have intervened, will presumably be the last batch of people from Purulia who would have the opportunity of earning their livelihood in Jamshedpur; for Bihar, having acquired the reputation of being one of the strongest Congress-minded States, appears to have earned the right to disregard flagrantly the directive in the Bardoli Resolution of 17th January, 1939 about non-interference with appointments by private employers—and Bihar draws

distinction not only between Biharines and non-Biharines, but also between men of 'Bihar proper' and Chota Nagpur men for which two groups Tatas have to submit separate figures in their periodical statements to Bihar's Labour Ministry. The transfer, in such circumstances, of Purulia subdivision to West Bengal, while Jamshedpur is retained by Bihar, will be of the nature of a left-handed compliment which may be described as a halting left-handed gift; surrender of the best opportunity of earning livelihood within easy distance from home is being demanded as the price for escape from constant advice gratis (and possibly pressure as well) that the language which they speak at home, although difficult to distinguish from the western form of Rarhi Bengali as spoken in Manbhumi (as noted in page 40 of the Census Superintendent's Report) is in reality a dialect of Bihari (without any certificate of similarity with any other Bihari dialects known). This is most inequitable; and justice demands that Jamshedpur should share the same fate as the Purulia subdivision.* Purulia subdivision, shorn of thana Chas, and separated from Jamshedpur, would indeed be, economically, a liability for West Bengal, not an asset.

Yet another, and a very much stronger, ground why Jamshedpur and Purulia should go hand in hand is the fact, evidently not known to the S. R. Commission, that Jamshedpur's main supply of water is from a reservoir at a distance of a few miles, within thana Barabhum of Purulia subdivision. Jamshedpur in Bihar, and its water-supply in West Bengal, would be an anomaly very much worse than two of the D.V.C. dams (Maithon and Panchet Hill) having one end each in Bihar and the other end in West Bengal—an arrangement as defective as that which caused the fall of Singapore in 1942 thirteen fateful years ago.

Dhalbhum excluding Jamshedpur should also, of course, receive the same treatment as Purulia subdivision, and this should be the case also with Kandra thana of Saraikela, specially mentioned in the November number, where also Bengali is the biggest language group, much in excess of Hindi or Oriya or Santali. And West Bengal opposes most strenuously the mischievous move that has been made from a certain quarter that Saraikela would give up this thana to Bihar to serve as a corridor to Jamshedpur, as price for the rest of Saraikela's transfer to Orissa, by amicable arrangement with Bihar.

The rest of Saraikela has, as strong a case of transfer to Orissa as Dhalbhum (with or without Jamshedpur) has for transfer to Bengal. The S. R. Commission

* The transfer of both to West Bengal will not be any obstacle to Biharines with necessary qualifications getting employment in Jamshedpur, for West Bengal, in spite of not being very strongly Congress-minded, never interferes with appointments by private employers of labour, although on two occasions in recent years, it committed the high crime of issuing about one hundred taxi-driving licenses to Bengalees, after the first one thousand had been monopolised by Punjabees, Hindusthanees and Biharines, and of restricting appointments to the newly-established State Transport Service to Bengali-speaking refugees from East Pakistan.

has, no doubt spoken of some reasons for Saraikela's retention in Bihar other than that of providing a corridor into Dhalbhum, but these will not stand much scrutiny. One of the points is Saraikela's intimate connection with Porhat; but, should Porhat itself remain in Bihar, unless the Census Superintendent can produce reliable figures showing more Hindi-speakers than Oriya-speakers in this area? Till now, the Census Superintendent has chosen to keep the information confidential. And, on the only figures that have seen the light of day which are for the entire Chaibasa subdivision, the Oriya figure, 104,719, is more than 3 times the Hindi number which is only 31,223. It is true that Oriya is far outnumbered by Ho, with 353,293 speakers; but that also is no valid reason why Chaibasa should be kept tagged to Bihar. One has only to look at the insignificant Ho figure for entire Bihar *cum* Chota Nagpur, excluding Singbhum; it is only 4,520. Contrast this with the numbers of Hos in Mayurbhanj (117,483), in Keonjhar (38,512), in Sundargarh, chiefly in the Bonai subdivision (13,334), in Dhenkanal (3,406), even in Cuttack (5,873) and in Balasore (2,395); and it will be perfectly clear that the Hos' homeland is certainly not anywhere in the Chota Nagpur plateau 2,000 feet above sea-level—it is in the country sloping down from height less than 1,000 feet to the comparatively elevated portions of Cuttack and Balasore, only a few hundred feet above sea-level. With what justification can any part of this area be kept separated from Orissa?

Another reason mentioned is that the erstwhile States of Saraikela and Kharsawan have been parts of Singbhum district since May, 1948. But a veil is cleverly drawn to shut out the facts that, in accordance with the ex-Rulers' wishes expressed in their Instruments of Accession, Saraikela and Kharsawan had, in the first instance, been merged with Orissa, with effect from 1st January, 1948 and that it was only after several months later, when a serious riot (said to have been engineered by interested parties) brought into prominence the point of Saraikela's want of contiguity with the rest of Orissa (into which Mayurbhanj had not merged till then), that the decision was taken for transfer of Saraikela and Kharsawan from Orissa to Bihar, with effect from 18th May, 1948. The situation has changed completely since then; Mayurbhanj is now an integral portion of Orissa. Saraikela's contiguity with Orissa has been fully established and Chaibasa subdivision touching as it does, Mayurbhanj to the south-east and Keonjhar to the south-west, has also contiguity with Orissa. With Ho and Oriya as the principal languages spoken, how can Saraikela (excluding the Bengali-speaking Kandra thana) and Kharsawan and Chaibasa be kept out of Orissa, and with the imposition of Hindi as the only language of the Court, although Hindi is not the mother-tongue of even 6 per cent of the population in Chaibasa, of even 12 per cent in Saraikela-Kharsawan (only about 8 per cent for the whole area)?

THE HINDU COLLEGE

The Second Phase

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

In the previous article¹ I have dealt with the first phase of the Hindu College and brought the story down to 1826. Since the commencement of this session the College entered into a new career. The changes and improvements introduced by the Official Visitor Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson had already a perceptible effect on the progress of the students. These well-paved the way for the institution turning it into a full-fledged 'Academy,' or college in its modern connotation. At the public examination and prize-distribution ceremony of early 1826, the Indian and European gentlemen present were much impressed with the progress of the students in different subjects of their studies, especially with their acquirements in English language. Some new lines of approach were indicated on this occasion by the President of the General Committee of Public Instruction for the improvement of the College. This ceremony, therefore, deserves a detailed notice.

This year's prize-distribution ceremony of the College was held at the Calcutta Town Hall on 14th January. J. B. Harrington, one of the original promoters of the Hindu College and now President of the General Committee of Public Instruction, presided over the meeting. He opened the proceedings by reading extracts from the Visitor's report of the previous annual examination which gave 'a favourable view of the progress of the students during the past year in the course of the English language, Arithmetic, and Natural and Experimental Philosophy, and bore testimony to the diligence and attentiveness of the pupils and preceptors.' He then intimated the disposition of the government to give the institution every reasonable encouragement. The munificent donations of Raja Baidya Nath Ray and others, the President declared, 'would be appropriated for the endowment of scholarships to the Institution under the control of the Committee in order to enable such scholars as have not the means of protracting their studies to maturity, to remain for a longer period in the college.'

The prizes were awarded to meritorious students. These included some who became famous in after-life as teacher, administrator, literary man and journalist. The recipients were: Atul Chandra Ganguly, Kashi-prasad Ghose, Harischandra Das, Krishnadhyan Mitra, Debnarain Mukherjee, Krishna Hari Nandi, Rasik Lal Sen, Rasikkrishna Mallik, Abinash Chandra Ganguly and Haris Chandra Mitra. As an example of their ability in English composition, the President referred to the essay "On the Advantages of Education" before the meeting. Some students also gave

proofs of their proficiency in English by reciting portions from standard English works. Henceforward we find recitations forming an important feature of the ceremony.

In his concluding address the President expressed his satisfaction and that of the General Committee with the state of the College. He urged upon the Indian gentlemen present as well as the students of the college the importance of the pursuits in which this institution was engaged. He advised particularly the latter 'to persevere in a course they had so well begun, and to qualify themselves by perfecting the elementary knowledge they had acquired to become useful members of the public and respectable members of Society.' The President further observed that the importance of education appeared to be duly appreciated by themselves in the essays they had written on the subject, and it remained for them to exhibit a practical illustration of the justice of the principles they had advocated.²

Another important event was the transfer of the venue of the College to the new buildings, along with the Government Sanskrit College, at Pataldanga, College Square, on 1st May 1826. The rooms were commodious. There was a common dining room for the boys. On the date of the transfer Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, a young man of barely eighteen, was appointed teacher. A brilliant student of Drummond's Dhurrumtolla Academy, Derozio had already made his mark as a poet and literateur of considerable merit. Previous to his appointment in the Hindu College, he served as an assistant editor of the famous *India Gazette*. At this time there were eight teachers on the College staff. The system of instructing boys by those of the upper classes, called 'monitors', was abolished. The staff must have been augmented during the latter half of the year, because we find as many as fourteen teachers on the establishment by January following.

Something should be said of the finances of the Hindu College. The Managing Committee had invested Rs. 61,030 with Messrs. Joseph Barretto & Sons on an interest of 8 per cent for five years, the date of expiring being 13th April, 1825. But the House fell early this year, and the whole amount remained blocked for about two years. The Committee entered into correspondence with the surviving partners of the House, but to no effect. The College had a regular income from the fees, Rs. 5 each, from the pay scholars, which covered only a portion of the expenditure. The Committee had no other alternative but to depend more and more on the Government

1. *The Modern Review*, for September, 1955.

2. Summarised from a detailed account which appeared in *The Government Gazette* (Supplement), 19th January, 1826.

Education Fund. The Government control and supervision also increased consequently.

II

With the augmented staff and the increased number of students the College had launched an uncenviable career. In 1826, boys progressed in their studies so much so that the Visitor, always very critical, was constrained to report favourably of their acquirements. He now suggested the compilation of a compendium of the best English authors, suitable for the senior students of the College. Appointment of efficient teachers was mainly responsible for effecting such progress in their studies in so short a time. Here I give from the *Proceedings* the Establishment for the month of January 1827. It should be noted that of the fourteen teachers, two were for Sanskrit and Bengali and two for Persian. Ten European and Anglo-Indian teachers began to inculcate ideas and thoughts of the West through their English teaching, which were hitherto quite foreign to the soil. The Establishment was as follows:

	Head Teacher	350 Sa. Rs.
Geo. Mollis	2nd "	200 "
R. Halifax	3rd "	150 "
H. L. V. Derozio	4th "	100 "
F. Johnson	5th "	150 "
P. D'Rozario	6th "	70 "
J. Ferme	7th "	50 "
F. D'Rozario	8th "	32 "
M. Lawrence	9th "	24 "
F. Decasta	10th "	24 "
Jogomuhun Pundit	.... "	24 "
Parbutty Nayalonkar	.... "	20 "
Mowlovy Roohelmy	.... "	40 "
Rayazuddin Moonshy	.... "	20 "
Secretary	.... "	50 "
Sitaram Sircar	.... "	10 "
<hr/>		
	Total	1310 "

From the Establishment we find the Secretary drawing Sa. Rs. 50 a month. Lakshminarayan Mukherjee, Secretary to the College, was drawing this amount as a monthly allowance since his appointment in 1823 after the death of his father Dewan Baidya Nath Mukherjee. The amount invested with the Barrettos could not be realised in full; only Rs. 21,000 was recovered after a great deal of trouble. The Managing Committee approached Messrs. Mackintosh & Co. in April 1827 to act as Agents and Treasurers of the Hindu College. One addition was made to the instructing staff in the person of W. Woolastan. On a demand from the students to learn drawing, Woolastan was appointed drawing teacher on 7th March 1827 on a monthly salary of Rs. 100.

We have already referred to the rapid progress made by the students under new arrangements. The College was divided into senior and junior depart-

ments, consisting of thirteen classes. The prize-distribution ceremony was held in the new College buildings at Pataldanga, this time also presided over by the Hon'ble Harington. In a letter to Sir Edward Hyde East dated 9th February 1827, Raja Radhakant Deb, an enthusiastic and active member of the H. C. Managing Committee, gave a detailed account of the prize-distribution ceremony of this year. The prizes consisted of books, and cases of mathematical instruments and were distributed to the meritorious students by J. H. Harington, President of the General Committee of Public Instruction. Radhakant continued :

"On the presentation of the prizes to the four senior classes, the scholars afforded specimens of their proficiency in the English language, and their knowledge of Grammar and Geography. The two first classes also were examined, as to their proficiency in different branches of natural and experimental philosophy and the elements of Chemistry. The first class likewise gave proofs of their familiarity with the use of the terrestrial and celestial Globes, and such of them as had engaged in the study of Persian, during the last years, exhibited their progress in that language. The distribution closed with English recitations chiefly from Julius Caesar, and a whole scene from this play, the first of the fifth Act, was represented by five of the scholars, three from the first and two from the second class."

The President then addressed the elders of the pupils, as he did on the previous occasion, expressing the satisfaction of himself and the Committee with the results of the examination. From the endowment created by the donation of Raja Baidya Nath Ray and other benevolent Indians, scholarships were awarded for the first time this year 'to those boys of the first class, whose circumstances would not admit of their prosecuting their studies, to that degree of perfection, which perseverance alone was necessary to ensure.' These scholarships were usually ten in number, and to the amount of Sa. Rs. 16 each.

There are few records, henceforth, of the meetings of the H. C. Managing Committee. Members were not elected. We find a few new names now and then on the Committee, as signatories to the certificates given to students on the completion of their studies. In late 1827, there were the following members signing the certificate of Radhika Mohan Set: W. W. Wilson, Chandra Kumar Tagore, Radhakant Deb, Russomoy Dutt, David Hare and Shibchandra Das.

III

Just a decade had passed since the establishment of the Hindu College, Dr. Wilson, the Official Visitor and Vice-President of the H. C. Managing Committee, made a critical estimate of the acquirements of the students of the college, especially of those of the upper classes in different subjects in his report dated January 1828. He, however, with just pride,

"contrasts the state of the College in 1828, with what it was in 1824 when he first became officially connected with it. In 1824, the College contained 107 pupils, of whom only 25 were pay scholars. The pupils on the foundation were now the same as then, 'but the pay scholars were twelve times as numerous.' He added that the difference in point of acquirements was still more remarkable. The first class was then reading Tegg's *Book of Knowledge* and Enfield's *Speaker*; Arithmetic was scarcely taught at all, and the Rule of Three was the utmost limit of proficiency. He considered the fifth class now, to be fully equal to the first of that time. The acquirements of the classes above the fifth, were in general much superior to those of the first class of the earlier period, 'whilst', he added, 'those of the present first class, admit of no comparison with anything yet effected by the College, and far exceed the expectations which I then expressed or entertained'."

The General Committee of Public Instruction also expressed satisfaction at the progress of the students and observed that much of the progress which had been attained was due to the 'enlightened superintendence' of Dr. Wilson.

In the building up of the college to this stature, Dr. Wilson had a large share. Besides general supervision he personally guided the students in the matter of their English composition in prose and verse and lessons in English literature. The famous literary figure and journalist Kasiprasad Ghose has left an account of Wilson's services in this regard as follows:

"At the latter end of 1827, Dr. H. H. Wilson, the Visitor of that institution, desired the students of the first class to try their hands at poetry, and I was the only boy who produced any verse . . . About this time also, on the approach of the examination, Dr. Wilson desired me to write a review of some books, and accordingly, in December following, I submitted to him my '*Critical Remarks on the first four chapters of Mr. Mill's History of India*', portions of which were published in the *Government Gazette* of the 14th February, 1829, and afterwards reproduced in the *Asiatic Journal*."

By the end of 1827 some changes were effected in the General Committee of Public Instruction. John Herbert Harington, President of the Committee, retired, and left the country for good. Harington had been an ardent supporter of the Hindu College since its foundation, and it was through his instrumentality that the institution received considerable monetary aid from the Government Education Fund. A true friend of Indian education, he carried his Committee with him, who in a body began to take unusual interest in the welfare of the College. William Butterworth

Bayley, seniormost member of the Government, succeeded Harington to the presidency of the General Committee. He remained in the post only for two years, but kept aloft the tradition so painstakingly fostered by his predecessor.



Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson

The annual prize-distribution ceremony of the College came off as before, this time at the Government House, on 12th January 1828, W. B. Bayley presiding. We have already been able to form an idea of the rapid and unexpected progress the boys of the College had made during the session 1827. Specimens of the best compositions of the upper five classes were arranged serially for public exhibition. Prizes were distributed by the President himself to the deserving students. Some of the students recited selected poems and pieces from the English classics to the satisfaction of the audience. This at once showed their proficiency in the English language.

The prize-distribution ceremonies of the College were duly noticed in the newspapers of the Metropolis and the neighbouring places. They took particular note of the boys' progress in English language and literature. Besides the Hindu College, there was the Anglo-Hindu school of Raja Rammohun Ray

3. *Review of Public Instruction in the Bengal Presidency*, from 1835 to 1851. Part II. By J. Kerr, M.A., p. 27, 1853.

4. *Hand-Book of Bengal Missions*, p. 508. 1848.

where also English was assiduously taught. Four hundred boys were studying English in the Hindu College alone. Counted together with the boys of other institutions, this number would be no less than a thousand in Calcutta. The *Samachar Darpan* of Serampore (26th January 1828) went so far as to say that the Government should now abjure Persian in favour of English in the law-courts. The paper also suggested that the Indian inhabitants of Calcutta should apply to the Government for this salutary change, because Persian was neither understood by the people, nor its study was favoured by them any longer.

Senior students of the College began to interest themselves in extra-academic affairs. Some were engaged in translating standard English works in Bengali, while others like Kashiprasad Ghose started writing for papers. Clubs and associations were also formed by 1828.

The Calcutta School Society's scholars in the College, who proved most meritorious and progressive, took prominent part in these activities. The Society naturally took pride in referring to these activities of theirs in the *Fifth Report* (1828) as we find in the following :

"Many of the young gentlemen appear very properly to appreciate the value of knowledge, and are endeavouring to improve themselves as much as possible, they have formed societies amongst their friends at some of which they debate and read essays of their own composition on literary subjects, and at others read and study English books and translate into Bengalee. They are at present employed in translating the *Elements of General History*, the *Wonders of the World* and the *Grammar of History*."

The famous Academic Association, of which I shall have to say later on, was instituted perhaps in early 1828 by the senior students of the College with their fourth teacher H. L. V. Derozio as president. Derozio had already endeared himself to the boys of the College by his amiable nature and excellent mode of teaching. To this Association the *India Gazette* referred in December 1830. The *John Bull* of 11th December 1830 quoted the *Gazette in extenso*. I make the following relevant extracts from it here:

"Not quite three years have past since an association was formed of the principal students of the Hindoo College, which met there once a fortnight for literary discussions. Notwithstanding the ability displayed by some members, and the propriety with which the proceedings were conducted, the institution was nipped in the bud, chiefly by the interference of the managers of the seminary,"

IV

We have now reached the thirteenth year of the College. In early 1829, Dr. Wilson reported as usual

to the General Committee about the College. Therein he noted the continued improvement of the upper classes. 'During the previous year Russel's *Modern Europe* had been introduced as a class-book; the study of Geometry had been commenced, and the senior pupils had gone as far as the third Book of Euclid; and in Algebra, they had advanced to Quadratic Equations.'

But these remarks refer to the English department only. With regard to the vernacular—Bengali, Sanskrit and Persian—department, progress was not at all satisfactory. The cause of this was partly due to the unusual emphasis on the study of English; but, according to Dr. Wilson, the defective mode pursued in teaching these subjects was mainly responsible for this state of things. He observed with reference to the Bengali and Persian classes thus :

"It cannot be otherwise, so long as we have no other instructors than Moulvies and Pundits. The process of tuition is so tedious, that it demands the whole of the student's time, and the pupils of the Anglo-Indian College have little or no time to spare. Until, therefore, we can teach these languages through the medium of English, little good can be expected from their forming a part of the college course."

The Rev. Krishna Mohan Banerjea, later, referred to this difficulty he had had to face in studying Sanskrit while a student of the College; Dr. Wilson was inclined to the view that 'the study of Bengali is only to be profitably prosecuted through study of Sanskrit.'

The annual prize-distribution ceremony came off on 18th February 1829 at the Government House, the Governor-General, Lord William Bentinck, presiding. Lord Bentinck himself distributed the prizes to the students of the first class. Everybody was satisfied with the progress of the students in the English language and literature. Recitations from Shakespeare's dramas and other standard books of verse by the students elicited praise from the Europeans and Indians alike. Among those who took part in the recitations we find the following: Ramtanu Lahiri, Digambar Mitra, Krishna Mohan Banerjea, Rangopal Ghose, Sibchandra Deb, Radhanath Sikdar, Harchandra Ghose and Rasikkrishna Mallik.

In a letter to the Government dated 18th May 1829, the General Committee of Public Instruction gave a detailed account of the state of the Hindu College in its various aspects (paragraphs 18-24).⁵ In the opening paragraph (18) the Committee wrote:

"The general character and condition of this Institution have been submitted to the notice of the members of Government in public distribution

5. *Review of Public Instruction, etc.*, Part II, p. 28.

6. *Samachar Darpan*, 21 February, 1829. Cf. *Sombadpatre Sekaler Katha*, Part I, 3rd Ed., p. 34.

7. Quoted in the *MSS. Proceedings* of the H. C. Managing Committee.

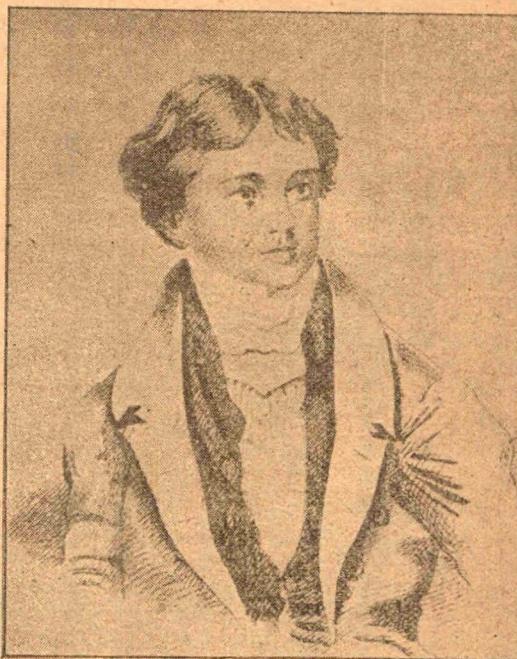
of prizes held at the Government House on the 18th February last when questions in History and Science were promptly answered by the students of the first class, the production of the composition of the first five classes and the recitations from English authors by pupils of various classes from the first to tenth class evinced the great proficiency made by the pupils in the language and literature of Great Britain. Further testimony is furnished by the Report of the Visitor and other documents herewith submitted."

The number of scholars, as stated in the above letter stood at 436 of whom 100 were taught gratuitously, the rest 336 paid for their tuition. These were distributed 'among 17 classes beginning with the letters of the alphabet and gradually and systematically advancing to the best authors in the English language in Prose and Verse, the first class being engaged in the perusal of Tytler's *Elements of General History*, Russel's *Modern Europe*, Milton and Shakespeare, being exercised in English composition both in Prose and Verse and being concurrently instructed in Algebra and Mathematics, Natural and Experimental Philosophy and Chemistry. In all of which they have made very respectable progress.' Students' progress in the study of Mathematical science was also marked. It had practically commenced, the letter says, 'with the past year and it is satisfactory therefore to find that so much progress has been made under Tytler's tuition.' We have already had an idea of the views and suggestions of Dr. Wilson regarding the study of oriental languages in the Hindu College. Let us now hear the observations of the General Committee on the subject:

"The study of Persian, Bengali and Sanscrit in the Anglo-Indian College is obstructed by the almost exclusive demand upon the time of the students made by the English language and literature and by the very tedious and imperfect method of teaching according to the native system. The study of Bengalee never popular with those who speak it is now in the estimation of the Visitor to be beneficially prosecuted only upon a basis of Sanscrit the acquisition of which in the Anglo-Indian College he considers hopeless unless it could be taught through the medium of the English language and in elementary works compiled for the purpose. For this object he proposes to endeavour to superintend the compilation of a short Grammar and Vocabulary in Sanscrit and English, and agreeably to European forms by which the acquirement of an elementary knowledge of Sanscrit may be much facilitated. These works will no doubt be of great utility, and looking to the poverty of the dialect of Bengal and its utter dependence for terms of Science and Philosophy upon the Sanscrit language we conceive them indispensable to the adaptation of Bengali to purposes of translation from English writings of an abstruse and speculative character."

The General Committee suggested that every

facility should be given to Dr. Wilson to prepare the proposed compilation. The committee had written to the Government, recommending the preparation of a systematic series of English Books proposed by Dr. Wilson, 'to be printed for the purposes of education in the country.' The plan was generally sanctioned by the Governor-General in Council in the letter dated 2nd February 1828. The Committee had since adopted measures in concert with the School-Book Society for carrying out the plan. They now submitted an estimate of the cost amounting to Rs. 49 378 12as., half of which would be borne by



Henry Louis Vivian Derozio

the School-Book Society in exchange for half the number of books. The Committee also asked for the sanction of two small amounts for the purchase of class and scientific books for the Hindu and Sanskrit Colleges. The outlay incurred on account of prizes to the boys of the Hindu College amounted to Rs. 1500, in 1829 and the Committee requested the sanction of the Government to this amount. In reply to this letter (26th June 1829) the Government agreed to afford every facility for the compilations proposed by Dr. Wilson and referred to in the letter of the Committee, and sanctioned the amounts ungrudgingly.

V

The year 1830 was both glorious and troublesome for the Hindu College. Progress of the students in English language and literature was remarkable, and the *Samachar Darpan* of Serampore wrote to the effect that within ten years hundreds of young men

had acquired sufficient knowledge in English lore and some of them had gone so far as to practise their hands in English verse. Along with English language and literature the students also became acquainted with the Western ideas of progress. These had an immense influence on their minds. Their habit and mode of life were regulated by them unawares as it were. But the leaders of the Hindu Society, who were also the controlling authority of the College, could not foresee these possibilities, and they were taken aback at the conduct of the students receiving new education at the College. Hence serious troubles soon arose.

But before dwelling on these points let us turn towards the internal affairs of the Hindu College. As regards finance the College was now in a better position. The fee-income from the students was largely increased. The Government also made contributory grants every year, and non-recurring grants at times, as we have seen already. In 1827, the Government aid was afforded to the extent of Rs. 900 per month. The amount rose to Rs. 1250 per month in 1830.

The annual prize-distribution ceremony took place on 17th February 1830 at the Government House. This year's ceremony had some specialities. Many women headed by Lady William Bentinck graced the occasion. Amongst others present was Sir Edward Ryan, Justice of the Supreme Court of Calcutta (later High Court). Choice specimens of drawing by students were exhibited in the meeting for the first time along with the best compositions of the boys of the upper classes. W. B. Bayley, President of the General Committee, distributed the prizes to the most meritorious students. Recitations from Shakespeare gave utmost satisfaction to those present.

Between March and May several students left the College with certificates of proficiency in their studies. Amongst them we find in the *Proceedings* mention of the following. Certificates were signed on the 13th March 1830 :

1st Class—Krishnamohun Banrujya, studied 5 years and a half.

do —Nubocoomar Chakroverty, studied 3 years.

do —Rasikkrishna Mallik, studied 9 years.

2nd Class—Hurimohun Sen, studied 4 years.

In this connection one may be naturally curious to know something about the fate of the scholarships. We have found that these were awarded to the meritorious and deserving students in 1827. No mention is found to be made in subsequent occasions. But we can very well surmise that these were awarded annually from personal references by some of the students later, such as Radhanath Sikdar. It should be said in passing that these scholarships were continued till 1841-42, when new arrangements were made by the Government.

Students of the Hindu College gave proofs of unexpected proficiency in English language and

literature. Newspapers of the time did not fail to notice this event in their columns. The *Parthenon*, of which I will speak presently and the correspondence, which occasionally appeared in the *India Gazette*, the *Bengal Hurkaru*, and the *Literary Gazette*, showed the capacity of these youths to write idiomatic and elegant English prose. One of them, Kasiprasad Ghose, published his book, *Shair and Other Poems*, which was favourably noticed in the papers, and welcome as the first attempt of an Indian in English metrical composition. The *Samachar Darpan* of Serampore, in its issue of 27th February 1830 felicitated the Bengali youths on their acquirements, which the previous generation could not attain for a long time :

"But within the last ten years, the language has been cultivated with such wonderful success that it could be easy at the present moment to point out between one and two hundred young native gentlemen in Calcutta to whom English is as familiar as their mother tongue. Some among them have given so intense an application to their English studies, as to produce works, which the great body of our countrymen would scarcely venture to attempt."

VI

The Hindu College students started some extra-academic activities by 1830. I have already referred to the Academic Association. Though this Association was 'nipped in the bud', according to the *India Gazette*, we may safely say on the authority of Pearychand Mitra, himself a prominent collegian and an active member of the Association, that it continued in some form or other, and never died out. But since early 1830, the Association's activities became more pronounced. Derozio was its President all along and Uma Charan Bose its Secretary. The erudite poet-teacher, Derozio attracted the students of the upper classes by his lovable nature and sympathetic and friendly treatment. They were no less enamoured with his highly efficient mode of teaching. Derozio's teaching roused in their minds a unique yearning for knowledge. According to the *India Gazette* :

". . . . not content with a conscientious discharge of his duties as a teacher of the College, he devotes his care and talents during a considerable part of his time out of school, to the improvement not only of those immediately placed under his tuition, but of all such native young men as come within his reach. He is connected with one society as president (*i.e.*, the Academic Association), but with most of the others as members. In short, he lends a very able and active hand in raising the intellectual character of the native youth; and many of the young men who have enjoyed the advantage of his instructions have distinguished themselves by their proficiency."⁸

⁸. Quoted by *John Bull*, December 11, 1830.

Under the guidance of such a devoted teacher and friend of the students, the Academic Association soon made its influence felt. Subjects discussed in its meetings were many and varied. They were broached and discussed with freedom which could not have been approached in the class-room. Free-will, foreordination, faith, the soundness of truth, the high duty of cultivating virtue, and the meanness of vice, the nobility of patriotism, the attributes of God, and the arguments for and against the existence of the deity as these have been set forth by Hume on the one side, and Reid, Dugall Stewart and Brown on the other; the hollowness of idolatry and the shams of the priesthood were the subjects, which stirred to their very depths the young, fearless, hopeful hearts of the leading Hindu youths of Calcutta, . . .⁹

The venue of the Academic Association was first President Derozio's house on the Old Lower Circular Road, and later the Manicktala garden-house of Sreekrishna Singh, a Manager of the Hindu College. David Hare was a regular visitor. Sir Edward Ryan, Justice of the Supreme Court and Colonel Benson, Private Secretary to Lord William Bentinck, Col. Beatson, and Dr. Mill of the Bishop's College attained the meetings occasionally. In the debates of the Association, such prominent students of the Hindu College, as Krishnamohun Banerjea, Rasikkrishna Mallik, Dakshinaranjan Mukherjee, Ramgopal Ghose, Ramtanu Lahiri, Radhanath Sickdar, Madhab Chandra Mallik and Gobinda Chandra Bysak, took an active part. Inculcation of progressive Western ideas through Derozio's instruction in and outside the College-rooms, and particularly the institution of the Academic Association were responsible for a movement in the direction of starting unions and clubs for exchange of new thoughts and ideas, and for launching activities for the improvement of our countrymen. The *India Gazette* noticed this fact too:

"The spirit of union has spread itself, and in the course of a short time a great number of literary societies have been formed in Calcutta, consisting principally of the former and present leading students of the Hindu College, the School Society's English schools, and the seminary generally known by the name of Ram Mohan Roy's school. It has been ascertained upon enquiry that seven associations of this kind are now in existence, the proceedings of which are conducted exclusively in the English language. Most of them meet once a week, and some at longer intervals, for discussing questions in literature and science; and sometimes in politics; the number of members belonging to each varies from 17 to 50. At some of the societies written essays are produced, which become the subjects of discussion; at one of them lectures on intellectual philosophy are delivered in rotation by the members, and at another by the president, an East Indian gentleman of great

talents, whose name has been for some time familiar to the public ear as the author of some interesting poems."¹⁰

This East Indian gentleman was no other than Henry Derozio. At this time he wrote an excellent sonnet on his students, the concluding lines of which are as follows:

O, how the winds
Of circumstance, and freshening April showers
Of early knowledge, and unnumbered kinds
Of new perceptions shed their influence;
And how you worship truth's omnipotence!
What joyance rains upon me, when I see
Fame the minor of futurity,
Weaving the chaplets you have yet to gain,
And then I feel I have not lived in vain."

Derozio's prophecy was more than fulfilled when we take into account the careers of his students both individually and collectively. Inspired by the ideal of service placed before them by Derozio, the students of the College brought out a paper called *Parthenon* in early 1830. Only its first issue was published. The paper contained an article on women's education, another on the necessity of colonization of India by the British, and some adverse comments on the prevalent Hinduism as well as the unusual expenses at the law-courts. On the publication of the *Parthenon*, the Hindu Managers of the College took alarm, and Dr. Wilson forced the students to stop it. The second issue was in print, but could not be issued to the public. This was the first of a series of actions to counter-act the 'progressivism' of the Hindu College boys.

The Managers of the College issued two circulars in early 1830, one for the teachers and the other for the students. The latter, under the signatures of Chandra Kumar Tagore, H. H. Wilson, David Hare, Rasamoy Dutt, Radhamadhab Banerjea, Ramcomul Sen and Radhakant Deb, runs as follows:

"The Management of the Anglo-Indian College, having heard that several of the students are in the habit of attending Societies at which political and religious discussions are held, think it necessary to announce their strong disapprobation of the practice and to prohibit its continuance. Any student being present at such a society after the promulgation of this order will incur their serious displeasure."¹⁰

In the other circular the teachers were 'particularly enjoined to abstain from any communication on the subject of the Hindu religion with the boys or to suffer any practices inconsistent with the Hindu notions of propriety such as eating or drinking in the school or class-rooms.' If any deviation was found on the part of a teacher from this injunction, he was threatened with dismissal. The tension ended into a grim conflict.

10. MSS. Proceedings of the H. C. Managing Committee for 1816-1832.

BY ALBERT TENEYCK GARDNER

THE Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City has a collection of paintings, which has been growing for over 80 years and which has in that time developed a distinctive character and style. The story of that development is a fascinating part of the unwritten history of American cultural life, of the history of American taste and their relations to American philanthropy.

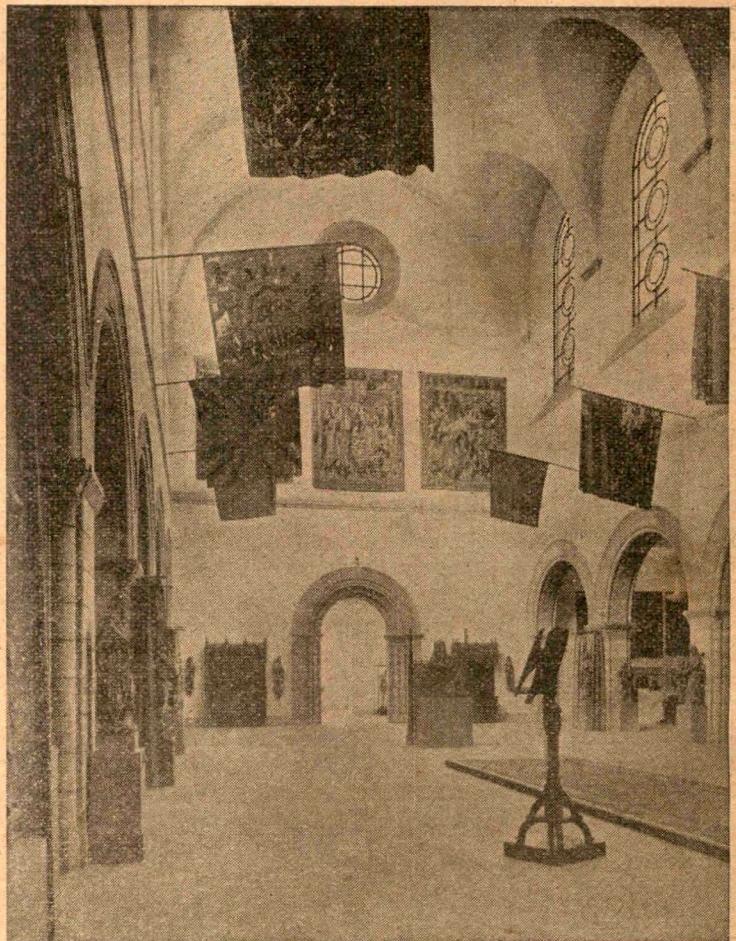
Economic historians tell us that in the half-century between 1830 and 1930, Americans spent more money spent by any comparable group in on art than had ever before been history. The social historians pursuing this thought, further conclude that in this same period, by gift to museums, the private art collections of the United States have been transformed into a vast national treasure.

Few American collections have held pictures in close seclusion and they are far outweighed by those who have generously given their pictures to the public. It is perhaps safe to venture that a constant record of public gifts, such a flow of art treasure from private to public hands, over such a long period, never before has taken place in any country. The gracious gesture of giving has long since become an American tradition rather than an occasional illustration of the old cliche, "princely gesture."

When the movement for the foundation of museums got fully under way in the United States in the 1870's and 1880's, the Metropolitan was one of the first institutions to be the beneficiary of the tradition. In the late 1880's, through the gift of the Catherine Lorillard Wolfe collection of modern pictures, and Marquand collection of paintings by the old masters, the development of its galleries really began to take definite form and direction. Marquand, by his gift of 50 old masters, set not only a standard of taste by the high quality of his acquisitions, but he also initiated the manner of giving with thoughtful and open-handed generosity. Because of the great interest aroused by his gift (the news widely publicized), both the quality and manner of his action made an impression that has never been forgotten.

Everyone with an interest in art knew the name of Henry G. Marquand, for he was one of the greatest

American patrons of art in his time. Throughout his life he was the friend of many American painters, designers and architectes. His natural taste for the arts undoubtedly was stimulated by the interests and enthusiasms of such men who were the leading spirits of the conservative inner circle of the New York art world of 1850-1880.



The Medieval Sculpture Hall of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City

Courtesy: Metropolitan Museum of Art

Marquand was a New Yorker by birth. Two phases of his early business career had important and interesting influences on the development of his later activities in the art world. As a young man he managed the large real estate holdings of his brother and through this work he became aware of the ugliness and bad planning of American architecture, particularly the business buildings then being erected in New York City. His efforts to improve the appearance and utility of

those buildings brought him into contact with Richard Morris Hunt, then one of the most promising and best-trained young architects in the United States. The other phase of his business career which affected his activities as a collector was his experience as a partner in a jewelry firm where an eye for quality is a part of the essential equipment. From these pursuits he progressed into banking and railroads where he was eminently successful. In the 1880's he more or less retired from business to devote his time to building his Madison

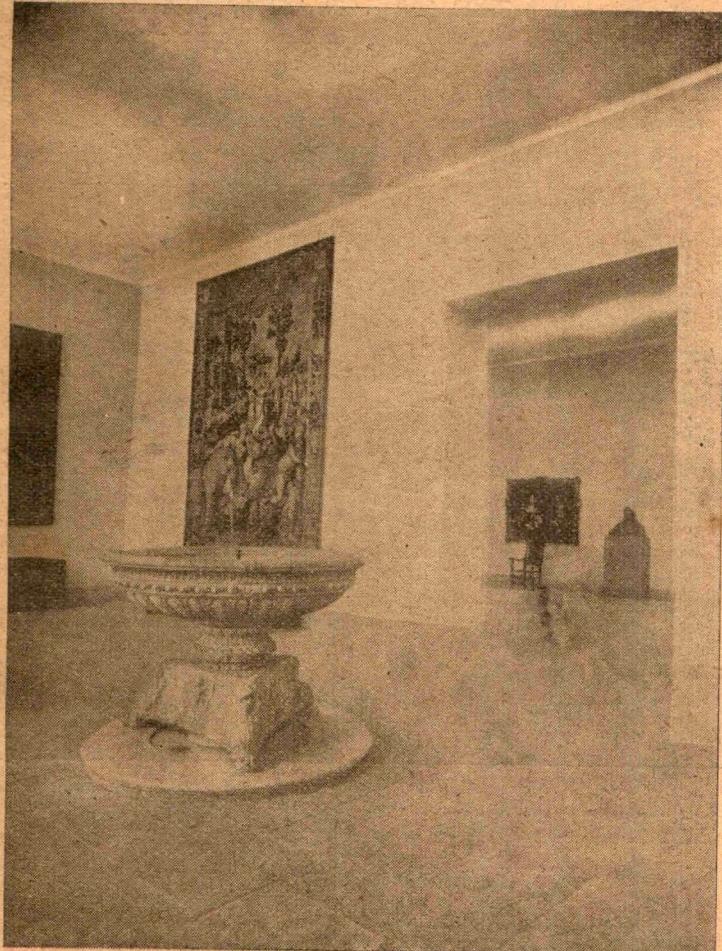
enjoyed in privacy, but were given to the people of New York City and were on display as a loan at the Museum as soon as they arrived from London.

Marquand formed, during his later years, two important collections. These were brought together with two quite separate purposes in mind. One was made for the adornment of his home, the other for the specific purposes of the Metropolitan Museum. His house was in itself a work of art; in building and designing it Marquand employed the best modern artists and decorators to ornament the interior which he then filled with works of art of every description.

The collection of paintings in the Marquand house was for the most part the work of contemporary British and American artists, but there were a few eighteenth-century British portraits and one or two old masters. Among the modern paintings was Alma-Tadema's famous "The Reading from Homer" (now in the Philadelphia Museum) and a handsome view of Windsor Castle by John F. Kensett.

An idea of the extent and value of his collection is revealed by the fact that when it was sold in 1903 the auction lasted through nine days and the cash receipts amounted to over \$700,000. Marquand intended that these treasures ultimately should be given to the Museum but severe financial reverses in the last years of his life made that impossible.

The other collection made by Marquand expressly for the Museum was quite different, though in its own way it too reflected his refined and conservative taste. This group of works was based on the serious study of a very conscientious and enthusiastic Museum President. The guiding principles in Marquand's mind were also based on British precedent: the ideal art museum of the time was the South Kensington Museum (now the



The Pazzi Fountain by Donatello and a sixteenth-century French tapestry, "The Blasphemy of Niobe"

Courtesy: Metropolitan Museum of Art

Avenue mansion, buying works of art and giving serious thought to the development of the Metropolitan Museum of Art.

Marquand's first donation, quite aside from the beauty and historic value of the pictures in it, had one characteristic that makes it unique in the history of American collecting of that time. This is the fact that as soon as the pictures were brought together they were given to the museum. They were never

enjoyed in privacy, but were given to the people of New York City and were on display as a loan at the Museum as soon as they arrived from London.

Marquand formed, during his later years, two important collections. These were brought together with two quite separate purposes in mind. One was made for the adornment of his home, the other for the specific purposes of the Metropolitan Museum. His house was in itself a work of art; in building and designing it Marquand employed the best modern artists and decorators to ornament the interior which he then filled with works of art of every description.

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tion of her designers and craftsmen and manufacturers. Marquand selected the old masters to augment and complement the Museum's first group of old masters purchased in 1871 by William T. Blodgett, which were of the Dutch and Flemish schools.

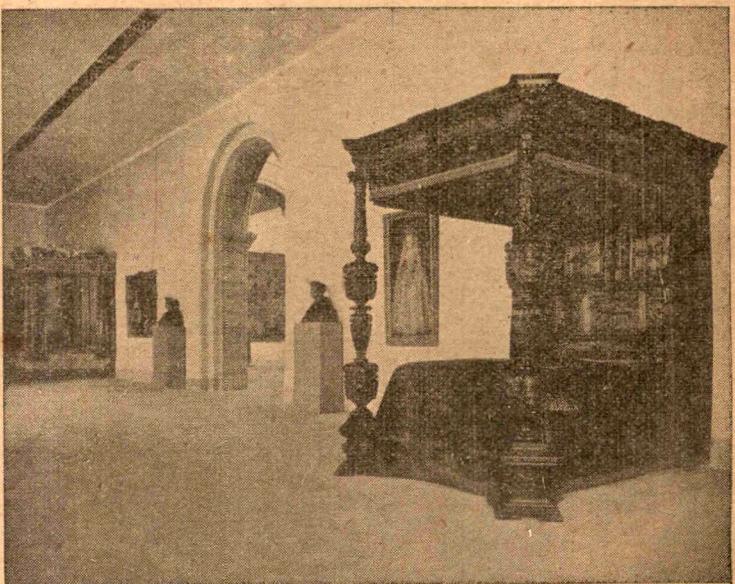
The Marquand "Portrait of the Duke of Lennox" by Van Dyck is the very epitome of ducal elegance, a most impressive picture, and one that from 1889 to the present day has been one of the most popular pictures in the Museum's collection. The Hals portraits, of which there are three, show him in his most vivid and dashing style, while the Vermeer represents this rare master at his best. The Metsu, the two works by Petrus Christus, the Rembrandts, the Cuyp the Ruysdael and other works of the Dutch and Flemish schools gave a new tone and strength to the Museum's paintings. Added to these there were no less than four interesting portraits of the School of Velasquez perhaps among the first works from the studio of this great Spanish master to come to anyone in the United States. With these was a group of British eighteenth-century portraits and landscapes, a Turner, a Crome and a Gainsborough, and three Italian works.

For 30 years, 1871 to 1902, the problems of the Metropolitan occupied increasingly more and more of Marquand's time, energy and thought. It was not unusual for him to advance substantial sums for various prosaic museum expenses, such as the payment of its coal bill, as well as to provide educational exhibits of the library and the general endowment fund. As President, he secured in 1896 an appropriation from the City for the building of the first section of the now well-known Fifth Avenue facade. It might be said that he found the Museum an odd rustic park structure with rather barren halls and walls, and left it in the hands of his successors a monumental structure filled with works of art that gave it a more than national importance. His intense interest in the general welfare of the Museum as an institution for the benefit of the public set a standard of service to the community.

In contrast to the Marquand Collection, perhaps that of Miss Catherine Lorillard Wolfe, received by the Museum in 1887, may stand as a characteristic group representing a sort of then general "standard" of taste for the private art gallery of the 1870's and 1880's. Miss Wolfe was the heiress to a hardware fortune, who had invested much of her inheritance in paintings which today have the appearance of bonbons. However, daringly

mingled with these were a few "advanced" Barbizon pictures, a very fine Corot landscape, two Daubignys, several by Diaz and a landscape by Theodore Rousseau. Her gift to the Museum was notably sweetened by being accompanied with a sizable fund for the upkeep and increase of her pictures. Through this thoughtful addition to her gift, the Museum has been able to purchase a number of French canvases by Ingres, Delacroix, David, Cezanne, Renoir, Vuillard and others.

At this time a number of Americans, following Marquand's lead or inspired by the same tendencies which seemed to be in the air, were beginning to purchase paintings by the old masters, but none of them followed Henry Marquand to the extent of collecting expressly for a Museum's immediate benefit. However the thought had been well established by his example



Paintings, sculptures and carvings of the Renaissance and other periods enrich the Renaissance Galleries of the Metropolitan Museum of Art

Courtesy: Metropolitan Museum of Art

to flower in later years in the giving of collections of works of art to public institutions throughout the United States.

Marquand's gift of old masters probably accelerated a new trend, for in the decade 1880-1890 the Havemeyers bought their first Rembrandts and J. P. Morgan started to buy works of a more memorable sort.

A few months after Marquand's great gift to the Museum in 1889, another New Yorker—Erwin Davis—presented three pictures that struck a new prophetic note. These were the famous Manet, "Boy with the Sword," his "Woman Feeding a Parrot" and the "Joan of Arc" by Bastien Lepage. The Manets were accepted

calmly as the fine modern pictures which they are by the newspaper critics and everyone else.

The interests of the Havemeyer family in the Metropolitan began in 1888 when H.O. Havemeyer purchased and presented a Gilbert Stuart "Portrait of Washington" when he found that the Museum wanted it but had no funds. In 1891 the Museum received as a loan from them a notable group of 14 modern paintings and old masters. These were apparently lent while the Havemeyer house was being built, a house that was in time to become one of the most incredible private art museums ever brought together—the greater part of which was given to the Metropolitan in 1929.

The Havemeyer Collection, so rich in its Impressionist paintings, placed the Museum immediately in the front rank, making it unrivalled even by the museums of France. Its two superb El Grecos, its Rembrandts,

the elegant Bronzino, the many Goyas and two Veroneses gave accents of the greatest distinction to the galleries of old masters. It contained, in addition to more than two hundred paintings, whole galleries full of Oriental art, paintings, screens, lacquer, pottery, metalwork, as well as sculpture, prints and drawings.

During the long period, now happily at an end, while the Museum's galleries were closed for rebuilding, the steady requests for paintings from the museum-going public have been a constant reminder of the great popular interest in paintings as well as the popularity of the Metropolitan's collection. These days the public asks for a quite different sort of pictures, not at all the thing that was in popular demand even a few years ago. Now they want to see the Impressionists, the moderns or the time-tested old masters. They like Goya, El Greco and Picasso.—From *Art News*.

—O:—

THE FRENCH RIVIERA AND THE ALPS

Monte Carlo to Geneva

By A. N. SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

MONTE CARLO, a little city of about 10,000 souls with two other cities totalling 8 square miles, forms the independent principality of Monaco, ruled by the

Prince of Monaco. But there are no custom-barriers between France and Monaco. Lovely gardens, magnificent villas, Parisian shops, gay little tea-houses are



A general view of Monaco

located within a small compass on the very fringe of the promontory at the foot of the Alps. Gambling privileges yield so large a revenue that the people

splendid garden are worthy of admiration. Formerly it used to be the Grand Dukes and Princes of Europe but now, more of the show

business of Hollywood pattern invade and crowd Monte Carlo in summer. It has been called a city of staircases; the Mont Angel Golf Course, the most expensive in the world, built at a fabulous cost from out of the rocks, has to be reached by an endless spiral flight of stairs. The turf, secured from distant centres, was brought to such an excellent condition that a golfing expert, when asked about his opinion, said, "I am no-goat." There is, however, no chance in any of the holes for the ball to bounce about to eternity.

In the famous northward route from Nice, although the road was level and straight for a time, it



Monte Carlo, Casino

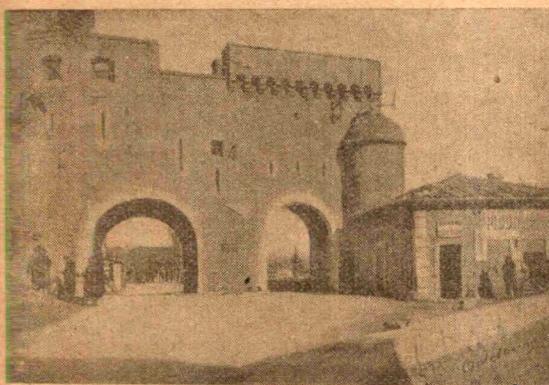
of Monaco pay no taxes but they are not allowed to take part at the gaming tables.

The town of Monaco at the bulge, on a higher level, has the Prince's Palace at the centre and a remarkable museum of Ocean Wonders. It offers a charming view up to Nice on the West and to Menton on the East at the Italian frontier.

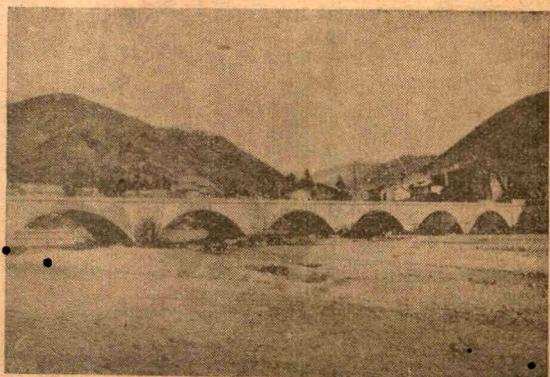
Monte Carlo is disproportionately small and yet famous throughout the world as the most attractive gambling centre. Gleaming white walls and tiled roof of the world-famous Casino or gambling hall, a wide terrace and a



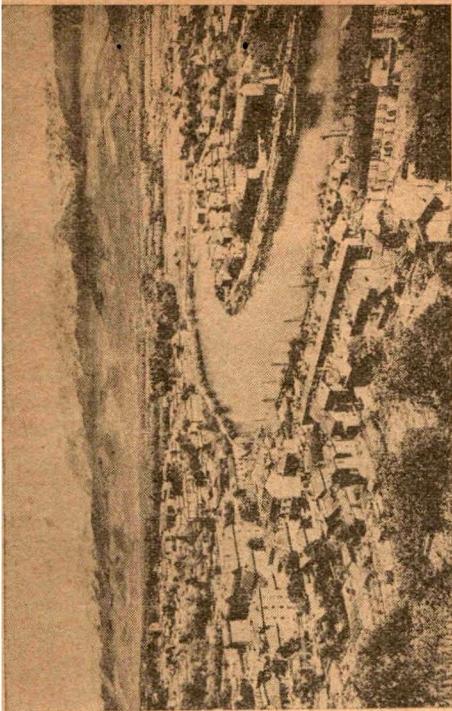
Monte Carlo. The garden of Casino



Sisteron



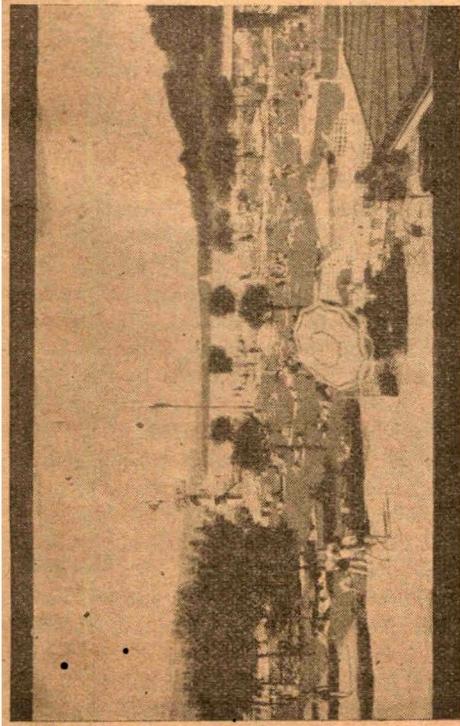
Digne



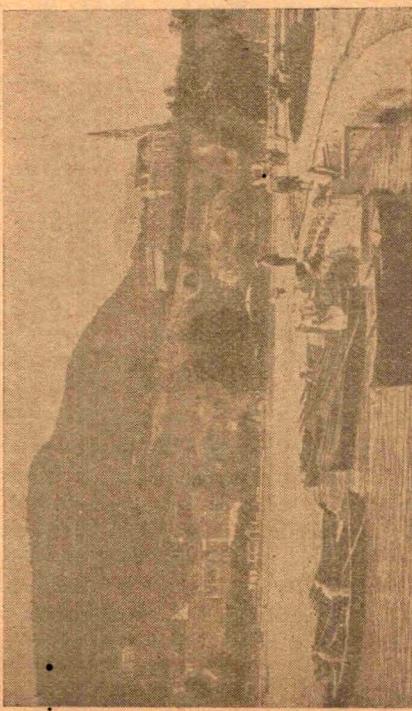
Grenoble



Gorges of the Mescla with tunnels



Geneva



Annecy

became very sinuous by the gorges of the Mescla with several tunnels. Passing through the cols (passes) of Vergons and Moria we reached Barreme on the Napoleon route, and followed it up to Sisteron passing



"Here is your Emperor: if any one would kill him, let him fire." This dramatic appeal won over the garrison at Grenoble and he began his triumphal march to Paris

through Difne. Then our route separated and we got excellent views of the Alps of Dauphiné until we passed the heights in the pass of Croix Haute and descended gradually to Grenoble, one of the most beautifully situated towns of France. The Napoleon route passed through Grenoble and here he won over the soldiers who had been sent to capture him and began the triumphal march to Paris, which in 100 days ended in Waterloo. From Grenoble the drive was picturesque with views of distant mountains, through gorges and valleys to the famous spa of Aix La Bains (a fashionable and popular thermal spa and summer resort) and then to Annecy situated on the beautiful lake. Here to our regret, we missed Mr. Macdonald, late Principal of the Bengal Engineering College, who had come to spend his holidays here just a few days ago. Through pretty gorges and phenomenal panorama of the passes and with magnificent views of both Lake Geneva and Mont Blanc, Geneva, the gateway to Switzerland, was reached.

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THE EMERGENCE OF THE BUDDHA-IMAGES

BY PANKAJ KUMAR ROY

ONCE Mahayana Buddhism succeeded in satisfying the growing needs of the common man in understanding the code of ethics and morality easily and clearly, no force could retard its popularity—a popularity achieved by the simple, humane, unorthodox and realistic principle of this creed. Influenced by the "Bhakti" movement to a great extent Mahayanism shattered all its limitations that came by the way and went on progressing with leaps and bounds as the only practical and realistic religion of India of those times. Saivism was there and the "Sakti" cult was trying to gain a subtle position, and above all, Vaisnavism was showing all the signs of maturity. But Mahayana Buddhism overshadowed them all in its rapid propagation. Although the gaining of public approval, support and sympathy was the foremost consideration, there arose the question of how to maintain this popularity for decades to come. Early monastic Buddhism never allowed the Master to be represented in images—He was always translated through symbols. Much stress was laid upon *japa*, *upasana*, prayer and meditation and that too done in *viharas* and at *stupas* was the usual practice under that system. This presentation of Buddha in symbols might lead to the fact that the exponents of post-Buddha Monastic Buddhism thought Buddha-images might have lessened the gravity of the Master's significance. Bare *japa*, *upasana* and meditation never bring the devotee into a closer contact with the worshipped—there always remains a barrier of fear and formalities in between the worshipper and the worshipped. The devotee, a common man, practises all

these—*japa*, *upasana*, etc., mechanically day by day gradually all these become nothing but a routine. And this state of affairs—religious practices done in a lifeless, formal way—brought the downfall of Hinayanism. A wheel, an empty throne or the Bodhi-Tree was sufficient to portray the Master in symbolic designs.

Mahayana Buddhism, when it came to play its part, realised this vital drawback of its counterpart, the Early Monastic Buddhism. It understood clearly that no symbol could produce devotional sentiment in the hearts of common men. Symbols could command respect and reverence, but neither complete self-surrender nor devotion. Mahayanism rightly noticed that to worship super-human personality like Buddha only through his symbolic representations was not easy for the layman. And that is why the Hindu gods and goddesses are represented both in iconic and aniconic representation from the days of the Indus Valley Culture. Take for example the case of "Krishna". He is represented both as a "Salagramasila" as well as in anthropomorphic forms. Mahayanists thought the images of the Master would be an example to the devotees reminding them of the stages of Bodhisattva-hood Gautama had to pass to become a Buddha, of the services he did to suffering humanity and his sacrifices to free the souls under bondage. Not only would these images be a reminder of Buddha's activities but they also helped men to follow and emulate them, if possible. But above all, a Buddha image would help the devotee to think that he could also become a Bodhisattva then a Buddha and attain 'Nirvana' by constantly rectifying himself—by diminu-

shing his sins through the 'travail and error' method and through service to all living creatures; in one word, living and leading the life of devotion and sacrifice to all men. Further, a Buddha-image could be worshipped very easily at the devotee's home, requiring no hard and fast rule, and helping him to stop all formalities within the modes of devotion.

These factors played the role of leading forces in the evolution of the Buddha-images. The common worshipper now no longer was required to visit the monasteries, *viharas* and the *stupas* for formal and methodical ovations and prayers. The Master was now before his eyes in all his (Buddha's) character-features. Devotion thus naturally welled up in the sentimental heart of the common man who had for long been under rigorous formalities and this pure devotion led him to the path of complete self-surrender and the forsaking of all wordly bondages.

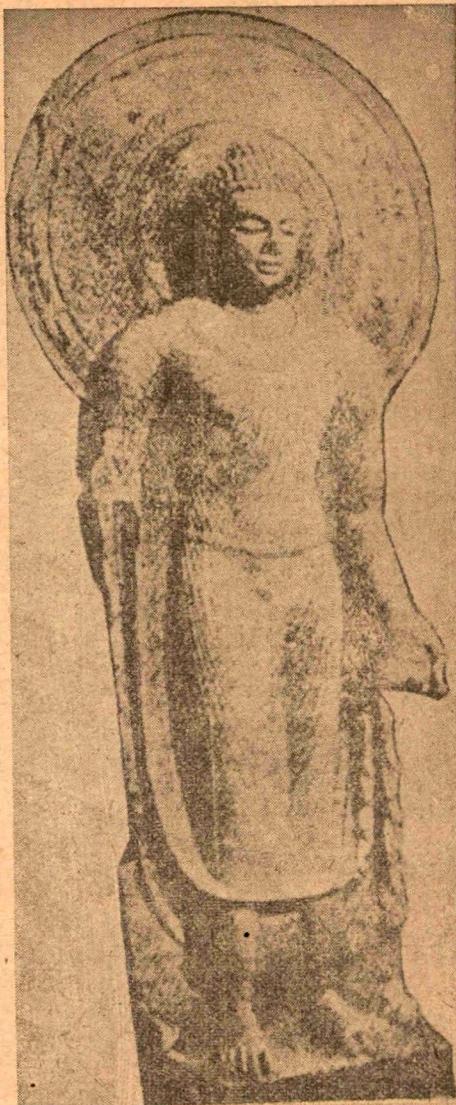
Two parts of India—Gandhara (the modern Kabul, Peshawar region) and Mathura—were the first to originate Buddha images, almost simultaneously. The chronology of the Gandhara art is still a vexed question and I leave it for the archaeologists to ascertain the correct date. Mr. Benzamine Rowland, Sir R. E. M. Wheeler, Karl Khandelwala, Mr. Corrington, Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray and many others call this a "Graeco-Roman Art" while Mr. Vogel, Dr. Mrs. DeLlew, Mr. Foucher, Dr. Coomaraswamy and others call it "Graeco-Buddhist Art." Neither of these two views can be justified, supported and solicited faithfully. The theme of the art is Buddhistic no doubt. Then how can scholars call it Graeco-Roman or Graeco-Buddhist? Many of the Buddha-images from Gandhara have close affinities to Hellenistic and late Antique phase of the Roman art. But can we say definitely that Gandhara was the borrower from the West and not *vice-versa*? It may be quite likely that there was cordial relationship between India, Rome and the Hellenistic countries in those days, and sculptors from one country might have visited another and helped to produce some of the images. But that can certainly not brand an art as the imitator of another. That is why the Buddha-images of the early Gandharan phase exhibited some resemblance to Graeco-Roman types, but images of slightly later phases manifest a vast improvement towards indigenous ideas.

"It may be described from one point of view as representing an eastward extension of Hellenistic civilization, mixed with Indian elements, from another point of view, as a westward extension of Indian culture in a western garb."—Dr. Coomaraswamy: *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*.

The Mathura Buddha-images show a fully indigenous finish.

Now to the Buddha-images. Mr. B. Rowland calls the Gandharan art "the official art" of the Kusanas and their successors. The Gandhara school is usually credited with the first representations of the Buddha in anthropomorphic form.

"The quality of devotion in the later Buddhist sects demanded a representation of the Master in an accessible human form. The earliest Buddha-images were a compound of icono-graphical and technical formulae . . ."—Rowland: *Indian Art—Hindu, Buddhist, Jain*.



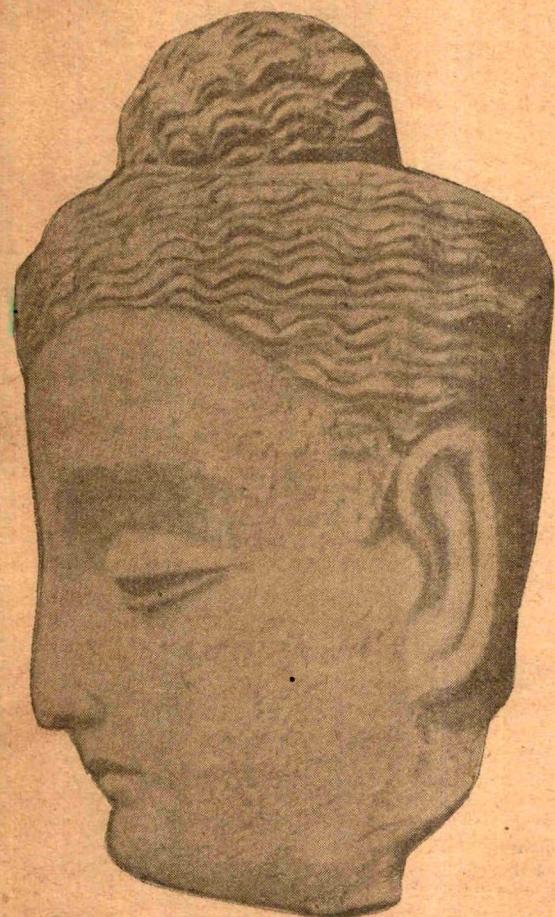
Typical Buddha-image (Mathura School)

Usually these images are of three types—Seated Buddha, Standing Buddha and Buddha as the Prince Siddhartha. In the first two types, Buddha is shown wearing a monk's garment (with folds of drapery). Adolescent features, wavy hair, elongated earlobes 'urna and ushnisha,' as also the definition of the third eye between the eyebrows are the other important features of Gandhara Buddha-images. All these images, according to Mr. Vogel, are shown in relief and never as statues carved in the round. The right hand as a rule is raised to the height of the shoulder; the open palm

is turned towards the spectator as expressive of the Master's grant of "Abhaya." In the third type we find a young man in princely garb—turban, jewellery and muslin robe. He is Siddhartha. Another innovation of this art was the continuous representation of the Buddha legend in a series of separate episodes.

"The Gandhara reliefs show no less stylistic variety than the statues of Buddha and Bodhisattva Gandhara relief sculpture owes its rather puzzling character to the fact that it is technically an impossible mixture of archaic and developed styles of carving," writes Mr. Benzamine Rowland.

The carving is characteristic of the isolation of the figures against a plain background, although the



Typical Buddha-head
(Gandhara School)

forms themselves are related one to another by their postures and gestures. Such legends as the "Presentation of the Bride to Prince Siddhartha" or the "Nirvana" are only some of the examples of these richly carved relief panels.

Now to the other school of Mathura.

"The great period of Mathura's florescence coincides with the great century of Kusana rule under

the reigns of Kanishka and his successors and this is exactly contemporary with the Gandhara school."

—Rowland.

"The most obvious characteristic of the Kusana school in Mathura is the fact, by no means astonishing, that it represents in the main a direct development of the older Indian art of Bharhat and still older art of Besnagar."—Coomaraswamy.

Mr. J. P. Vogel also shares the same opinion along with Dr. Mrs. Lohuizen DeLlew (authoress of *Scythic Period in Indian History*) and many others. The Mathura images are usually of red sand-stone; the sculpture is in the round, the head is shaven and never covered with curls, the 'usnisa' wherever preserved is spiral, there is no 'urna' and no moustache; the right hand is raised in 'abhaya' mudra, the left is often clenched and rests on the thigh in seated figures, or in standing figures supports the folds of the robe, the elbow being always at some distance from the body.

"The breasts are curiously prominent, though the type is absolutely masculine and the shoulders very broad. The robe leaves the right shoulder bare—the drapery moulds the flesh very closely and is arranged in schematic folds; the seat is always a lion throne, while in the case of standing figures there is often a seated lion between the feet. The gesture and features express enormous energy."—Coomaraswamy.

"The Buddha already conceived of as a transcendent, almost forced a reliance on preconceived ideals of divine beauty and a dependence on certain superhuman proportions and attributes which would properly assume the image's assuming an appropriately iconic aspect of divine perfection."—Benzamine Rowland.

Mr. Vogel, Mr. Foucher and Dr. Mrs. Llew support this view along with many others. According to Mr. Rowland, the eyes of the Mathura Buddhas are fully open, the cheeks round and full, the mouth ample with lips drawn into a slight smile and the face has a warm, friendly expression. Sculpture in relief under the Kusanas at Mathura is in many respects an outgrowth of the styles of the archaic period, although at the same time it is undoubtedly influenced by innovations from Gandhara, notably in the inclusions of Buddha in anthropomorphic form. This is vouched by Dr. Coomaraswamy, Mr. Vogel, Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray, Mr. Foucher and others. Mathura sculptors followed a shorthand manner of presentations by stripping off all details of action and setting from various episodes so that the event is often represented only by the figure of Buddha in characteristic pose and mudra.

The Buddha-images of Amaravati in the far South have resemblances to Mathura except the definition of the drapery by a combination of incised lines and overlapping ridges indicating the course of the folds and seams, which are reminiscent of Gandhara Buddha images. The face of the Amaravati Buddha is oval-shaped.

This process of the evolution of the Buddha-images

comes to its fullness in the golden days of the early Imperial Guptas and this classical type is the main source of all later forms both in and beyond the Indian boundaries.

"The Gupta type is characterised by its refine-

ment, by a clear delineation and definition of the features by curly hair, absence of *urna*, greater variety of mudras, elaborately decorated nimbus, the robe covering one or both shoulders, clearly revealing the figures."—Dr. Coomaraswamy: *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*.

REDRAWING INDIA'S MAP

BY PROF. SHRIMAN NARAYAN

THE long-awaited recommendations of the States Re-organisation Commission are now before the general public. According to these proposals, the new map of India will have 16 federating units, all to be called "States" enjoying equal constitutional status, and these Centrally-administered areas to be known as "territories." All the existing C States are to disappear, all the B States, with the exception of Rajasthan and a truncated Hyderabad, are also to go. Uttar Pradesh continues to be the largest in population with 63.2 million, whereas the new State of Madhya Pradesh will be the largest in area with 1,71,000 square miles. The new Bombay State will be the second biggest State in population and the third largest State in area. The capital city of Delhi will now be a Centrally-administered territory with a Municipal Corporation on the lines of the London County Council. Status quo has been maintained for the present as regards Pondicherry and NEFA owing to the special circumstances under which they have been placed constitutionally. The recommendations of the Commission are unanimous except in regard to U.P. and Himachal Pradesh. Shri Panikkar wants an 'Agra' State to be carved out of portions of the existing U.P., Vindhya Pradesh and Madhya Bharat. Shri Fazl Ali is against the merger of Himachal Pradesh with Punjab and PEPSU as now provided, but wants it to be a Centrally-administered territory.

As was indicated by the Prime Minister in his broadcast to the nation on the eve of the publication of the Report, the recommendations of the Commission will now be considered by the State Legislatures and the public generally will also have "every opportunity for the expression of opinion." Of course, the ultimate decision on these recommendations will be taken by the Parliament. It is not very clear yet whether it would be possible to implement the proposals of the Commission for redrawing the boundaries of new States before the next general elections early in 1957. Reference has been made in the Report regarding the need for re-delimitation of Constituencies in a number of States. It is, however, generally believed that it should be possible to hold the general elections, more or less, according to present schedule after enacting the neces-

sary legislation in Parliament and redelimiting the Constituencies. All this would, of course, entail very heavy and onerous work for the administration. But it is being realised by all sections of public opinion that the general elections must not be postponed beyond the period of five years, as laid down in the Indian Constitution, except in very grave national emergency.

In his broadcast talk, Shri Nehru appealed to the people of India to read the Report "as a whole." No Report of this nature could possibly satisfy everybody. We have, therefore, to find out "what is good from the point of view of the country as a whole and has the largest measure of agreement and support." The Prime Minister wanted us to approach this question "with dignity and forbearance and in a spirit of dispassionate consideration."

"This is a hard test for us and our future might well depend upon how we face it and deal with." "I earnestly trust, therefore," said Shri Nehru, "that we shall consider this report in a manner becoming a great people fashioning their future."

The three distinguished members of the Commission have also expressed a similar hope at the end of their Report :

"Free India is now on the move. What has already been achieved can be viewed with a measure of legitimate pride. The manner in which the very difficult problem of Princely India was solved in the anxious and bewildering circumstances following partition, will by itself be a standing testimony to the political wisdom and strength of the Indian people and their firm determination to eradicate artificial barriers and cramping loyalties. We conclude in the hope that the scheme of reorganisation which we have proposed will be viewed again in this background and that men of good-will will co-operate with those charged with the onerous responsibility of reconciling competitive claims and of balancing regional sentiments with national interests in giving effect to the decisions which might be taken in an atmosphere of tolerance and understanding."

The Commission have also done well in recommending a number of measures for safeguarding the rights of linguistic minorities and for forging the ties of national unity. They have recommended, for

example, that about fifty per cent of new entrants in any cadre of an existing All-India Service should be from outside the State concerned. Further that the training of probationers to the All-India and Central Services should be such that they should have a good introduction to the essentials of Indian geography, history, religions, customs and manners. Even in the case of High Court judges, it has been suggested by the Commission that at least one-third of the number should consist of persons who are recruited from outside the State. These are, indeed, useful suggestions for bringing about a proper atmosphere for national unity and solidarity. It must, however, be remembered that no proposals can achieve the desired objective unless there is real and sincere appreciation of the need for such unity in the minds and hearts of the people. We should also constantly bear in mind that the map of India is being redrawn primarily for the sake of administrative convenience so that the various State Governments may function through the language of the people of those areas. After all, the State will continue to be integral parts of the great Indian Union and it does not matter very much whether a particular Taluka or District is included in this State or that State.

It should also be clearly understood that the recommendations of the high-level Commission should be considered with due respect. It would be very wrong to treat the Report in a light-hearted manner and start fresh controversies or agitations over again. The Commission consisted of three very able men of this country who considered 1,52,250 documents, interviewed more than 9,000 persons and travelled 38,000 miles before coming to the conclusions. If we begin the whole process once again by agitating for our own

point of view, there would be no end to this discussion and controversy. It is true that the Prime Minister himself has been "a little surprised" at some of the recommendations. This only shows that the Prime Minister had absolutely no idea about the nature of the proposals of the Commission till a few days ago and that he keeps an open mind in regard to this difficult problem. But this does not mean that we should also begin imitating the Prime Minister by expressing our own 'surprises' and indulging in unending controversies. We should be prepared to accept the recommendations of the Commission in good spirit and think of certain changes only in very exceptional cases.

There are still some people in this country who feel that it was a mistake to have appointed this Commission. In fact, they regard the very idea of linguistic re-distribution of States as basically unsound and dangerous to the cause of India's unity. We do not agree with this view. We are of the definite opinion that the existing States are not rational and scientific; they were carved out by the alien rulers in accordance with the exigencies of the time. It is, therefore, desirable to redraw our map on more rational lines. As Acharya Vinoba recently pointed out, reorganisation of States, if undertaken in the proper spirit, should be able to promote our unity and national strength. But, if we do not show proper broad-mindedness and largeness of heart, this process of reorganisation may sow the seeds of national ruin and disaster. This is, therefore, a hard and momentous test for all of us and I earnestly hope that we will come out unscathed. May God give us the necessary strength to be worthy citizens of this great land of Gandhi and Nehru!

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"The Educational Movement in India"

Sir,

I beg to draw your kind attention to some solecisms and misstatements which occur in the paragraph on Hindi, on page 444, in the above article by Rajani Kanta Das, Ph.D. and Sonya Ruth Das, D.Litt. (Paris), published in *The Modern Review* for June, 1955.

The authors have spelt 'Chanda Bardai' as Chand Bardi, without any phonetic notations. It is a minor mistake; but it should not have occurred. This would lead all readers of the journal who do not know Hindi, to pronounce the name wrongly.

Then, 'Bhartendu Harischandra' has been shortened to B. H. Chandra. In this case Bhartendu has been taken to be a part of the name of the poet-critic, whereas it is only his title. When many of those familiar with Hindi and the history of its

literature had to pause for a moment before they could make out that B. H. Chandra stands for Bhartendu Harischandra, how would those unfamiliar with the language and its literature get the name correctly? It appears that the significance of the honorific 'Bhartendu' escaped the notice of the learned authors. Or, does it show their utter ignorance of the subject they are writing about in rather a learned way?

Besides these, there are the following amazing misstatements which are unpardonably present in the paragraph:

The authors' remark that "The earliest Hindi author was Chand Bardi (sic), known for his poems on *Priyhi Raj Raso*," indicates that 'Prithvi Raj Raso' is the name of the hero, or the central figure on whom the poems (!) by Chanda were written,

The fact, however, is that 'Prithvi Raj Raso' is a voluminous epic running into 2500 pages—divided in 69 chapters; and is not a mere collection of poems. It has for its subject, the deeds of glory and exploits of Prithvi Raj, the Chauhan King (besides some traditional facts of Rajput History).

Another damaging remark which the authors make is about Tulsidas. According to them, Tulsidas "translated the Ramayana into Hindi". It is as preposterous a remark as to say that Milton versified the Bible in the Paradise Lost! It is a well-known fact that since the days of Valimiki, many great poems have been written not only in Hindi, but also in many other Indian languages. Kalidas's Raghuvansam, Tulsidas's Ramacharitamansa, Keshavadas's Ramchandrika, and Maithalisharan Gupta's Saaket, to name only a few, are all devoted to the same theme. Though their theme is one yet

they are so different in their approach and style that the later ones can never be called a translation of the works written earlier. The same holds good about Tulsidas also. To say that he translated the Ramayana into Hindi is as far from truth as it can be. All that he did, as he himself says in the opening book of his great epic, was to collect some material from many Puranas, and Shastras and also from tradition for composing his immortal work. His treatment and style are entirely his own and he is absolutely original in every way.

I wish these mistakes had been corrected and the facts verified before the article was sent for publication.

This shows how dangerous it is to rely entirely on knowledge gathered through second-hand sources.

Shrirama Shrivastava, M.A., VISHARAD Lucknow.

—O:—

POEMS

By IDA SARKAR (nee Stieler)

TO MY HUSBAND

Memories! Memories!
God's wonderful gift divine,
I hold you silent in my soul.
Years have passed by—
A wrath of tears I wind around the time.
In my dreams,
I weave your face immortal to a shrine.
You, my beloved with your sunny eyes,
Your forehead shone with radiant intellect bright.
You, whose kindness made all eyes fill with tears,
Your clear tranquillity of mind
Gave rest and peace to all.
You brought happiness to man in storm and stress.
Full of world-joy, yet so distant from world-lust
Your path moved on. You paved the way,
Inspired all hearts, who searched for truth.
Far like a dream are all the days gone by.
We shared life's happiness and joy.
Just like a spring your words run through my soul.
They carry force and strength through all my veins.
"Have courage, man must fight," how often did I
hear this phrase.
Again my own heart tells me in one solitary hour,
The fate of years.
In one moment, I visualise the dreams of my world.
I see milliards of stars high up in the sky,
Whch no man can count.
I begin to see light after light.
All this has passed through my life,
While with you.
The stars shine and I do not feel lonely in my
loneliness.
You are ever and ever with me, my beloved.

All my gratitude to you come never too late.
You left me your warm heart, your strength stayed
with me
And leads me on my way.
You took with you your loving eyes,
Yet the sight of your soul was left to me.
You planted the seeds of knowledge and sacrifice,
In the green garden of this young generation,
From your fertile autumn days.
These seeds will grow for ever and ever
And with them will grow our love and admiration
for you.

TO MY BENOY

Fighter for the truth of all things,
Noble fighter thou beloved mine,
From the ruins of all I lost
Sing I to thee, Oh immortal one!
I see the world through those where death has passed.
I see the traces of thy greatest work,
I see thy life which had to suffer hard,
Before it even started full to live.
Out of the clouds of golden illusions
Thou resist and we feel thee ever near.
Thou still givest life from the eternal zones
To the down-trodden, whom thou lovest the best.
Thou weavest ever the robe of sacrifice
For the youth to come,
For the freedom which thou hardly felt.
Where thou art missing, life itself is dead,
Where thou art, there is immortality.

(Poems written by Mrs. Ida Sarkar, his wife, for the sixth death anniversary of Prof. Benoy Kumar Sarkar.)

W. C. BONNERJEE—FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

By MANIK LAL MUKHERJI

In the nineteenth century a galaxy of stars were born in Bengal. They were all eminent men who held the field in almost all spheres of life in India. Practically Bengal led and the rest of India followed.

Such a great man was born in Bengal on the 29th of December, 1844. He was W. C. Bonnerjee, a name which India can hardly forget.

W. C. Bonnerjee was born in Calcutta in his paternal house at Kidderpore. The house and the lands adjoining were subsequently acquired under the Kidderpore Dock Extension Project. W. C. Bonnerjee's parents originally hailed from Bagnan in the District of Howrah and finally settled in Simulia in Calcutta.

Like almost all great men he was unmindful of his studies in boyhood. He read up to the Entrance standard in the Oriental Seminary in North Calcutta. His father was a noted attorney of his time.

In his early age he had a great fancy for Westernism. He expressed his desire to his parents that he would like to embark on his voyage for England but was severely scolded. So one stormy night in the month of October (Bengali Aswin) in the year 1863 he slipped off from his home and found his way to London. He secured a scholarship from a Bombay millionaire but as he got the money very late he had to struggle very hard in England.

While studying at Lincoln's Inn Bonnerjee picked up the friendship of the late Dadabhai Naoraji. Both of them were nationalists to the very core of their heart. India was his constant thought but he chose the path of moderation in his political activities. He divided his time between India and England where he had his second home and most of his friends were members of the British Parliament. His personality had a charm for everybody and even the British Parliament could not escape his personal influence. He became so very popular in England that he was put up as the first Indian candidate from Waltamstow for election to the British Parliament but his illness stood in the way of his election. He had to withdraw his candidature.

He presided over the deliberations of the First Indian National Congress in the year 1885 and those who followed his speech could easily understand that his path was constructive. He breathed his last in London in June, 1906 and his death was mourned equally in India and England. From 1885 for several years practically Congress was W. C. Bonnerjee and Bonnerjee was the Congress. His influence with the Congress was great because he wrought for the ultimate freedom of India. He spent his money lavishly

for the Congress and exercised his influence to increase its members and workers on behalf of it.

So great was his foresight that even in the year 1892 he pleaded that India is in need of more engineers—a fact which is realised in free India today.

At a well-attended meeting held on July 25, 1906 the hall of Buxton Men's Club, Waltamstow, Hon. G. K. Gokhale said :

" . . . For more than a quarter of a century Mr. Bonnerjee's name had been a household word in India. He had laboured unceasingly for the good of his country, and his name would never be forgotten in that land. In him they had lost a champion of political reform, a great patriot and a wise statesman (applause) . . . he had come to England on behalf of the Indian National Congress of which Mr. Bonnerjee had been the First President which consisted of 100 delegates elected by the people which met once a year and deliberated on important questions . . . "

The remains of W. C. Bonnerjee were cremated at Golder's Green. Before the coffin was transferred to the inner chamber the late Dadabhai Naoraji delivered a short funeral address which runs as follows :

"His patriotic fervour and zeal in youth was no less ardent than in later years. One of his earliest attempts to serve his country was the foundation of a London Indian Society now merged in the East Indian Association and on his return to India his career of public usefulness gradually broadened until it reached its appropriate goal in his election as the President of the first Indian National Congress. In that capacity his utterances were as statesmanlike and far-seeing as they were modestly conceived. There was no undue elation but at the same time there was no shrinking from responsibility and none rejoiced more than he at the ample fulfilment of the hope he expressed for the stability and progress of the movement . . . "

Traditionally India is never behindhand in hero-worship. It is but meet that we Indians should not forget to get a suitable memorial for that great departed soul who first lit up the torch of freedom.

Mourning his death Mr. A. O. Hume said :

" . . . Probably no other gentleman of modern times exercised so great an influence over his countrymen at large—not merely in Bengal but throughout India—as did Mr. Bonnerjee who from the first day that he put his hands to the plough of reform very early in 1885 never grudged his time, his talents or his money, that the cause of India's people might be in any degree aided or promoted by any or all of these . . . "

• Shocked to hear of his sudden demise in England (Sir) Surendra Nath Banerjea said :

" . . . In him India has lost one of her foremost sons, and the legal profession one of its brightest ornaments and the Congress one of its founders and its first President . . . "

EDUCATION FOR CHILDREN

p. 11

By SANTOSH KUMAR BANERJEE

After the independence of India everybody thought that great changes would come in the field of education for children. It is an admitted fact that a country's progress depends much on the educational advancement of her children. In the British days the then rulers of the country made such a provision of education in the schools and colleges that the students coming out of these institutions could swell the ranks of their clerks who were essentially required for the machinery of administration. In the beginning of the British Rule very few higher posts were offered to Indians as the top posts were enjoyed by their own men and so with the limited knowledge and incomplete education the people of our country who were serving the British in their different organisations were satisfied with the clerical posts. With the passing of time the situation changed and the Indian people became more and more ambitious. They began to agitate for many demands which were up till now not granted to them. One of such demands was to get good education and be fit for higher posts. Gradually some of the Indian boys were able to compete in the higher recruitment examinations along with the British boys and could secure top places in order of merit. They had to be provided with some posts which were originally meant for British boys. When these young men of our country obtained such posts they were discouraged from mixing with their own men and made to feel that they belonged to a superior class. Thus these fortunate men were almost lost to the family, the society and the country to which they belonged.

Ever since that time these men had been able to satisfy their British rulers with loyal service and they did not care to know the real condition of the country or find out the means for effecting improvements in her different spheres, particularly in the sphere of education. They gave their children education in English schools and sent them to England to finish their education there so that they might also hold higher posts like them. Since independence of the country their angle of vision has not appreciably changed. They are still holding the key positions in the administrative machinery of the country and they know that so long as they can give their children a different kind of education, which the ordinary people of the country cannot afford to give to their sons and daughters, their children will continue to get prominent positions in life. The leaders of our country who were once associated with the everyday sufferings of the average man and woman and have got the contagion of this feeling from the higher officers, who are now in close touch with them, are also now having their children educated in expensive schools where the teaching is imparted

by teachers who are mostly foreigners. As a result of this both the leaders and the high officers of the country are not aware of the real condition of affairs in the ordinary schools meant for the middle class and the working class boys and girls. These schools are mostly ill-managed, ill-housed and have such teachers who cannot devote their wholehearted energy towards imparting education to the students due to their poor salaries. In this respect we depend too much on Government, but we do not realise that as citizens of this country we have our own duties to discharge. We can supplement the funds of the schools by raising donations and subscriptions and we can also entrust the management of these schools in the hands of well-trusted able men, who are above party politics. So far as getting the right type of teachers we are to make the salaries of teachers a little more attractive so that good men would not hesitate to come to this profession for fear of half-starvation.

It is a pity that in cities like Calcutta where hundreds of new cinema houses have been built with private enterprise, no funds can be raised to build some good houses for the accommodation of schools. So far as good teachers are concerned the writer has an humble suggestion to make. We find that many officers of Government, who were once brilliant students, do not seem to get opportunities of social service after retirement. Throughout their service career they do good to themselves and to their families by earning money and they do not come to any service to the society to which they belong. After their retirement and till their death, so long as they are physically fit, they can easily render voluntary service to a local school within the radius of one mile or so from their residence, just for an hour at least, to impart to the students, who are the future citizens of the country, lessons in subjects according to their choice. It will be better if they do it of their own accord without being forced by the Government by an Act of the Legislature to do so, as in this way they will at least be remembered gratefully by a number of young students for many years after death, when there is likelihood of their being forgotten by the members of their own families.

The film business magnets and the cinema house owners whose one of the main sources of income is from young students should also consider seriously whether they should voluntarily offer some percentage of their income towards the education of the children of the country, who in future will increase the number of cinema-goers and thus bring more money in their pockets. It will look more generous on their part if they themselves come forward with such a proposal before they are forced by legislation to do so.

ROLE OF SATYAGRAHA IN FREE INDIA

By SURESH RAMABHAI

WE, of India, are rightfully proud of our great mother-land. But why do we do so? Is it a vain national feeling working behind this sentiment or some positive basis at its back? Is it our geographical or material wealth which we so much boast about? Surely, there are in the world rivers bigger than the Ganga or the Indus; there are soils more fertile than that of the Indo-Gangetic Valley; there are plateaus far richer in minerals than that of Chota Nagpur; there are ports far better than those of Calcutta, Madras or Bombay. Only we have, so to say, the Himalayas that are taller than any other mountains in the world. Then, does all our national pride stem from these snowclad rocks? What is it after all that made our ancients proclaim: *Durlabham Bharate Janamah* (Rare it is to be born in India) ?

Opinions will naturally differ on this point. But many will agree that the most important find of our seers of yore was the doctrine of *Ahimsa*. As Gandhiji describes it in his imitable language:

"The Rishis, who discovered the law of non-violence in the midst of violence, were greater geniuses than Newton. They were themselves greater warriors than Wellington. Having themselves known the use of arms, they realised their uselessness, and taught a weary world that its salvation lay not through violence but through non-violence."

A translation of this unique doctrine into practice led them to *Brahma-Vidya* on the one hand and to land-cultivation and animal husbandry on the other. This also accounts for the strange fact that of all countries in the world, only India declared her preference for vegetarian food and that even today there are millions of such Indian homes where meat is tabooed. It is this faith—supported by three pillars of *Brahma-Vidya*, non-injury to others and vegetarianism—which has been the perennial source of our spiritual and cultural heritage and activity and which distinguishes India from the rest of the world.

Again, in modern times, India alone discovered the doctrine of *collective non-violence* to which Gandhiji, its first exponent and scientist, gave the unique name of *Satyagraha*. True, we could not place before the world the pattern of an ideal and strong Satyagraha—we were found wanting in so many regards, yet it cannot be gainsaid that India has proved for all time that the principle of non-violence is capable of sound application on a mass scale and that Satyagraha is a potent instrument for countering injustice and throwing off political shackles. The non-violent fight that we gave, weak and poor though it was, clearly demonstrated the efficacy of Satyagraha as a weapon for working out the political revolution.

The question now arises whether there is any scope for Satyagraha in India now when she is free. Most of our political stalwarts, many of them holding

positions of power, are reported to have expressed on this point in the negative. They would have us believe that collective non-violence had little to do in any sphere other than political and that only State equipped with its military and legislative powers could bring about desired changes in the socio-economic sphere. That the arch-priest of Satyagraha did not think like this is evident from what he observed as early as in May 1929 :

"This I know that, if India comes to her own demonstrably through non-violent means, India will never want to carry a vast army, an equally grand navy, and a grander air force. If her self-consciousness rises to the height necessary to give her a non-violent victory in her fight for freedom, the world values will have changed and most of the paraphernalia of war would be found to be useless. Such an India may be a mere day-dream—a childish folly. But such, in my opinion, is undoubtedly the implication of an India becoming free through non-violence." (italics mine).

It needs little reflection to state that in our fight for freedom our self-consciousness did not rise to the required height. Nor could we bring about any change in world values. The sanctions in the political, economic or social life of the post-British India are almost the same as in that of British India. We honour the same values today as we did eight years ago. To mention a few of them—disgust for manual labour, superiority of intellectual work to manual labour, the higher the income or salary the bigger the man, treatment of land as a marketable commodity, low status of the untouchable in general and of the *Bhangi* in particular, etc. etc. With the basic values remaining unaltered, India's political freedom has been more in the nature of a change of masters than in that of a revolution. And if the old values continue to hold sway, our further degradation and ruin is a certainty.

It may be argued that law will effectively introduce many a change. Would it could. Alas! it cannot. What has been the fate of the law banning child marriages? Untouchability is a crime by law. Yet there are important temples still closed to the untouchable. Law has very definite limitations. If stealing is an evil in popular opinion we can have a law condemning stealing as a crime—and that law would be honoured. But if smoking, though evil, is no evil in popular opinion a law condemning smoking as a crime will be honoured only in its breach. Likewise, since child-marriages and temple-refusal to the Harijans are no crime in popular opinion (rightly or wrongly, that is a different matter), law is helpless to stop them. Law can cover the beaten tracks but not the uncharted seas.

Where then is the way out? What shall succeed if law fails? The single and the surest answer is—*Satyagraha* or Civil Resistance. It has a two-fold objective—wean the Government from going astray and win the people

to right thought and conduct. It is a rebellion on one hand and right education or Nai Talim of the masses on the other. It is a most powerful expression of a soul's anguish and an eloquent protest against the continuance of evil, perpetrated either by the Government or by the people. Satyagraha is, as Gandhiji called it, *dharma-yuddha*. Once dilating on this point, he once said :

"Here is the beauty of *Satyagraha*. It comes up to oneself, one has not to go out in search for it. That is a virtue inherent in the principle itself. A *dharma-yuddha* in which there are no secrets to be guarded, no scope for cunning and no place for untruth, comes unsought; and a man of religion is ever ready for it. A struggle which has to be previously planned is not a righteous struggle. In a righteous struggle God Himself plans campaigns and conducts battles. A *dharma-yuddha* can be waged only in the name of God, and it is only when the *Satyagrahi* feels quite helpless, is apparently on his last legs and finds utter darkness all around him, that God comes to the rescue. God helps when one feels oneself humbler than the very dust under one's feet."

Satyagraha is not like a garment to be put on and off at will. Nor a shoe to be hurled at on any off and on. Nor is it a mere philosophical principle. Its seat is in the heart. It is 'the rule and breath' of life. The spirit of *Satyagraha* requires 'long training in self-denial and appreciation of the hidden forces' within man. What is more : *Satyagraha* can only follow some real disinterested service, some heart-expression of love.

Judged by these tests, it is obvious that most of the 'Satyagrahas' which we have witnessed during the last eight years were more in name than in fact and that the single campaign that satisfies all *Satyagraha* conditions is Acharya Vinoba Bhave's Bhoojan Yajna movement which would be referred to later on. Besides, it is also clear that there is far wider and deeper scope for *Satyagraha* in free India than during the British rule. Occupied as all people then were with getting rid of the political yoke, vast spheres of true selfless service had to be left untouched. Politics absorbed exclusive attention. Not so now when people can take to different fields according to their own taste and genius.

But what would be the model of *Satyagraha* in free India ? Will it follow the pattern evolved by Gandhiji in order to face the British power ? Or, will it be of a different cast ? The conditions of India leave little doubt in this regard. India is now free when there is no question of 'snatching' political power from an alien exploiting agency. Only if the worst comes to happen and the party in power miserably fails to honour its pledges to the electorate, the latter can vote it out or refuse to pay taxes and commit civil disobedience widely. What is, however, far more imperative is that the existing pattern of administration as also the socio-economic order must change. And that change must come from below. That is, a mere change of masters at the top will not usher in the new order : stagnant

values must change and the people should live the new values themselves. The task, therefore, becomes very hard. It is not a question of simply throwing an external adversary out, but of transforming the enemy within. People have to be educated, their energy directed along the rightfully new channels and then the whole order re-cast, not excluding the constitution.

The Bhoojan Yajna movement strictly follows these lines. It stands for entirely new values which may be summed up as follows :

(i) Land must cease to be a marketable commodity and should be owned not by any individual, not by the State, but by society ;

(ii) Manual labour is on par with intellectual labour, both should bear the same value and status and both together should form an essential part of our daily life.

The walking tours, assiduously conducted by Vinoba and the scores of workers all over the country, are meant to enlighten public opinion, to educate it and instil new values in the village social structure. That the mission requires a lot of self-denial and sacrifice—not less severe than in facing the bayonet or courting imprisonment—goes without saying. It is *Satyagraha* in the fullest sense of the term. Only its nature differs from that of the British days. While the *Satyagraha* as expressed through non-co-operation was fast, the *Satyagraha* as expressed through Bhoojan Yajna is gentle. If need be, the fast pattern can be resorted to. That is our stock-in-trade. But if the present gentle form does not serve the required purpose, what then ? Here is Vinoba's unequivocal reply :

"If our gentle *Satyagraha* does not yield the desired fruit, we must infer that there is something wanting in our gentleness itself. And we must, therefore, render it finer, gentler Gentle, gentler, gentlest. If *Satyagraha* evolves forth in this manner, its vitality and effectiveness would grow on."

What form would Vinoba's gentler *Satyagraha* take, nobody can say. But it would doubtless be far more powerful in meeting violence, corruption, inequalities and the like. It shall be instrumental in humanising the present machinery and structure and in recasting it.

The role of *Satyagraha* in free India cannot, therefore, be too much emphasized. It offers a limitless scope of service among the masses and for tackling the fundamental problems of humanity. The whole is an uncharted sea. As the first pioneer in the field, Gandhiji has provided us with a rudder and compass in the form of inspiration "for incessant activity and ceaseless search within. More navigators will follow and man march on splendid towards his cherished goal of becoming a better and greater man. With all humility, one can only pray with Gandhiji :

"Would that India, which through her Congress has subscribed to the policy of non-violence, will adhere to it and demonstrate to a world groaning under the curse of the sword that the spirit does triumph over the sword in national affairs as it has ever been shown to have triumphed, in individual affairs."

THE SAGA OF THE POTATO

By K. R. N. SWAMY

FROM the plunder of Peru came the first potato. But no priest or pirate of the Spanish Conquest ever guessed that the tuber he trod under foot on the upland Peruvian plain would spread to every corner of the temperate zone and would be worth more than all the mines of Peru. No dream of Inca gold, not even the very temple of the Sun itself would buy one year's potato crop today—amounting to over 250 million tons. A decade ago, the world output of potatoes was twice as much as wheat and thrice as much as rice.

We owe the first mention of the potato to Pedro de Cisza de Leon who in 1533 the year after the Conquest settled at Caragena crossed the steaming isthmus of Panama and scrambled up the face of the Andes. There he discovered the mother of all potato chips, which instead of being cooked by heat, was cured by frost and then dried. This Chunu, as it was called and still is, the staple food of those Red Indians, who live above the zone where corn can be grown. Vast quantities of Chunu were stored for the Red Indian Army, for tribute to the Great Inca and against famine. Potato cultivation was greatly developed. Animal manure was brought from the coastal strips, an elaborate irrigation system was maintained, and many different varieties were grown.

For years after the Conquest, a motley mixture of priests, pirates and soldiers travelled homeward across the blood-soaked isthmus. Forty thousand couriers of Inca loot, perished there. On one of those trips, probably between 1580 and 1585, some one carried the first potato to Europe. From Spain it was to Italy, and by 1588 it was in the hands of Charles I'Ecuse, keeper of the botanical garden of Vienna. Neither Sir Walter Raleigh nor Sir Francis Drake brought the potato from Virginia to Ireland, for it did not grow in Virginia in their time. The Raleigh legend is pure myth, but the Romantic Irish have always clung to it fondly. The Germans insist that Drake is their man and today his statue stands in Offenberg, with an inscription reading :

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

The Introducer of the Potato in the year of Our Lord 1580

The Raleigh and Drake canards, still widely current were based partly upon the groundnut and partly upon the sweet potato.

The potato like all new foods, was slow to overcome the prejudice of the people, in spite of the most exalted attention. Scientists not only wrote it up, but improved it. Marie Antoinette wore its blossoms in her hair. Scotch divines thundered against it, because it was not mentioned in the Bible and as such was the Forbidden Fruit, they said, that caused Adam's Fall.

English apprentices save for once in a week, had it banned from their diet. Frederick the Great planted potatoes in the Instgarten and his grandson threatened to cut off the noses of all who would not plant them. There was even a potato war in Germany. The first potato breeder of note, Antoine August Parmentier, mixed a bit of propaganda with his science by giving a potato dinner at Paris to which Lavoisier and Benjamin Franklin were invited. The whole menu consisted of potatoes cooked in various ways.

Through all this fanfare, the potato gradually came into its own, because poor people of northern Europe found that if there was not much else to eat, potatoes would keep body and soul together. And nowhere was poverty so bitter and potato so welcome as in Ireland. The Irish lavished pet names upon the lowly tuber. Priests and altar boys marched up and down their field drenching the crop with holy water. They little dreamed that failure of the crop would oneday decimate their country.

In India the pioneer work in the introduction of this crop was done by the English people. According to Dr. Ainslie, as reported by Du hie, "The potato came to India originally from the Cape of Good Hope." The cultivation on the hills of Dehra Dun was started by Major Young, when Mussoorie was indicated on maps under the name of potato garden. The quality was afterwards improved by Captain Townend and by about 1839 potato cultivation became generally in the plains and on the Hills. The botanist Johnson mentions that "at the horticulture show in Calcutta during 1842, I saw potato exhibited, which would not have shamed potato growers of Lancashire, if mistaken for their produce. These were grown in the immediate vicinity of the City, and in the hills of Chirra Pangie (Cherra Punje?), though not far off the potatoes are grown finer still. They were an object of cultivation there during the Governor-Generalship of Warren Hastings (1772-1785) and alluding to that period one writer says, "Three score years ago, a basket of potatoes, weighing about a dozen pounds was occasionally sent, as the opportunity offered, by Warren Hastings to the Governor of Bombay and was considered an acceptable present.

"On receipt of the basket, the members of the Council were invited for dinner at the Government House to 'partake of the rare vegetable'."

The potato (Latin name Salanum Tuberosum) is called by various Indian names, such as Alu, Bilaiti, Batata, Urulai, Kilangu, Urulagudda and is cultivated more or less in all parts of India. A century ago, it was comparatively unknown in India, but today it is probably the most extensively grown of all vegetables.

This is due in part to its mild flavour, which lends itself readily to combination with other foods. In the beginning, when potato was introduced the orthodox Brahmins objected to its use, just like their Scotch counterparts, due to its not being mentioned in the Holy Scriptures. But the prejudice against it gradually vanished and now it is used by all classes. In fact, on fast days, the Hindus in some parts consume it in large quantities as it is one of the root crops, which are included in the list of articles to be eaten during a fast.

In India, potatoes are mainly used for table purposes and not put to industrial use, e.g., in the production of starch. The annual net supply a decade ago, amounted to 53 million maunds and constituted less than 1 per cent of world supply. Of this production, 17 per cent was set aside for seed, 2 per cent exported to foreign countries, and the remaining 82.8 per cent was allotted for human consumption. Of this quantity, 10 per cent is estimated to be lost in storage and handling. Thus the actual quantity consumed amounts to 33 million maunds. On the average, the total production per capita was 8.6 pounds for the whole of India. The per capita consumption is highest in Uttar Pradesh (28 lbs per annum) followed by Bihar with 16 pounds per annum.

As regards food value, potato contains nearly 80 per cent water in its uncooked state. Most of the remainder consists of about 2 per cent protein and 18 per cent starch. The potato is one of the cheapest and most common sources of carbohydrate food. The food value of the potato is much less than that of wheat and rice. Potato gives 36 calories per oz, as compared with 102 for wheat and 114 per oz. of parboiled rice.

At present there is no demand in India for potatoes for industrial purposes or for any other use as cattle feeding, etc. In countries, where potatoes are largely used for industrial purposes, heavy yielding varieties with high starch content are specially grown, usually under contract with a factory. The factory is thus assured of a fairly long working season and an ample supply of cheap raw materials specially suited for the production of farina, alcohol, glucose, dextrin, etc.

Farina is used for laundry purposes and sizing in yarn in the textile industry and in the preparation of puddings, pastry, confectionary, custard powders, pie fillings and ice cream.

Alcohol manufacture is very extensively carried out in Germany. Approximately one ton of potato yields twenty gallons of 95 per cent alcohol. Apart from alcohol manufacture, the process is important on account of its offering a distillate residue, rich in nitrogen, potash, and phosphorus, which forms a good

ration for live stock. So far as is known potatoes are not used for this purpose in India.

With low yields per acre and correspondingly high cost of production, there does not appear to be much scope in India at present for manufacture of farina, alcohol, dextrin, glucose, etc., from potatoes. Rice contains 78 per cent starch from which 90 per cent can be extracted, whereas potato contains a maximum of 25 per cent starch of which only 65 per cent can be extracted. Therefore the price of potato, in order to be used for the above-mentioned purposes should be about one fourth that of low quality broken rice.

In India potatoes are grown in about seven and half lakhs of acres. Climate is an important factor in potato production and growing season varies from 60 to 75 degree fahrenheit.

The main areas of production are concentrated in the North. Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Bengal, and Assam account for more than 80 per cent of the acreage. I. e. Bombay the main area of production of potatoes is in the neighbourhood of Poona. Elsewhere in the South, the production of potatoes is mainly confined to the Nilgiri Hills and to a smaller extent to the plateau of Mysore, mostly around Bangalore.

The average yield is about hundred maunds per acre, but the record yield of 743 maunds per acre was obtained in 1953, enabling the particular cultivator to earn the title of *Krishi Pandit* for the year. In Germany the average yield of potato per acre is nearly twice that of India.

Generally two crops—one in winter and the other in monsoon—are raised in the plains and sub-montane tracts. The winter crop is by far the most important and represents 95 per cent of the total area in the plains. In the hills situated in the north of the country, only a summer crop is usually raised on account of the severity of the winter. In the Nilgiri Hills in the South, however, where the winter is mild, two or three crops are raised in the same year. In fact, the clearing of forests for potato cultivation has caused lot of soil erosion in Nilgiri Hills and in the words of an eminent Indian, the famous Ootacamund Hill Station may have to be renamed as Pota'omund. On the whole about 87 per cent of the total acreage in the hills is planted in summer and 13 per cent in winter.

Potatoes being a perishable commodity, high losses occur during storage and marketing. It is estimated that the value of potatoes rendered unfit for use in this manner exceeds two crores of rupees per annum. The solution apparently lies in improving existing methods of storage and in opening more cold storage depots as has already been done at some centres with commercial success.

Book Reviews

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

INDIAN INHERITANCE, Vol. I: *Literature, Philosophy and Religion*. Bharatiya Vidya Bhawan, Bombay. 1955. Pp. xiv + 288. Price Re. 1-4.

This is the first volume of a work which, as the chief general editor Sri K. M. Munshi says in his interesting Foreword, has been planned to provide for the immediate benefit of the university students in Uttar Pradesh, a cheaply priced publication dealing with different aspects of the Indian inheritance as interpreted by leading modern writers. A second volume dealing with history, culture and social development is promised in the back book-cover.

In the short space at our disposal it is possible to notice only the outstanding papers which have been selected for inclusion in this volume. In the section on literature the most profound contribution is that of Sri Aurobindo on *Valmiki, Vyasa and Kalidasa* from which we make no apology for quoting a few extracts. Their poems, we read, are "types of three periods in the development of the human soul," "types also of the three great powers which clash in the imperfect temperament" and at the same time are "pictures of three modes of our Aryan civilization, namely, the predominantly moral, intellectual and material" (p. 111). Valmiki "gives us the picture of an entirely moralised civilization" with "the immense material and intellectual development subordinated to the needs of purity of temperament and ideality of action" (p. 114), Vyasa is "the son of a civilization in which both morality and material development are powerfully intellectualised" (p. 116), Kalidasa lived in "the great age of formalised metaphysics, science, law, art and the sensuous luxury which accompanies the arts". . . . "Kalidasa stands for its representative man and genius, as was Vyasa of the intellectual mood of Indian civilization and Valmiki of its moral side" (pp. 117, 124). Next to the above may be mentioned the brilliant essay of Rabindranath Tagore on *Shakuntala* which is of course well-known to us in its original Bengali version. Justifying the famous eulogy of Goethe the writer says that "the motif of the play is the progress from the earlier union of the First Act, with its earthly, unstable beauty and romance, to the higher union in the heavenly hermitage of eternal bliss described in the Last Act" (p. 133). "This drama," we are further told (p. 135), "stands alone and unrivalled in all literature, because it depicts how restraint can be harmonised with freedom. All its joys and sorrows, unions and partings, proceed from the conflict of these two forces." In the section on philosophy Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (*Indian and Ionian Philosophy*) discusses with remarkable

clarity of thought and expression the old problem of the mutual influence of Ancient Greek and Indian philosophy and he concludes (p. 172) in the following noble strain: "Knowledge is above all limitations and boundaries. Whatever be the region of the globe where it first emerged, it is the common heritage of all mankind. All human beings, regardless of country or nation, can lay claim to it with equal right." This is followed by a thoughtful essay in which the writer, Sri C. Rajagopalachari, contends with considerable force that the Vedanta not only anticipates modern science in respect of its conception of God-head and the universe as well as its methodology but also that the code of conduct and spiritual values founded on its basis fully anticipated the socio-economic problems of modern civilization (pp. 174-75). The writer concludes with his explanation of the principal teaching of the Upanishads relating to man's happiness and the means of achieving the same. Then comes Dr. S. Radhakrishnan's paper on the Bhagavad-gita written in his usual brilliant style of exposition. "The Gita," he says, (p. 186) "stands midway between a philosophical system and a poetic inspiration. We do not have here the illimitable suggestiveness of the Upanishads, since it is a deliberately intellectual solution of the problem of life." The Gita, we are further told (p. 193), "attempts to derive a religion from the Upanishad philosophy The Absolute of the Upanishads is revealed as the fulfilment of the reflective and the emotional demands of human nature." The fourth paper, that of Sister Nivedita on *The Web of Life*, traces a wonderfully wide sweep the great development of Indian religious and philosophical thought as represented by the successive landmarks, namely, the Vedas, Buddhism, Sankaracharya, the impact of Islam and Ramakrishna Paramahansa. The writer concludes (p. 207) by indicating the rôle of India as "one of the focal or polar points of the human race" and she presages a future Asia as "a single immense organism filled with the tide of one strong pulsating life from end to end, firm-rooted in the soil of common origins and common modes." The third and the last section contains two important papers, one on Sankaracharya by Sri C. P. Rama-swami Aiyar and the other on Tulsidas by the late Mr. F. S. Growse.

We cannot conclude without expressing our deep regret that no room could be found in this work for any of the great Buddhist masters of literature like Asvaghosha and Aryasura and of philosophy like Santideva and Vasubandhu. In this connection it is well to remember that the *Bodhicharyavatara* of Santideva has been compared with the *Imitation of Christ* by Thomas a Kempis.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF HUMAYUN: By Dr. Ishwari Prasad, M.A., LL.B., D.Litt., M.L.C.; formerly Professor of History and Political Science, Allahabad University. Published by Orient Longmans Ltd. Pp. 422 + iv. Price Rs. 20.

This is a singular piece of research. It includes what it should have left out and tends to omit what it should have included. Thus it happens that in a professedly research volume on Humayun, one reads, curiously enough, more about Sher Shah, the organization of the Sur empire and its expansion, the successors of Sher Shah, the career of Bahadur Shah of Gujrat and Mirza Kamran. On the other hand, it leaves out of treatment a very interesting aspect of Humayun, viz., his skill as a poet; it fails to trace the genesis of his rivalry with his brother Kamran and its interaction on their respective fortunes. Similarly, it ignores entirely the dramatic episode of the Ottoman interference in the waters of the Arabian Sea and their landing on the Western Coast of India, in 1538 A.D. Humayun's interest in astronomy, his love of books and the traits of character which should form a separate chapter are discussed summarily in the concluding chapter and thus assigned a secondary place. The learned professor has omitted from the list of printed works, the name of Dr. S. K. Banerji's *Humayun Badshah*, M. S. Commissariat's *History of Gujrat*. Bain; Prasad's English translation of *Qanuni-i-Humayuni* N. B. Roy's *The Successors of Sher Shah* and Dr. Sukumar Sen's *Humayun in Persia*. Yet he lustily claims that his work will "furnish much information to the advanced student, who can, with their help, pursue his researches further."

The other interesting feature of the book is that it does not advance our knowledge beyond what was already known. There is no doubt, tiresome narration of detail on Humayun's battles with Bahadur Shah, Sher Shah and Mirza Kamran, but the account is unrelieved by any masterly exposition of policy or strategy and survey of facts. The reader searches in vain for a felicitous remark like that with which Mr. N. B. Roy opens the account of Kamran's career in the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly*, Summer, 1955, or a sprightly observation like that made by Mr. Commissariat, on page 350 of the *History of Gujrat*. Referring to the contributory causes of Bahadur's defeat at Mandasor, 1535, Mr. Commissariat refers to Rumi Khan's ascendancy in the councils of the Sultan and says, "As with Sir John Burgoyne before Sevastopol the voice of the engineer prevailed over the bolder counsels of the cavalry leaders."

Nor would the learned professor state the ground for his views on moot points. Take, for instance, the battle of Chausa. Here S. K. Banerji following on the steps of Dr. Qanungo, showed that Humayun's and Sher's encampment were separated by a small stream, the former lying east and the latter west of the rivulet. Mr. N. B. Roy challenged this view in the *History of Bengal*, published by the Darca University on the authority of Abul Fazl and Jaunbar. Abul Fazl clearly states that the army made a bridge over the river and crossed it and when Sher fell upon the camp from the rear, Humayun rode to the bridge and found it broken. Moreover, if Sher Khan was strong enough to intercept the emperor's march by standing across his path, what need was there for recourse to subterfuges and a most perfidious attack in solemn violation of a treaty? Dr. Qanungo arbitrarily read the word *Mashriq* for *Maghrib* and

started this curious misapprehension. Dr. Prasad is content to asseverate the old view without stating the reasons.

Similarly, in his account of the battle of Kanauj, the author shows the disposition of the military commanders in a way different from that of S. K. Banerji. It is no doubt more reasonable, but he would not cite the authorities in support.

Thirdly, the author's bibliography, valuable though it is, is remarkably out of date. He acknowledges the work to have been handed to the publishers in 1944, but since that period there has been considerable research which has not been taken note of. Take for instance, the fragment of the *Tawarikh-i-Daulat-i-Sher Shahi*, published in the *Medieval India Quarterly*, Aligarh and its English translation by Mr. N. B. Roy in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, Calcutta. Special mention must be made of Mr. Roy's paper, the *Makhzan-i-Afghani and the Tararikh-i-Majlis Arai* and their relative value as sources of history, *J.A.S.*, Calcutta, 1955 and the other paper *Some Interesting Anecdotes of Sher Shah from the MS. of Iazkirat-ul-Muluk*, ibid. 1954. Again Dr. Prasad's estimate as to the value of the *Waqiat-i-Muchtaqi* requires amendment. The reviewer was present in a meeting of the Asiatic Society, when Mr. N. B. Roy explained to the members the very great importance of this MS. as a source of Afghan history and pointed out that Sir Henry Elliot's view, re-echoed by Dr. Prasad was misleading. The fact is neither Sir Henry nor the present author had carefully studied the MS.

Dr. Ishwari Prasad was deemed to be a veteran in the field of historical research, but the present performance, judged by any standard, will demolish all his pretensions to that title. for the treatment of the subject, presentation as well as literary style, would hardly rank it above the level of an ordinary post-graduate dissertation.

SAHIB

SEX, SOCIETY AND THE INDIVIDUAL: Edited by A. P. Pillay, Bombay, and Albert Ellis, New York. Published by the International Journal of Sexology, Whiteaway Building, Bombay-1. 1953. Price not stated.

The book is a collection of 45 papers selected out of those contributed to the journals *Marianne Hygiene* and *The International Journal of Sexology* both edited by Dr. A. P. Pillay, O.B.E., M.B.B.S. the renowned Indian Sexologist. The list of contributors represents all the States of Europe, as also Australia, South Africa, Mexico, Japan, Siam and other places and includes such internationally famous names as R. L. Dickinson, Rene Guyon, E. Bergler, J. Lowenstein, A. Ellis, J. L. Gillin, A. M. Ludovic, A. Craig, C. Allen to mention only a few of them.

The articles deal authoritatively with various aspects of the sex problems from the individual as also from the social points of view. Both the physiological and the psychological aspects of the problems have been treated. More emphasis, however, has been placed on the former than on the latter. The section containing papers on 'Sex Offences and Sex Offenders' (Sec. III) should be read by all parents as also by the guardians of law, for sex crimes are on the increase and consequently a need has definitely developed to

devise ways and means of checking them. A revealing study has recently been made of sexual delinquency by Dr. N. Mukhiji, Ph.D., on the basis of the materials collected by him from the Anti-rowdy section of the Calcutta Police. 'Sex in Literature' (Sec. IV) is a highly interesting section which would be read with pleasure by literary men and the section on Sex Deviations (Sec. V) will help students revise their views about some specific problems of deviation, e.g. Lesbianism. Masochism.

Many original studies and suggestions are found in the sections discussing 'Sex Disorders and Problems' (Sec. I) and the orgasm problem (Sec. II). The 'Dynamics of Sexual Motivation' by C. L. Lastrucci is instructive and informative. The trends of modern 'Researches on Sex' have been indicated in the last section of the book (Sec. VI).

The volume has a high academic value and deserves to be prescribed as a reference book by all institutions imparting scientific education on sex matters. The reviewer would have liked to see a few more articles included on the question of treatment. A section dealing with the methods of treatment and cure would have added much to the value of the book for the professional social workers. It is essential for them to have a thorough scientifically oriented training in sex matters because these matters are ultimately responsible for many of the prevalent ills of every civilised society.

S. C. MITRA

1. BRAHMA VIDYA VILAS: Pp. 421. Price Rs. 4-8.

2. HOW TO CULTIVATE VIRTUES AND ERADICATE VICES: Pp. 573. Price Rs. 6.

3. DIVINE STORIES: Pp. 102. Price Re. 1-8.

All the three books are written by Swami Sivananda and published by the Yoga-Vedanta Forest University, P.O. Sivanandanagar, Rishikesh, Himalayas.

The prolific author of these books is a very pious monk of our times. In the first book he deals with Brahma Vidya, defined by him as the science of sciences that enables man to know the very source of knowledge itself. This abstruse subject is treated here in the form of several delightful plays. About the mode of his treatment Sri C. Rajagopalachari as the Governor-General of India wrote to the author: "It gave me great pleasure to see your book. Gold beaten into all sorts of shapes gives joy. So have you beaten the Upanishads into new and artistic shapes! I am amazed at your energy." Brahma Vidya described in the Upanishads is the most precious heritage of our land and should be broadcasted by modern methods in this age. It is quite fit that *Aatma Vidya Vilas* of the distinguished Vedantist Sadashiva Brahmindra with Sanskrit text in Devanagari script followed by simple English rendering is announced.

The second book is divided into four parts and devoted respectively to eradication of vices, Brahma-charita and practical instructions. As many as 234 short chapters are written on the cultivation of virtues and eradication of vices. It will be very useful to the spiritual aspirants at every step. Repetition of thoughts and looseness of language however have marred the seriousness of the subject.

The third book contains 34 short stories of Nachiketa, Raja Gopichand and others. The stories

are culled from the Sanskrit scriptures as well as modern literature and meant for the rising generation.

It is regretted that the get-up, paper and printing of all the three books are far from satisfactory, and even much below the general standard.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

FIVE ONE-ACT PLAYS: By Govind Das. Translated by Prof. Rajendra Verma, M.A. Introduction by Dr. Verrier Elwin, D.Sc. (Oxon). Progressive Publishers, 14-D, Feroz Shah Road, New Delhi. Price Rs. 4-8.

Seth Govind Das, one of the most devoted disciples of Mahatma Gandhi, spent many years in jail. During those years he wrote as many as eighty-four plays in Hindi. Here are five of them—all One-Act Plays—rendered into English. Nazrana presents before us the anachronism of the old landlord system in the modern context. *Endurance* and *Rivalry* deals with the position of women in society. *Id* and *Holi* reveals the foolishness of communalism and *The King and the Beggar-maid* holds before us the ideal of sacrifice through a mythological story. The author is one of the best writers in modern Hindi. The translator has fairly succeeded in retaining the spirit of the original.

D. N. MOOKHERJEA

SANSKRIT

NYAYAKUSUMANJALI, Part I: Edited by Narendrachandra Vedantatirtha, M.A., (Bagchi Bhattacharya Sankhyatirtha Mimamsatirtha Tatwratna Sastri), Lecturer in Sanskrit, Calcutta University. The Asutosh Sanskrit Series, No. IV. University of Calcutta. Price Rs. 3.

The *Nyayakusumanjali* is a highly esteemed and very important work of the famous savant Udayanacharya who wrote in the tenth century. It seeks to prove the existence of God through logical discussion in accordance with the Nyaya system of Philosophy. In consideration of the importance of the work and its extreme terseness numerous scholars wrote commentaries on it from time to time. Some of them have been published while a good number still await to be studied and brought to light in critical and scientific editions. New attempts in this direction are always welcome. Hence, scholars will be gratified to have the first instalment of two commentaries published in the decent volume under review. It contains portions of the commentaries of two writers of the 15th and 16th centuries covering the first chapter of the work. The commentary of Sankara is published on the basis of a single manuscript while that of Gunananda on two. The readings of the manuscripts were found to be faulty in some cases and the learned editor has suggested emendations which generally appear to be clearly demanded by the context. It is noticed that occasionally the readings of the text as adopted by one commentary differ from those of the other. There are also cases where the two commentaries agree in accepting readings which differ from those generally current and retained rather unusually in the text portion printed in the volume (p. 46). We hope the second part of the work will soon follow containing the remaining portions of the text and commentaries accompanied, among other things, by an account of the characteristic features of the commentaries published by the learned editor, two in the present volume and one in a previous volume of the same series (No. II).

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

HAR DAM AG: By Krishna Nandan Sinha. Ajanta Press Ltd., Patna. Pp. 240. Price Rs. 2-8.

TUTE HUE DIL: By Ramapratap Bahadur. Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 151. Price Rs. 2-4.

PUKHARAJ: By Harishchandra Kaila. Vidya Mandir Ltd., New Delhi. Pp. 148. Price Rs. 3-4.

These are all collections of short stories, but each a "portent" and with a pattern of its own. In *Har Dam Ag*, stories have been fitted into the framework of socialist ideology, but with an ease and attitude which do not detract from the emotional and mental intensity of human interest. In some stories, the author has attempted the news-reel and camera-eye technique, which opened up a new avenue of endeavour for our writers of short stories. Shri Sinha is a rebel whose heart is afire with a vision of building up a new society, conditioned though the latter might be by the inevitability of pulling down many a pillar of the present-day social structure. *Tute Hue Dil* is now in the third edition, a proof of its popularity. And why not? For, its dozen stories are a prism which reflects our many-streaked society, particularly the red and the black of the "have's" and the "haven't's," and of the "heart-lit" and the "heartless." The author's pen is like a quickly-recording Kodak. *Pukharaj* is its author's first bow on the stage of short-story writing. And he has to be congratulated on his having acquitted himself so well. His effortlessness and self-unconsciousness are a testimony to his art.

G. M.

GUJARATI

ANTE E PARNI (She Married At Last): By Dr. B. J. Jhaveri, M.A., Ph.D. and H. S. Majumdar, B.Com. Published by N. M. Tripathi and Co., Bombay-2. 1951. Illustrated jacket. Thick card-board. Pp. 300. Price Rs. 3-8.

This is a translation of the well-known Marathi scholar and drama-writer, Mawa Warkerkar's novel, (*Squaring the Accounts*) *Tond Milavni*. It depicts the life-story of girls and boys of the Kalavant community of Goa. It is a well-known fact that on account of their beauty, grace, and ready wit, with love of dancing and singing, the girls become mistresses of the wealthy men of Bombay and the boys musicians; some of the women are attached to temples where they dance and sing before the deity. This community, low in morals, as it is, is looking up and fired by a desire to lead decent lives are getting themselves educated; and instances are not few wanting where mistresses have married their Satis (masters or keepers). Mawa Warkerkar's choice of his book's title is significant. The Kalavant community is squaring up its accounts with society by regularising their relations with those who desire to associate with them. Champa, Saryu, Sharda, the heroines of this interesting story, represent each in her own life, the attractive facets of a gem, which the translators have done well in passing on to the Gujarati literature. Their further object, a laudable one, is to bring Marathi and Gujarati literatures as close as possible as they are neighbours, physically, geographically, and linguistically.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS

Report of the States Reorganization Commission

Science and Culture writes editorially :

THE long awaited Commission has after all been placed before the public and has been a subject matter of intense and passionate discussion in all parts of the country.

We give below a dispassionate review of the report on account of its importance to the country's future.

What has struck the foreigner most after Independence is the great political stability of India as shown by the absence of large scale riots conflicts or violence and the peaceful working for ten years of a system of government established by the people. It was held by many *pundits* amongst foreigners that the British bayonet was the only stabilizing force in India and once it was withdrawn the people and races of India would fly at each other's throats. The Central Government would collapse and the British or some other western power will have to step in to restore law and order in this country. This was one of the stock arguments used by the Conservatives of England and reactionaries of other countries against the Independence of India. The fact that the first ten years after Independence have been tranquil has been a matter of chagrin and disappointment to this class. So diehard papers both in England and America in their disappointment are in the habit of magnifying the exploits of dacoits or small local disturbances to major conflicts. But such propaganda deceives nobody.

WHAT IS THIS POLITICAL STABILITY DUE TO?

There are a variety of causes for this extraordinary political stability. First and foremost is the good sense of the people who have taken to heart the lesson of history that a disunited India can fall an easy victim to external aggression leading to soul-killing foreign domination as happened after 1200 A.D. and again after 1757 A.D. and nobody wants it. The second factor is that the late British rulers have left a system of centralised Government which has been strengthened by a democratic constitution deliberately aiming at the abolition of some powerful barriers to stability, viz., untouchability, and religious considerations in politics. It provides for development of the country directed from the centre.

BUT IS THE STABILITY REAL, OR ONLY APPARENT?

But it should not deceive anybody that fissiparous tendencies have not altogether disappeared and if they are not dealt with firmly they may someday wreck the 'Unity'. Let us see what are these fissiparous tendencies? What are the major dangers to the State? Our first query is:

IS INDIA A NATION IN THE SENSE FRANCE OR ITALY IS A NATION?

It is obvious to everybody that India is not a Nation in the sense France or Italy is. The major requisites for nation-formation are "Commonality" of Race, Language and Culture, Religion, Geographical

Contiguity of Parts and Economic Unity". These are fulfilled in France and Italy and they are perfect nations. Whenever a politically united area lacks one or more of these features, it falls short of being a perfect nation. Thus the U.S.A., though politically one nation has a race problem, Switzerland has a language problem, Spanish South America has a geographical problem etc., and hence these countries are not nations in the same sense as France or Italy is. Soviet is also not a Nation in the sense France or Italy is.

In India, after the separation of Pakistan we have no other barrier to 'Nation-formation' than that of 'Language.' We need not consider 'Culture,' for it is almost the same all over the country in spite of differences in language, and the British period has strengthened the unity of culture. The race problem persists in a fossilized state in that of castes, scheduled castes and Jungle tribes but this is taken care of by the Constitution. If the Constitution is honestly worked, the problem will disappear in good time. The religious problem is neutralized by the provision in the Constitution that India is to be a 'Secular' State. The separation of Pakistan renders it very probable that the religious problem will disappear altogether. Geographical unity is there and there is a sense of historic unity which is one of the main factors in 'Nation-formation.' The only dividing factor is 'Language' of which 14 are recognised to be fully developed with a number of dialects, and many ill-developed Adibashi languages. How to deal with this factor?

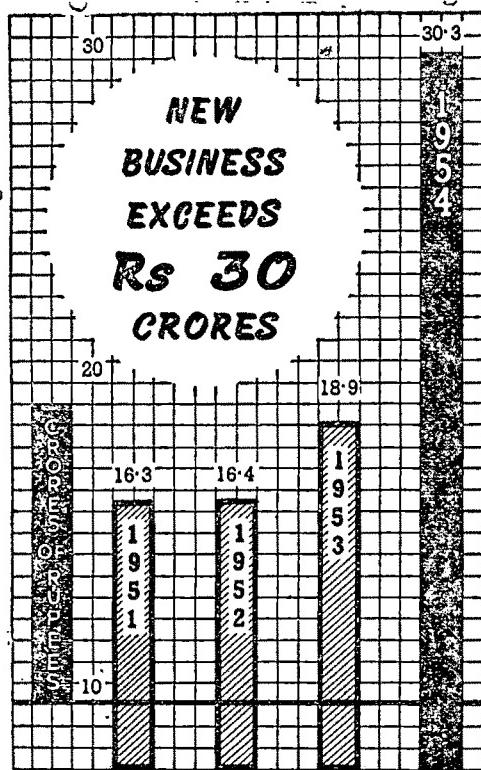
The 'Language-factor' cannot be ignored, as past history has shown. So India has to be a 'Multi-lingual Nation.' The Constitution has provided for it, but has recommended that Hindi has to be developed as a Central language to replace English, and for the purpose of maintaining unity. The constitution has not ignored the role of the different languages of India as a factor of social progress, but it has not laid down any clause to deal with the fissiparous tendencies due to the existence of so many languages. Is it possible to form a single nation keeping intact the claims of different languages?

The nearest case is that of Soviet Russia and Yugoslavia mentioned later which had shown that it is possible to form a stable 'Multi-lingual Nation' provided the country adopts socialism as its guiding policy, and ensures to every linguistic group its language and culture against the aggression of other groups. For this, it is necessary to organise administrative units solely on the basis of language. But has that been done in India?

HISTORY OF PROVINCE FORMATION

To start with the provinces had been left very much as the British left them. But it has been recognised that they ought to be reorganised on rational basis. What are these rational basis? For a long time, the only basis recognised was 'linguistic' and none else.

The powers that have governed or are governing India have been conscious of the language factor. We take only two pronouncements.

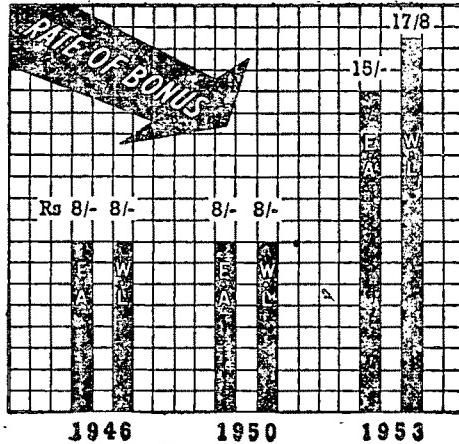


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The experience of the British administrators is expressed in the following words of the Indian Statutory Commission (1915).

"If those who speak the same language form a compact and self-contained area, so situated and endowed as to be able to support its existence as a separate province there is no doubt that the use of a common speech is a strong and natural basis for provincial individuality. But it is not the only test—race, religion, economic interest, geographical contiguity, a due balance between country and town and between coast line and interior, may all be relevant factors. Most important of all perhaps, for practical purposes is the largest possible measure of general agreement on the changes proposed, both on the side of the area that is gaining and on the side of the area that is losing territorially."

So the British rulers recognized language as the main factor in province formation provided there is the largest possible measure of general agreement amongst the parties concerned.

The Nationalistic Movement in India largely rose against the partition of Bengal effected in 1907, which sought to split the Bengali-speaking people on the basis of religion, with Assam thrown into the balance for the advantage of one religious community. The whole of nationalist India backed up Bengal in its protest against the linguistic vivisection.

At the 1920 session at Nagpur, the Congress "accepted the linguistic redistribution of provinces as a clear political objective and in the following year the principle was adopted for the purposes of its own organization."

The (Matilal) Nehru Committee of the All Parties Conference, 1928 gave a powerful support to the linguistic principle in the formation of provinces in the following words :

If a province has to educate itself and do its daily work through the medium of its own language, it must necessarily be a linguistic area. If it happens to be a polyglot area difficulties will continually arise and the media of instruction and work will be two or even more languages. Hence it becomes most desirable for provinces to be re-grouped on a linguistic basis. Language as a rule corresponds with a special variety of culture, of traditions and literature. In a linguistic area all these factors will help in the general progress of the province."

At its Calcutta session held in October, 1937, the Congress reiterated its policy regarding linguistic provinces and recommended the formation of the Andhra and Karnataka provinces.

By a resolution passed at Wardha in July, 1938, the Working Committee gave an assurance to the deputations from Andhra, Karnataka and Kerala that linguistic redistribution of the provinces would be undertaken as soon as the Congress had the power to do so; and

in its election manifesto of 1945-46, it repeated the view that administrative units should be constituted as far as possible on a linguistic and cultural basis.

So the Congress, as long as it was fighting for independence, recognised language to be the sole basis of 'province reorganisation.'

AFTER ASSUMPTION OF POWER

But "back sliding" from the linguistic principle started after the Congress came face to face with the problem after 1948. The Dar Commission of the Constituent Assembly appointed to look into the affair started talking in an altogether different tune as given by the following resolutions it adopted as the basis for province formation :

(i) Geographical contiguity and absence of pockets and corridors;

(ii) financial self-sufficiency;

(iii) administrative convenience;

(iv) capacity for future development; and

(v) a large measure of agreement within its borders and amongst the people speaking the same language in regard to its formation, care being taken that the new province should not be forced by a majority upon a substantial minority of people speaking the same language.

The homogeneity of language should enter into consideration only as a matter of administrative convenience.

The linguistic principle was thus demoted from the first to the last position.

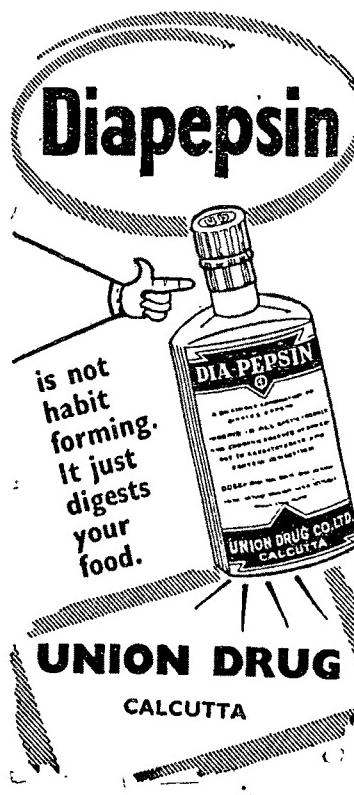
This was endorsed by the JVP Committee (Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, Pattavi Sitaramayya) which went a step further not only in whittling down, but mildly denouncing the linguistic principle in these words :

(a) When the Congress had given the seal of its approval to the general principle of linguistic provinces it was not faced with the practical application of the principle and hence it had not considered all the implications and consequences that rose from this practical application ;

(b) the primary consideration must be the security, unity and economic prosperity of India and every separatist and disruptive tendency should be rigorously discouraged ;

(c) language was not only a binding force but also a separating one; and

(d) the old Congress policy of having linguistic provinces could only be applied after careful thought had been given to each separate case and without



creating serious administrative dislocation or mutual conflicts which would jeopardise the political and economic stability of the country.

These principles were laid down before the Constitution was framed, and passed into law. They have not been submitted to the verdict of the people.

THE FKP-COMMITTEE

Now comes the FKP (Fazl Ali, Hridaynath Kunzru and Panikkar) Committee, appointed *very reluctantly* by the present government after the protest to death of the Andhra patriot, Pantulu Sitaramulu and *forced formation of the Andhra State*, entirely on the linguistic principle.

One linguistic group at least showed that it did not like the JVP Committee's recommendation, but wanted its own province on the linguistic principle.

The FKP-Committee enumerates the following principles, for its guidance, for no terms of reference proper except some vague directions were given to them:

- (i) Preservation and strengthening of the unity and security of India;
- (ii) linguistic and cultural homogeneity;
- (iii) financial, economic and administrative considerations; and
- (iv) successful working of the national plan.

They have given a chapter to each under the following headings:

- Cap. II Unity and security of India.
- III Language and Culture.
- IV Financial Viability.

V & VI Requirements of National Development Plans, Regional Planning.

A perusal of these chapters show that the FKP-Committee has allowed itself to be guided *entirely* by the deliberations of the Dar Commission and the JVP-Committee, and have been unable to give due attention to the working of the constitution since 1948, and failed to derive any lesson from it.

Thus in arguing about the unity and security of India, it lays down the principle that linguistic or provincial fanaticism has to be discouraged.

We agree to this principle, but have not recent and ancient history shown that the chances of worsening of "linguistic or provincial fanaticism" are rather enhanced than diminished by keeping *unwilling* linguistic units together, or recommending 'minorities' to continue under 'majorities' who have already shown in the clearest terms of their intention to suppress the language and culture of these minorities? Again, it is fantastic to suppose for the sake of security, a border State need be large or resourceful than small or less resilient; for defence is entirely a Union affair, and loyalty of the border people is more to be prized than the unwelcome herding together of reluctant groups in a forced union.

The FKP Committee's arguments about economics and national development show that they have hardly taken the trouble of acquainting themselves with these important topics, for according to the Constitution, these are almost completely Central matters.

The FKP-Committee has failed to realise that if the second Five-Year Plan works properly industrial and economic development will be almost completely managed by the Centre, and the States will have to deal only with policing, health, social services, education and land management as in the U.S.A. or U.S.S.R. Communication which includes railways and roads is completely under the Centre, and considering their importance to security and safety, it will be very unwise to entrust the provinces with the administration of national highways such as the grand trunk road, and

others which will be built up. Their arguments about financial viability (capacity of States to live, exist, or develop) and national development are therefore completely worthless.

THE MULTI-LINGUAL STATE IN U.S.S.R.

The FKP-Committee has conceded:

"Only in the U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia has an effort been made to organise units on a linguistic basis. Though the units constituting the U.S.S.R. are organised generally on this basis, there are in operation adequate constitutional, extra-constitutional and ideological correctives, which could be applied in case any regional loyalties challenge the loyalty to the party or to the State."

It is rather a pity that the FKP-committee has not tried to show how the complete acceptance of the linguistic principle, which they concede to Soviet Russia, has worked there.

The conditions in India in 1955 are strikingly similar to those of Soviet Russia in 1922. The people everywhere are thinking in 'linguistic terms,' just as the various nations and national groups were doing in the former Czar's empire after liberation. The different linguistic groups, here in India, prize their own language as dearest to their hearts and resent imposition of any other language from outside just as in the former Czar's empire. The Bolshevik rulers of Soviet Russia yielded to this all too human passion, formed provinces according to the linguistic principle, and even conceded the formation of "linguistic islands" inside the big provinces in order to conciliate the sentiment of its minorities. Freed from anxiety on this score, they could

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devote their whole attention to the fullest economic and industrial development of all regions, and effected a miracle in production. The fact that they survived the Nazi onslaught, and the minorities fought shoulder to shoulder loyally with the majority in these days of trials, shows that security of the State has been strengthened in spite of the "linguistic concession." All this has been possible because the Soviets adopted 'socialism' as its guiding principle.

In India in spite of its solemn pledges the Congress has postponed taking decision on provincial maladjustments, except when forced, and has further complicated the issue by bringing in a number of extraneous considerations, which have produced nothing but confusion in thinking. We hold that after the announcement that the policy of the country is to be guided by the principles of Socialism alone, these extraneous principles laid down by the JVP-Committee and blindly followed by the FKP-Committee have lost their meaning.

We therefore think that linguistic aspirations of the people, and wish of the majority of the people concerned should be the sole guiding factor in province formation.

It was too much to expect that the FKP-Committee, composed as it was of persons outside the major political group, should see this point clearly. But the issues at stake are of such vital importance that the matter requires very careful reconsideration by the highest political leaders.

Shramdan Movement in India

Sheo Shankar Singh writes in *Bharat Sevak*:

The movement of Shramdan is now gaining momentum in our country and it is in the fitness of things that the Bharat Sevak Samaj has taken good part in organising, popularising and practising the same throughout the length and breadth of this country. All over India youth and elders, dwellers of cities and villages are coming forward in an effort to build up a new Bharat.

In order that this movement is maintained and even extended in an under-developed country like that of ours, every citizen must understand and appreciate the basic ideas of this *Shramdan*. The idea of Shramdan is not a new fangled idea borrowed from China or any other country of the world. Our Vedas reveal that "He eats only in sit, who eats alone." The Gita teaches us that one should perform Yajna (bodily labour) and partake of the fruit of that labor.

Unfortunately enough as a result of foreign influence on our way of life, we all forgot the very wheel

of our machine, i.e., *Shramdan* and began to consider bodily labour as an activity of a lower strata of people. The concept that dominated the ideas of the day was in the words of Pandit Nehru, "The great person is one who gets work done through another." Today a fundamental change is visible in this concept and "the great person is he, who does his work himself and does seva."

The need of the hour is not individual shramdan in one part or the other of this great country but "Mass Mobilisation" as Nandaji once indicated. Our needs are varied and innumerable, the budgetary resources at our disposal are very meagre. But the greatest of all our resources is the vast man-power. Our country in population is next only to China in this whole world. The only thing that is needed today in India is the re-awakening of vast potential power. We have to arouse a spirit and a will for work and we shall see that our most formidable task is completed within the twinkling of an eye.

Fortunately enough the significance and importance of shramdan has been fully realised by our National Leaders. The Father of the Nation had gone to the length of saying that "Unless one does bodily labour, he can neither lead a celibate life, conquer his palate nor can he be a non-hoarder. He cannot desist from stealing, because one who lives in society only for himself, also is a thief." The shramdan movement will not only bring material progress but remove the artificial gap which is existing today between a Majoor (labourer) and a *Hajoor* (Master).

Shramdan, according to Bapu, not merely brings economic gain and social justice in its train but also provides mental peace to mankind. He once remarked that if a man was in distress, the key to his happiness is labour. God did not create man to eat, drink and be merry.

This shramdan must be prompted by an inner urge for constructive social service as laid down for us by the Father of the Nation. Let us all offer shramdan with '*Raghupati Rago Raja Ram*' on our lips and with work tools in our hands. Let us work for the rebuilding of this great Bharat. Let us not be the Nation of critics and spend our greatest of all resources, i.e., human resources in idle gossip.

We have to break and shake the mountain of inertia that has surrounded us all. Let not history say that Indians could not keep pace with the civilised nations of the world due to the lack of finance and lack of organising 36 crores of people.

We have to imbibe the saying of Carlyle: "Not what I have but what I do is my kingdom." We need a change in our values.

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Why Russian Freedom is Inevitable

Allen Welsh Dulles, Director of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency since 1953, was a diplomat after World War I, a top OSS man in World War II, and CIA's Deputy Director after 1950. This analysis of the problems facing Russia's rulers was delivered by him at the commencement exercises of Columbia University :

Scientific and technical education in the Soviet Union today presents a challenge to the free world. But mass education in the Soviet Union may well become a threat to their own Communist system of government.

The Soviets have two educational goals: first, to condition the Soviet people to be proper believers in Marxism-Leninism and to do the bidding of their rulers; second, to turn out the necessary trained technicians to build the military might of the USSR.

In the field of science, the Soviets have made rapid progress and their accomplishments here should not be minimized—least of all by those of us who are directly concerned with our national security. Twenty-five years ago Soviet scientific education was riddled with naive experiments, persecution of scholars and unrealistic programs. Only a small core of older men kept alive an element of real quality on which to build. Reforms in the mid-1930's raised standards considerably, but even so, they were behind our standards when the war came.

Today that is no longer so. The Soviet education system—in the sciences and engineering—now bears close comparisons with ours both in quality of training and in numbers of persons trained to a high level. At the university graduate level, we find that the entrance examinations for scientific works, at the top institutions are about as tough as those required by our institutions. Also, we have the evidence obtained from defectors, some of them recent, who were university graduates. Although these men have come over to us because of their defestation of the Soviet system, many of them still pay tribute to the technical quality of their education and appear to look back at least on this part of their lives with some pride.

As regards Soviet scientific manpower as a whole, the quality differs greatly from the field. But generally speaking, their top men appear to be the equal of the top men in the West, though they have fewer of them, level for level. True, their biology has been warped by Soviet ideology, most conspicuously by heresies in the field of genetics, such as the doctrine that acquired characteristics are inherited. Also, their agricultural sciences have been backward, plagued like all of Soviet agriculture by the follies of the collective system.

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(What farmer will go out into the middle of a cold Russian night to see what ails a State-owned cow?).

In the physical sciences, there is little evidence of such political interference. Soviet mathematics and meteorology, for example, appear to be clearly on a par with those of the West, and even ahead in some respects. Military needs dominate their research programs. We who are in intelligence work have learned by now that it is really safe to assume that the Soviets do not have the basic skill, both theoretical and technical, to do in these fields what we can do. In fact, at times we have been surprised at their progress, above all in the aviation, electronic and nuclear fields. Certainly, the Russian's mind, as a mechanism of reason, is in no way inferior to that of any other human being.

It is true that, since the war, the Soviets have been helped by German scientists taken to the USSR and by what they learned from espionage and from the material obtained during and after the war. Also, recently the Soviets have developed, and boasted of, a systematic service for translating and abstracting major Western scientific publications. But the Soviets have rarely been slavish copyists, at least where a Western invention or technique was of military importance. They have employed adaptation rather than adoption, as in the case of their improvement of the Nene jet engine. In certain key fields, they have clearly shown a capacity for independent progress.

While total Soviet scientific manpower at the university graduate level is about the same as ours—somewhere over a million each—about half of the Soviet total were trained by the inferior prewar standards. In number of research workers—a good index of average quality—we estimate that the U.S. has a 2-1 margin over the USSR in the physical sciences. We must remember, too, that the U.S. has a substantial number of competent engineers who have not taken university degrees but who have learned their trade through experience. The USSR has no real counterpart for this group, just as it has no substantial counterpart for the vast American reservoir of persons with high-grade mechanical skills.

But lest we become complacent, it is well to note that the Soviets are now turning out more university graduates in the sciences and engineering than we are—about 120,000 to 170,000 in 1955. In round numbers the Soviets will graduate about 1,200,000 in the sciences in the ten years from 1950 to 1960, while the comparable U.S. figure will be about 900,000. Unless we quickly take new measures to increase our own facilities for scientific education, Soviet scientific manpower in key areas may well outnumber ours in the next decade.

The comparisons in the scientific field most emphatically do not mean that Soviet higher education as a whole is as yet comparable to that of the U.S. Over 50 per cent of Soviet graduates are in the sciences, against less than 20 per cent in the U.S. Science in the USSR has had an over-riding priority.

Another important feature of Soviet education is the growth of secondary education at the senior high school level. By 1960 the Soviets will have four to five times as many secondary graduates per year as they had in 1950. These will be divided fairly evenly between men and women. Whereas, a decade ago, only about 20 per cent of Soviet seventh grade students went any further, by 1960 probably over 70 per cent will do so. Their secondary school standards are high and largely explain their ability to train competent scientists and engineers. Whether they can maintain these standards in the face of a very rapid expansion is a question.

So much for the advance in material terms. Let us turn now to the "thought control" aspect.

The Soviets give top priority to preserving the

Marxist-Leninist purity of their students. Beginning with kindergarten rhymes on the glories of Lenin they pass to the history of the Communist party, a comparison of the "benevolent" Soviet Constitution with the "corrupt" constitutions of the West that do not confer liberty. Soviet economics teaches why the workers in capitalist countries can never own cars, but must always live in poverty. In the lower grades, civic virtue is taught by citing the example of a Soviet boy Pavlik Morozov who betrayed his family to the secret police and now has statues raised in his honor.

Even though it is hard to distort the physical sciences they can be used to prove the virtues of atheism. In ancient history, it is the Athenians who are corrupt and the Spartans virtuous. In literature courses, selected works of Dickens are read as presenting an authentic picture of the present-day life of the British working man while Howard Fast, *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and *The Cranes of Wrath* portray the contemporary U.S. Everything is taught so that the student shall acquire his knowledge in Communist terms and within a Communist framework.

But the Soviets are not content to rely upon the lasting effects of student indoctrination. They have devised in addition a rigid system for continuing their control. To repay the Government for his or her so-called "free" education, Soviet law requires that each student upon graduation must work for three consecutive years as State directs. They may express a preference, but in practice only a small percentage of the students—those with high Government connections or with exceptionally high marks—have their requests granted. The rest must go where they are assigned—their niche in life largely predetermined.

Even at the end of the three-year compulsory assignment, the individual still is under the control of the Communist party, the Young Communist League, the local union, or the factory directors. To object to further assignments is to court an efficiency report so bad that a job will be hard to find. And if a man were to refuse an assignment, he would lose his occupation and be forced to work at the most unskilled and menial tasks wherever he could find them. Thus the typical Soviet university graduate gains little freedom from his status as an educated man. If he is a scientist or engineer, he will probably be able to avoid the military draft entirely. He may aspire to prestige and to much higher pay than his less educated fellows. But he pays for this by being possibly even more tightly directed than the bulk of Soviet workers.

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Such, then, is the system, stressing high technical educational standards on the one hand while insisting on Communist philosophy and discipline on the other. Its ultimate human result, the Soviet graduate must be—in the phrase given me by one of the best-educated of our recent defectors—"a man divided."

In time, with the growth of education—with more knowledge more training of the mind given to more people—this Soviet "man divided" must inevitably come to have more and more doubt about the Communist system as a whole.

In the past, we have sometimes had exaggerated expectations of dissensions within the Soviet and in other totalitarian systems. Our hopes have not perhaps been so much misguided as they have been premature. If we take a longer look we can foresee the possibility of great changes in the Soviet system. Here the educational advances will play a major part.

There is already evidence of this. As I have said, the physical sciences are being freed of party-line restraints. Within the educational structure itself, the pressure to turn out good scientists and good engineers has caused a de-emphasis of the time spent on ideological subjects. The student engineer while he still has to pass his courses in Marxism-Leninism can increasingly afford to do a purely formal job on the ideological front if he is a good engineer.

In the last year, there have been interesting signs of this freedom spreading to other areas, notably to the biological and agricultural sciences. Lysenko is no longer gospel—I suspect for the very simple reason that his theories proved fallacious when used as the basis for new agricultural programs. The development of corn and of better wheat strains proved remarkably resistant to the teachings of Marx and Lenin—and, in the end, nature won the day. "After all Karl Marx was not much of a farmer. Now Moscow is looking toward Iowa.

So far this is only a small straw in the wind. But it is a significant one. If freedom to seek truth can spread from the physical to the biological sciences we can begin to look for signs of independence even in the hallowed sanctum of economics. Certainly, every year that the "decadent" capitalist system continues to avoid depression and to turn out more and more goods, even the most hardened Soviet economist must wonder about the accuracy of the Communist version of truth in this field.

In cultural pursuits, the evidence is not all one-sided. Literature and even music are still subject to denunciation and criticism for not expressing the proper ideals. But clearly here too, there has been some relaxation in the past two years. Recently writers once denounced as "bourgeois" and "cosmopolitan" are being permitted to work again.

It is understandable that lasting freedom will come more slowly in economics and the humanities than where scientific matters—more open to proof—are involved. Ideology gives way most rapidly where it collides with fact.

This at times has caused the Soviet acute embarrassment. We are all familiar with the deceptions the Soviets practise on their people particularly in the rewriting of history and the adjustment of doctrine to fit their warts. Malenkov is on the downgrade, so the Soviet press removes his name from the key wartime committees on which he actually served, and replaces him with Khruschev. Beria falls: his name must be blacked out wherever it occurs even in a university catalogue and he must posthumously bear the blame for what Stalin and Molotov did to Yugoslavia in 1948.

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case, the 1950 edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopedia was issued with a full four pages describing him as "one of the outstanding leaders" of the USSR and the "faithful disciple of Stalin." After his liquidation a few years later, subscribers to the Encyclopedia received a letter from the publishers suggesting that four designated pages—no mention made of Beria—be removed with scissors or razor blade and replaced by a large added section to the article on the Bering Sea and a new article on a gentleman named Friedrich Wilhelm Bergholz, an obscure Junker at the Court of Tsar Peter I, whose alphabetical resemblance to Beria was his one and only claim to fame.

Perhaps most of the scissor-wielders managed to keep a straight face. Yet this kind of thing, insignificant individually typifies the kind of dilemma the Soviets must face increasingly and almost daily. We know that some thoughtful Soviet citizens are beginning to see through these distortions, and indeed through the whole process of thought-control. Yet that process may continue to have its effect on the masses of the Russian people. Will this equally be so when the average educational level of those masses is at the tenth grade rather than the seventh or lower?

Increased education must inevitably bring in its train increased expectations on the part of the educated. Since higher education in Russia had historically been only for the few, not only in Tsarist times but until very recently in the Soviet era there remains a strong tradition that a boy who graduates from secondary school will not work with his hands. Over the past two years the Soviet press has repeatedly printed criticisms of students who refused to take factory jobs on the ground

that they were beneath them. In all probability, the system is nearly at saturation point in the rate at which it can offer professional or white-collar jobs to secondary school graduates.

Ultimately, however much the Soviets condition man's mind, however narrowly they permit it to develop and however much they seek to direct him after he is trained, they cannot in the end prevent him from exercising that critical sense that they, themselves, have caused to be created in him when they gave him a education. When Wendell Willkie visited the Soviet Union in 1942, he had a look at their school system. In a conversation at the Kremlin he remarked: "If you continue to educate the Russian people, Mr. Stalin, the first thing you know you'll educate yourself out of job." This seemed to amuse the Soviet dictator mightily. Maybe it will prove to be anything but a joke for the Soviet rulers of the future.

For the Soviets face a real dilemma between the two goals of their education system: on the one hand making well-conditioned members of a Communist state, and on the other, turning out trained people capable of taking their places in a technically advanced society. In some degree, this dilemma has been present since the Soviet took the crucial decision in the 1930s to go all-out for trained technical manpower. It must become more acute in the future.

The rise in numbers of trained people is only beginning to reach its peak, at a time when the picture for all Soviet citizens is one of somewhat greater hope and expectation, and when change is in the wind in many ways. The broadening of the educational base within the contacts with the outside world, the uncertainty in

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the high Governmental command and the absence of a dictator—all force the Soviet Union towards compromises.

With these compromises comes the inevitable admission that the Soviet Marxist-Leninist system is not the only permissible way of life. If coexistence should really become the Moscow line, then Western free systems must be permissible; and if permissible anywhere, why not in the Soviet Union itself? If the Tito form of heresy, denounced a few years ago more ferociously even than capitalism, is now to be forgiven and approved, how can the Soviets deny the European satellites the right to a similar heresy if they so desire?

Can the Soviets give their people a better material education and still keep them from wanting more and from thinking more on lines such as these? I do not think we can easily give the answer in point of time, but one can say with assurance that in the long run, man's desire for freedom must break any bonds that can be placed around him.

Possibly for a time the Soviets will go forward, using their educational system as a sorting device for human assets. Half-educated men—all fact and no humanity—may still be good fodder for totalitarianism. Possibly the Soviet leaders will encounter problems for which they will seek the solutions by foreign adventure. But there remains the possibility that newly created wants and expectations, stimulated by education and perhaps by more exposure to the West, will in time compel great and almost unpredictable changes in the Soviet system itself.

Once or twice before this present peace and coexistence offensive, the Soviet seemed to start towards adjustment of its system to the facts of life in the outside world; first in the latter years of the war, and possibly again in 1945. These starts were quickly followed by a dropping of the Iron Curtain, by repressions, purges and a return to the rigid Stalinist line. Then the Soviet had a dictator, and it's hard to dictate without one. Today they have a committee in which the Soviet people themselves are not clearly told who is boss. Also today, the Soviets have gone much further than before towards introducing into their system the leaven of education, which makes a return to the Dark Ages far more difficult than in the past.

I would not be bold enough to predict that the Soviet might not attempt to return to the rigidity of a Stalinist regime. I do predict that this would be no easy task. In introducing mass education, the troubled Soviet leaders have loosed forces dangerous to themselves. It will be very difficult for them henceforth to close off their own people from access to the realities of the outside world.

A hard choice faces the perplexed probably unharmonious group of men in the Kremlin. They lead a people who surely will come to realize the inevitability of the great precept: "And Ye shall know the truth and

the truth shall make you free."—*The New Leader*, June 13, 1955.

America Develops Movies On Tape

HOLLYWOOD (California).—The making of motion pictures without the use of film is being rapidly developed in the United States. Movies on tape may be played in commercial use some time in 1956, according to officials of Bing Crosby Enterprises, Inc.

The company recently demonstrated the latest developments in the new method of electronically recording moving images. The sound and pictures of a colour television programme were recorded from a receiver compressed into a half-inch tape similar to the tape used in sound recording and then played back on a motion picture screen.

The tape used for this new process is called "video tape," while that used for sound recording is called "audio tape." The principle of the video tape recorder is the same as for the audio tape recorder.

In audio, music or a person's voice is transferred into a succession of electronic impulses that disturb magnetic particles on the tape. When the tape is played back the different arrangements of the particles reproduce the different original sounds.

In video—the process used to make motion pictures—the picture is broken down into successions of electronic impulses that disturb the tape's magnetic particles.

In the most recently developed Crosby video tape, there are five separate "tracks," all within the half-inch width of the tape, to record a complete colour motion picture. There are separate tracks for each of television's three primary video colour—red, blue and green. In addition, there is a track to carry synchronizing signal information, and a sound track.

Only two years ago, the Crosby tape was an inch wide and required 12 tracks. The reduction in size is indicative of the technical progress that has been made.

For the most recent demonstration of the device, a programme given by Ethel Merman and Harry James in a colour television show was used. The programme was recorded off the air from a colour television receiver and sent into the tape machine, which is about the same size as a studio turntable.

The tape moves at the rate of 180 inches a second. Fully wound a spool 14 inches in diameter provides about eight minutes of programming.

As its next step, the Crosby Company plans to record colour signals directly at their camera source. This should lead to substantial further improvement and would be more in accord with normal broadcasting-station practice.—*American Reporter*, August 31, 1955.



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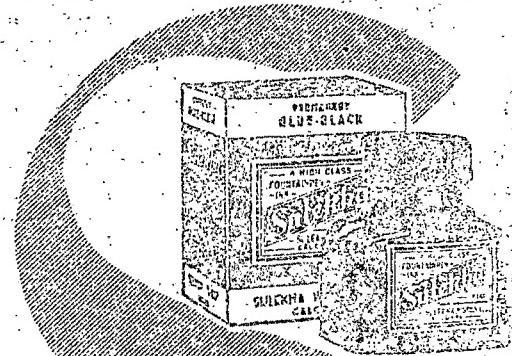
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